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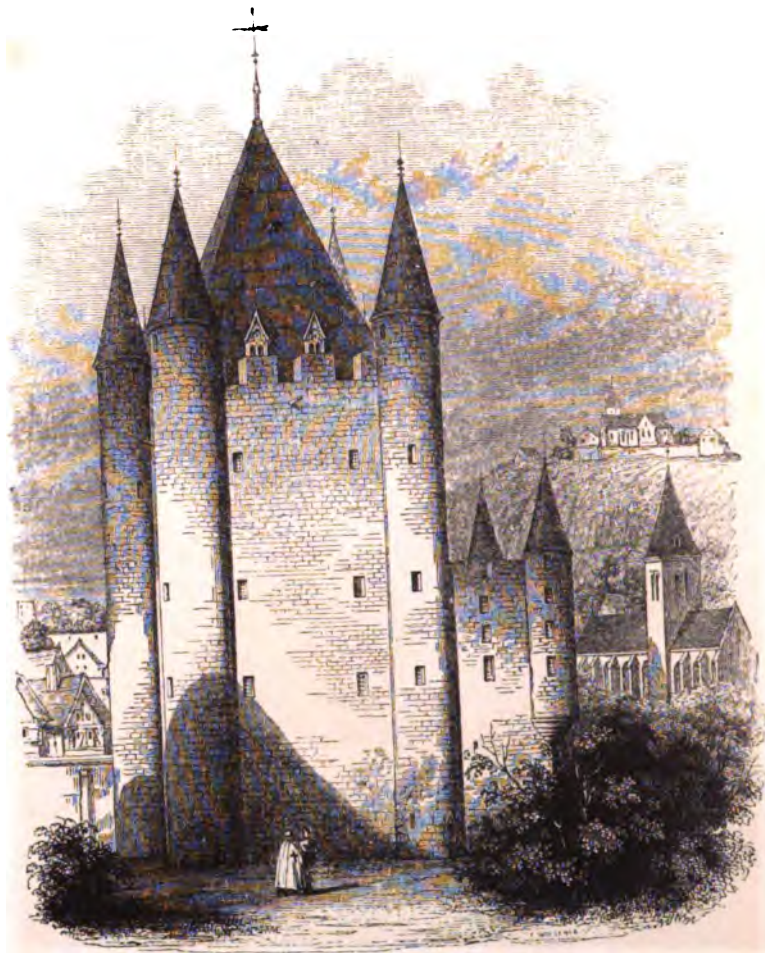




43. 1588.



403



The Temple.

THE
PICTORIAL
HISTORY OF FRANCE

AND OF THE FRENCH PEOPLE:

FROM THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FRANKS IN GAUL, TO THE
PERIOD OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

BY GEORGE MOIR BUSSEY,
AUTHOR OF A "HISTORY OF
NAPOLEON."
ETC.

AND THOMAS GASPEY.
AUTHOR OF "THE LIFE AND TIMES OF
THE GOOD LORD COBHAM."
ETC.

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CONTENTS.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS XI. TO THE DEATH OF HENRY II.

A. D. 1461 TO 1559.

	Page.
POLICY OF LOUIS XI.—LEAGUE FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD.—LIEGE BESIEGED.—WAR BETWEEN FRANCE AND BURGUNDY.—JEANNE DE HATCHET.—GIGANTIC PROJECTS OF CHARLES THE BASH.—THE ENGLISH INVADE FRANCE.—WAR BETWEEN BURGUNDY AND SWITZERLAND. BATTLE OF GRANSON.—OVERTHROW OF THE HOUSE OF BURGUNDY.—REDUCTION OF PUBLIC BURDENS.—BATTLE OF ST. AUBIN.—TREATY OF SABLE.—AMERICA DISCOVERED.—LA TREMOUILLE PASSES THE ALPS.—WARS IN ITALY.—SUCCESSSES OF THE SPANIARDS.—GASTON DE FOIX.—BATTLE OF RAVENNA.—THE FRENCH IN ITALY.—BATTLE OF MARIANO.—DE BOURBON JOINS CHARLES V.—BATTLE OF PAVIA.—TREATY OF MADRID.—ANDREW DORIA.—RUIN OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY.—BATTLE OF MONTLUC.—BATTLE OF CERISOLES.—HENRY VIII. IN FRANCE.—AMBITIOUS DESIGNS OF CHARLES.—CHARLES ADVANCES TO METZ.—ABDICATION OF CHARLES V.—BATTLE OF ST. QUENTIN.—DIANA OF POITIERS.—COMPLICATED TREATIES.—NEW FAMILY ALLIANCES.—ANCIENT LEARNING REVIVED.—NEW DOCTRINES.—DESPERATE CONTESTS ON THE SUBJECT OF RELIGION.	1

CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF FRANCIS II. TO THE ENTRY OF HENRY IV.

INTO PARIS. A. D. 1559 TO 1594.

MARTYRDOM OF PROTESTANTS.—PROGRESS OF REFORM.—THE GUISES.—CONSPIRACY OF AMBOISE.—THE TRIUMVIRATE.—THEODORE OF BEZA.—CONFERENCE OF POISSY.—A CIVIL WAR.—SUCCESSSES OF THE HUGUENOTS.—BATTLE NEAR DREUX.—INTRIGUES OF THE CARDINAL DE LORRAINE.—PEACE OF LONGJUMEAU.—JEANNE D'ALBRET AND HER SON.—BATTLE OF MONCONTOUR.—MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.—COURT FOLLIES AND INTRIGUES.—THE STATES GENERAL CONVOKED.—TREATY OF POITIERS.—HENRY OF NAVARRE.—BATTLE OF COUTRAS.—OUTBREAK IN PARIS.—HENRY III. ASSASSINATED.—BATTLE OF ARQUES.—PARIS BLOCKADED.—ABJURATION OF ST. DENIS.—TRIUMPHAL ENTRY INTO PARIS.—PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.	217
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

FRANCE UNDER THE BOURBONS. A. D. 1594 TO 1788.

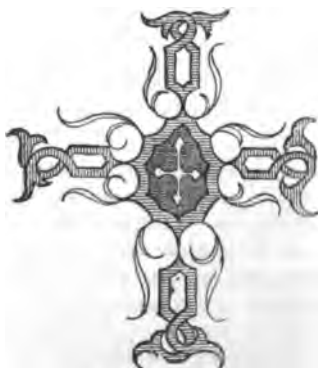
	Page.
THE SPANIARDS IN FRANCE.—CONSPIRACY OF BIRON.—SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS.—COURT INTRIGUES.—ROYAL MARRIAGES.—FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES.—SIEGE OF ROCHELLE.—JOHN GUITON.—TRIUMPHS OF RICHELIEU.—THE PARLIAMENT HUMBLLED.—THE DUKE D'ENGHIEN.—BATTLES OF ROCROI, FRIBOURG, AND LENS.—THE FRONDEURS.—MATTHEW MOLÉ.—SIEGE OF BORDEAUX.—BATTLE OF ST. ANTOINE.—EMBASSY TO OLIVER CROMWELL. WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.—POLICY OF LOUIS XIV.—FLANDERS INVADED.—PASSAGE OF THE RHINE.—BATTLE OF SENEFF.—SUCSESSES OF TURENNE.—PERSECUTION OF THE JANSENISTS.—REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.—WAR IN GERMANY.—BATTLE OF LA HOGUE.—FINANCIAL DIFFICULTIES.—ASPIRANTS TO THE SPANISH THRONE.—BATTLES OF BLENHEIM AND RAMILLIES.—LOUIS SUES FOR PEACE.—CAMPAIGN IN FLANDERS.—BATTLE OF MALPLAQUET.—DISTRESSED STATE OF FRANCE.—PEACE OF UTRECHT.—BATTLES OF DETTINGEN AND FONTENAY.—PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE.—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.—WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.—PROGRESS OF SOCIETY. - - -	307

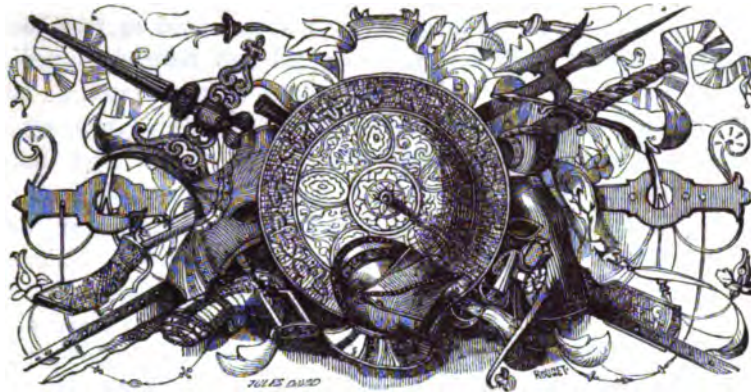
CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE RECAL OF DE NECKER TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVI.

A. D. 1788 TO 1793.

MEETING OF THE STATES GENERAL.—MIRABEAU.—LOUIS DECLARES AGAINST THE STATES GENERAL.—DESTRUCTION OF THE BASTILLE.—REVOLUTIONARY OUTRAGES.—THE KING RETURNS TO VERSAILLES.—DISAFFECTION OF THE MILITARY.—DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.—VIOLENT DEBATES.—THE KING ACCEPTS THE CONSTITUTION.—DEPARTURE OF THE KING FOR PARIS.—HARSH TREATMENT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY.—ISSUE OF ASSIGNATS.—FÊTE IN THE CHAMP DE MARS.—FLIGHT OF LOUIS.—THE ROYAL PREROGATIVE WITHDRAWN.—INTERFERENCE OF FOREIGN POWERS.—MASSACRE OF THE SWISS.—ROYALTY ABOLISHED.—INSULTS TO RELIGION.—CONDEMNATION OF LOUIS.—THE LAST MOMENTS OF THE MONARCHY. - - -	592
--	-----



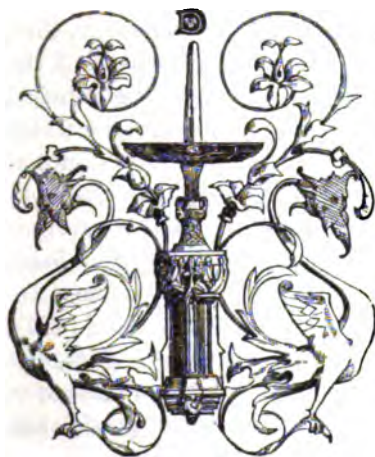


HISTORY OF FRANCE.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF LOUIS XI. TO THE DEATH OF HENRY II.
A. D. 1461. TO 1559.

POLICY OF LOUIS XI.—OVERTHROW OF THE HOUSE OF BURGUNDY.—WARS IN ITALY.—AMERICA
DISCOVERED.—COMPLICATED TREATIES.—NEW FAMILY ALLIANCES.—ANCIENT LEARNING
REVIVED.—NEW DOCTRINES.—DESPERATE CONTESTS ON THE SUBJECT OF RELIGION.



DISSIMULATION unnecessary, when firmly seated on the throne, Louis seemed to forget Genappe and Praguerie, and to be wholly occupied with promoting the interests of royal authority. On his arrival from Burgundy, he promised to abolish certain imposts. The promise was not made good; but the people of Rheims insisted that it should be observed. When it was attempted to renew the bail for farming the salt tax, the collectors were attacked and murdered, and the registers burnt in the streets.

At Angiers, at Alençon and Aurillac, similar disorders occurred. He who had so sincerely pitied the people while he was dauphin, now discovered that the taxes, which he had formerly condemned, were absolutely necessary to carry on the government of the country. He sent the Marshal Rohaut to

Rheims, who disguised the soldiers under his command as merchants and peasants, and mixing with the people, seized and hanged immediately a hundred of the rebels [1461]. Without convening the estates, he raised at once the poll tax from 1,700,000 livres to 3,000,000, and unsparing vengeance everywhere put down revolt. His Burgundian friends did not long remain in favour. The Count de Charolais was first deprived of the lieutenancy of Normandy, which was given to the Duke of Britany; and Louis went on almost to invite a rupture, by suddenly claiming the cities on the Somme, which Philippe had quietly enjoyed since the treaty of Arras. The Count de Charolais was in a great rage when he heard what had been done by his old companion of the table and the chase. But the furious young man was then at variance with his father, and his remonstrances were not attended to. Louis borrowed wherever he could, to make up the 400,000 crowns which was to be paid under the treaty of Arras; and as soon as his treasurer had carried that sum to the duke, the king's officers proceeded to take possession of that important line which gave him a free entrance into Artois.

No opportunity of aggrandising himself was neglected by Louis. Aragon was convulsed by a civil war. John II. having implored France to assist him against his revolted subjects, Louis advanced 800,000 livres, to cover the expence of eleven hundred French lances, and sent him the two brothers Bureau, with his ablest commanders. But the price he exacted for his aid was sufficiently high. John gave up to him Cerdagne and the Comté of Rosillon, till the loan should be wholly repaid. It was on account of the affairs of Aragon that the famous interview on the Bidassoe took place, between Louis and the King of Castile, Henry IV. Simple and rude in his private life, Louis carried his scorn for fashion almost to a pitch of affectation. Such was the horror he was known to feel for ceremony, that, making a journey at this period into Picardy, the inhabitants closed all the other issues from the city, to assure themselves of his arrival by the principal entrance. The Castilian lords, with their embroidered sandals, in which jewels were set, could not but regard with derision the strange appearance of the King of France. Louis was content to allow these elegant courtiers to laugh, while he applied himself to consider how he could turn the interview to advantage, by gaining over to his interests the grand master of Saint James, and the Archbishop of Toledo, who ruled everything in Castile. He then returned to his kingdom, despised, but contented with himself [1462]. In the same year, he treated with equal *sang froid* the misfortunes of Margaret of Anjou, the daring woman who alone sustained the falling house of Lancaster. He placed 20,000 livres, and two thousand soldiers at her disposal; and Margaret, on receiving them, signed a treaty, by which she engaged to surrender Calais to France, if ever she succeeded in replacing her husband, King Henry, on the throne of England. As happens too frequently to princes who rely on a foreign monarch for support, conditions were in the

first instance imposed, which served but to confirm that exclusion against which they protested. Such was the case with the heroine of the red rose.



Louis lent money, but on pledges, and the triumph of an ancient friend of his house was not to be looked to, till after payment for the assistance claimed had been secured.

The people became dissatisfied. Charles VII. had retained the respect both of the nobles and the citizens. He, indeed, suffered no revolt to escape unpunished; but he was never the first to attack, and was a quiet and affable king. Louis had always some scheme in his head, and his movements interfered with the means and habits of all classes in the state. Not satisfied with having resumed the cities of the Somme from the Duke of Burgundy, he wished to introduce the salt tax into his estates, which had been regarded as a kingdom, independent of the crown of France, ever since the treaty of Arras. Another king in his own estimation, the Duke of Britany had also been attacked in his sovereignty. The King of France had extended his high jurisdiction to the bishops, and ventured to claim the exercise of regal rights within the duchy. John of Bourbon had been deprived of his government of Guienne; and the house of Orleans bitterly complained that Francis Sforza, who had seized on the inheritance of Valentina, had been recognised. Dunois also, the real head of his family, notwithstanding the bar which crossed his escutcheon, was in disgrace, in common with all the eminent men of the last reign. The brother of the king himself,

Charles de Berri, was denied his estates, and remained at court, under distrustful surveillance. To these angry feelings in the minds of distinguished individuals, was added disaffection springing from other sources. The minor nobility in the provinces had been attacked in their most fondly cherished habits, by the ordinances issued respecting the chase, for which Louis had a most jealous passion. Two gentlemen of family were deprived of their ears, for having hunted on their own estates; and Poirson, a contemporary author, remarks, "This severity was carried so far, that to kill a man was deemed more pardonable than to destroy a stag, or a wild boar." The citizens, who objected to taxation beyond everything, complained of the poll tax, which had been so largely augmented; and even the ladies at court were disgusted at the harshness with which they were treated by the king. There was no longer the cheerful and brilliant life which they had known during the reign of Charles VII. An enemy to fêtes, and to the town mode of living, Louis dragged them with him to his hunting-matches, and through his various progresses. Repeatedly on the roads, they were obliged to be lodged, as chance directed, in the first château they could reach, and not



unfrequently in the meanest hamlets. The queen, in one instance, found herself almost deserted in the little village of Nogent-le-Roi. Having passed some days with the court of Burgundy, she could not sufficiently admire the magnificence and courtesy which there awaited her. "I shall remember this," said she, "to make comparisons, for seven years."

The exasperation long fermenting in secret, at length began to be audible. John of Britany, more enraged than all the rest, since he had been almost despoiled of his duchy, sent everywhere emissaries, disguised as monks, to rally aggrieved princes and nobles against a power so menacing and so despotic. Louis, always on the *qui vive*, perceived the movement. He learnt that John de Romille, vice-chancellor of Britany, had traversed Flanders and Holland in the garb of a Dominican, and was gone to England, whence he was expected by the Count de Charolais, in the little town of Gorcum, on the coast of Holland. The king immediately fitted out a ship at Crotoy, in Picardy, with forty or fifty determined men on board, to intercept the sham monk on his return [1464]. This vessel was commanded by the bastard of Rubempré, who, weary of cruising on the coast, and perhaps wishing to go somewhat beyond his instructions, landed at Gorcum, and established himself at a tavern, where he was curious in his enquiries as to the habits of the Count de Charolais; whether he ever went to sea, and in what sort of ships, with other questions, which caused suspicion to fall on him. The count caused him to be arrested; and when he came to be examined, and was proved to be in the service of Louis, it was immediately given out by the heir of Burgundy, that the King of France had wished to seize him in his own estates, and carry him off. Wishing to avoid the scandal of such a charge, Louis at first endeavoured to hush it up; but the count only gave the charge still greater publicity. The king then affected to feel that his dignity was wounded; and assembled the estates at Rouen, to refute the injurious slanders which had been circulated. He sent his chancellor, Pierre de Morvilliers, to complain to Philippe of the calumnies which his son had sent forth to the world, and at the same time to demand the liberation of the bastard of Rubempré. Morvilliers saw the duke at Lille, where the count had arrived the evening before, with eighty knights and six hundred horse. The interview was stormy. The chancellor had scarcely made known that of which he had to complain, when the count, falling on one knee before his father, wished to justify himself. Morvilliers bluntly attempted to stop him, by saying, "Monseigneur de Charolais, I have not come here to speak to you, but to the duke, your father." During the remainder of the conference, he treated the count as a refractory child. Philippe himself did not escape the sarcasms of Morvilliers, who, on hearing the enumeration of the lordships which the duke held "from God alone," could not help exclaiming, "He, however, is not the king."—"I could wish all the world to know," replied the son of John the Fearless, "that had such been my wish, I might have been king." The envoys of Louis withdrew, not having obtained any satisfaction. As they went out, the count whispered into the ear of the archbishop of Narbonne, "Commend me very humbly to the good graces of the king, and tell him that he has done well to clear himself by his chancellor; but before a year shall have passed, he will be made to repent the deed."

Towards the end of December, 1464, secret assemblies were held at Nôtre Dame, in Paris. It soon included five hundred persons, who recognised each other by a spot of red silk in the waistband. All the princes had sent agents to this body, whom they had provided with documents, in which they declared their adhesion to the league formed for the "the public good" of the kingdom. A league for "the public good" announced, even by its ambitious title, something really dangerous to royalty. The Count de Charolais was the life and soul of this formidable conspiracy, in which many noble ladies were engaged. Charles de Berri, weary of the *ennui* to which he had been doomed by his brother, suffered himself to be gained over by the principal actors in the revolt, and pompously put forth as the nominal chief of the league. Taking advantage of a pilgrimage which Louis made to St. Junien, in the Limousin, while the court was at Poitiers, the Duke de Berri joined the deputies of Britany, who waited for him six leagues from the city with fresh horses. A manifesto soon appeared, in which Charles, lamenting the great calamities which had fallen on the kingdom through bad government, and the disorders consequent on them, declared that he only wished to supply a remedy to the evil, by the advice of the lords, his relatives, and other noblemen.

The Duke of Bourbon gave the signal for action, by seizing the royal funds in his estates; and the Count de Charolais, joining his nobility, took leave of his father, May 15th, 1465, preparatory to marching into France to the assistance of the brother of the king. "Go," said Philippe, after having seen the treaties signed by the Dukes of Berri, Britany, Bourbon, Alençon, and Calabria, and by Dunois and the chiefs of the house of Armagnac, "go, and bravely maintain your honour; and should a hundred thousand men be wanted to extricate you from difficulty, I will provide them, and march at their head to your assistance." The rendezvous of the princes of the league was at Paris, on which the Count de Charolais moved immediately with ten thousand lances, taking on his way the towns on the Oise and the Somme. Louis prepared with energy to meet the crowd of enemies which now rose against him on all sides. Lyons, Bordeaux, Dauphiny, Auvergne, and Languedoc, remained faithful to him. On his side a manifesto was issued, the object of which was to rally the citizens round his standard, whom the princes had sought to enlist in their cause. "They declare," said the king, in this remarkable document, "that they will abolish the existing taxes. This is always announced by malcontents and rebels." Had the king thought fit to increase their incomes, and to permit them to trample on their vassals as formerly, they would never have thought of bestirring themselves for "the public good." To secure Paris was a most important object. The civil commotions of the last hundred years, had proved the vast power of the great Parisian commune; and the chiefs of the league were so well aware of this, that they had made it their rallying point. Louis sent thither his secretary, John la Balue, and Charles de Melun, who harangued the citizens

from the Hotel de Ville, armed the trades, closed the gates, and prepared the chains to be fixed across the streets. Supple, and on the alert to flatter, when he found himself in danger, the king wrote to the inhabitants, that he should send the queen, on the occasion of her expected accouchement, to Paris, the city which "he loved better than any other in the world." He marched into the domains of the Duke of Bourbon, leaving the Count du Maine to watch the motions of Charles de Berri and the Duke of Britany. The royal army consisted of twenty-four thousand men, all well armed, and good soldiers, the remnant of those ordinance bands which had re-conquered France from the English. The gentry under the Duke of Bourbon came with their vassals collected in haste. They could not stand against the king's troops; and, though aided by a reinforcement brought to them from the south by D'Albret and the Armagnac lords, the duke was soon compelled to capitulate. Louis was glad to listen to an accommodation. The duke promised, so the king would do justice to his brother, and govern as a Christian king ought to govern, that he would secede from the confederacy, if the princes did not return to their duty. Louis affected to be satisfied with this, as he felt that he had no time to lose, having learnt that the Burgundians were already encamped at St. Denis, and that the Bretons were on their march to join them.

The Count de Charolais seemed at first likely to carry all before him. Treason opened the gates of the cities as he advanced; and the old feelings in favour of the house of Burgundy, were revived by a persuasion that he was about to act the part of John the Fearless. He announced that he came to free the people from their burdens. At Lagny-sur-Marne, he burnt in the public market-place the books of the receivers, and opened the magazines of salt, and sold to the people at the price which the king's officers had paid for it. These interested demonstrations, however, could not prevail over the suspicions of the citizens. Arrived at St. Denis, the Count de Charolais wished to enter and parley with the captains of the gates, and caused his troops to advance to St. Lazare. His hostile approaches, however, and his pacific overtures, were repelled with equal determination. The chains of the streets were ready to be fixed across the roads at the first signal. There was a serjeant at the Châtelet who endeavoured to create an alarm, by crying out, "The Burgundians are coming." He was immediately arrested. The count dared not venture on the assault, though advised to do it by some of his old officers, who had resided in Paris during the former wars. Being informed that the Duke of Britany was advancing to join him, and had already arrived at Etampes, he forced the passage of the Seine at the bridge of St. Cloud, and fixed his advanced posts at the foot of the tower of Montlhéry, which the commander refused to open to the Burgundians. The king was then at Orleans; and the Duke of Britany was rapidly advancing by the route of Chartres. In the royal army there was a momentary hesitation; some proposed that they should first attack the Bretons; others, that they

should at once meet the Count de Charolais. It was the design of the king to march to Paris, and there wait for his enemies ; but passing near Montlhéry, the sieur de Brezé, who led the advanced guard, instead of reconnoitring the ground, and advancing towards Paris, dashed with his men-at-arms into the midst of the Burgundian camp [July 16th]. "I will bring the two armies so close to day," said De Brezé to one of his friends, "that he shall have quick eyes, who can distinguish one from the other."

De Brezé lost his life in the first shock ; and Louis feeling it necessary to support the movement he had made, whatever he might think of its prudence, the action soon became general. The archers of Burgundy, having in their rear the forest of Longpont, boldly met the attack of the French, placing in front their baggage waggons, and the iron pointed stakes, which, from the example of the English, they had learned to use. The sieur de Contay came in great haste to announce to the Count de Charolais, who had established himself at Longjumeau, that the fight had commenced. "If you wish to join the battle," said he, "you must make haste, sir ; no time is to be lost." Upon hearing this, the Burgundian men-at-arms instantly dashed through the high standing corn, and the bean fields, and soon reached the battle plain, covered with sweat and in some disorder. The count, with a hundred horse, fell on the left of the French where the



Count du Maine commanded, compelled it to give way, and pushed forward half a league in pursuit of the fugitives. On his return, he found himself

surrounded in the village by a crowd of foot soldiers, one of whom struck a blow with a javelin, which broke his cuirasse, and wounded his breast. He, however, succeeded in gaining the open country, where he found other enemies whom he could scarcely resist. "My friends," he cried to his people, "defend your prince, who will never forsake you but in death." He received a wound from a sword, through the defective state of his cuirasse. The squire who carried his standard fell dead at his feet. Guilbert de Grassi and Geoffrey de Saint Belin, had already put their hands on the count, at the same time calling to him, "Surrender sir; do not throw your life away." It was then that Robert Cotterau, the son of his physician, a very powerful man, and mounted on an excellent war horse, threw himself before his master, and, by fiercely using his sabre, rescued him from their grasp. The bastard of Burgundy soon afterwards came up with his men, his baton, which he still grasped in the fury of the contest, had been so rudely handled, that it was now scarcely a foot long. The Count de St. Pol and others, assembling round the prince, presented so good an appearance, that no further attempts were made to take him prisoner. Louis, on his part, fought valiantly. A report had been circulated that he was dead; upon which he raised his casque in the middle of the battle, and called out to his soldiers, "My friends, your king lives—he is here; defend him with bold hearts." Night coming on, put an end to the strife. The Count de Charolais passed it on the field of battle, stretched on two trusses of straw, where he held a council, seated with his officers on the trunk of a tree. It was difficult to say which party had the advantage. The dust, which covered the dead, prevented the bodies from being recognised, and the standing corn concealed many of the fallen. It was resolved, however, by the Burgundians, to attack the king's camp as soon as it should be day; but when the morning came, a Burgundian waggon-driver, who had been made prisoner the evening before, and who had escaped, brought news of the king's retreat; and the count immediately awarded to himself the triumph of the day. The loss, however, was nearly equal, and both sides had retreated. "One statesman, on the king's side," says Comines, who was with the count in this battle, "fled as far as Lusignan, and did not return; while an equally brave man on the side of the count galloped at full speed to Quesnoi. These ran no risk of injuring each other. On one side it was reported that the king was dead; on the other that the count was taken prisoner. The citizens of Dinant thought the moment favourable for taking up arms against the Duke of Burgundy. They marched before Bouvines with an effigy of the count, which they suspended from a gibbet near the foot of the ramparts, at the same time calling out to the inhabitants, "Behold the false traitor, Count de Charolais, whom the king has hanged, or will hang, as you see him here." When Louis was told that the Burgundians claimed the victory, because they had passed the night on the field of battle, "Truly," he replied, "that glory was forced upon them. It is no great

wonder if they did remain on the field, as they had no château or city in which they could rest if they left it."

Leaving Montlhéry, the king hastened with all speed to Paris, stopping at the house of the sieur de Melun, where he supped with nobles and citizens, whose eyes he filled with tears, while describing the dangers which he had encountered at Montlhéry. He caused all those who had acted as



guides to the Burgundians, while they were at St. Denis, to be put to death. The sergeant at the Châtelet, who attempted to create a false alarm, was carried through the city in a tumbril of filth, attended by the hangman, who flogged him with rods. "Strike hard," cried the king, who saw him pass, to the executioner, "and do not spare the scoundrel; he has well deserved it." To secure the good will of the inhabitants, Louis reduced the tax on wine by one fourth, and abolished all the duties on the entry of commodities, with the exception of those paid for wood, cattle, cloth and sea-fish. The people greeted him with shouts of "Noel!" and made bonfires in the streets. Louis formed a council, consisting of six citizens, six doctors of the university, and six members of parliament. He then set out for Normandy, where the noblesse and the volunteer archers had been convoked to meet him at Rouen.

The princes, meanwhile, met at Etampes; and the Count de Charolais being carried thither, his wounds were so extravagantly pitied by the Duke de Berri, that he declared he would rather the revolt should never have taken place, than that he should have been the cause of suffering to so many. This overflow of sentiment, after the mischief was done, the count did not take in very good part. Of his own wound he said, "What does it signify? It is the fortune of war." "Have you heard," he asked of some of his friends, "how this man (the duke) has spoken? He is very much shocked at seeing seven or eight hundred wounded men going about the city, who

are nothing to him, and of whom he knows nothing. He would be very differently affected if his own safety were compromised. Such a man would easily make his own peace, and leave us in the mire." The army of the confederates was, however, in such excellent condition, that no notice was taken of these indications of discontent and suspicion. The Duke of Britany had brought with him six thousand knights, well made men, and admirably equipped. The Marquis of Blamont arrived from Burgundy, bringing all the noblesse of the country. The corps d'armée of De Calabria were most formidable in appearance. There were seen the Lorraines and the Italians, their horses barbed with iron; and the archers of the Count Palatine, who drew their bows by a blow of their battle-axe; and besides, there were five hundred Swiss, whose renown had been great since the battle of St. Jacques. In all, the princes mustered fifty thousand men. With little loss of time they advanced to Paris, where the Count de Charolais and De Calabria established themselves at Charenton and at Conflans; the Dukes of Britany and Berry at Saint Maur, and at the chateau de Beauté; the remainder at St. Denis. The Duke de Berri wrote immediately to the clergy, to the parliament, to the university, and to the citizens, and received a deputation from these four bodies in the château. He demanded that they should allow him to enter the city without annoyance, that he might treat more conveniently for the good of the kingdom. The deputies were half gained over. At a meeting, which was held on their return in the Hotel de Ville, John Chouard, the civil lieutenant, spoke warmly in favour of adopting the course proposed by the king's brother. Others more timid, were of opinion that some of the princes should be allowed to enter, each with four hundred men for his guard. The citizens began already to favour the league for the public good, and declared among themselves, that after all, nothing could be more reasonable than to convoke the states of the kingdom, as the princes demanded. A party of the clergy of the parishes, who had been long in opposition, had at length declared in favour of the movement, under the direction of John Luillier the curé of St. Germain-l'Auxerrois; but the presence of the royal troops kept down the malcontents. In the week which preceded the coming of the princes, an officer, named Mignon, had entered Paris at the head of his company of archers on horseback, who traversed the city in fine order, provided with everything they could desire, even with ladies of pleasure, who, accompanied by their confessor, followed in his train. New troops arrived on each succeeding day, from Normandy and Touraine. The common people had a great dread of the Bretons, who were reported to be rapacious plunderers. On hearing that, at the Hotel de Ville, it had been proposed to open the gates to them, a rising took place, the object of which was to put to death the deputies, who had been sent to the château de Beauté.

On Wednesday, the 28th of August, Louis returned from Normandy with a numerous body of men-at-arms; and then there was no longer any thought

but how best to sustain the siege. The king, to give his proceedings a more warlike air, went in solemn state to claim the oriflamme, which the abbé of St. Denis had deposited at St. Catherine-des-Ecoliers, and which then re-appeared for the last time. He immediately advanced with four thousand archers, to establish a powerful artillery opposite the ramparts which the Burgundians and the Duke de Calabria had raised before Conflans and Charenton. The guns were pointed directly at a house in which the Count de Charolais resided. His trumpeter was killed on the staircase, at the moment when he was carrying a dish to table. The bullets even entered his chamber, but he obstinately remained there, and only left it to establish himself in a dyke, which was defended by a rampart of earth. It was, however, not the intention of the king to proceed to extremities. Disputes occurred every day between the Normans and the Parisians. The latter were weary of the siege, and complained that they were compelled to leave their vintage and their fruit to the Burgundians. Ballads against the king's advisers were already heard in the streets. John la Balue was assassinated one evening. On another day they found open, early in the morning, the gate of the Bastille, which commanded the country. The guns which defended it were spiked. Louis no longer felt assured, as heretofore, of the fidelity of the men-at-arms who had followed him from the commencement of the war. He suspected Charles de Melun, to whom he had given the command of the Bastille. One of the lieutenants of the Marshal de Roualt, had just given up Pontoise to the confederates. They had a strong party at Rouen; and the Duke of Bourbon marched to that city. On the other side, the league began to grow weary of their position. Money and provisions were wanting in their camp. Suspicions increased among them from day to day, and the object of each was to withdraw from the others with advantage to himself. One untoward circumstance, which occurred to the princes while things were in this posture, made them thoroughly disgusted with the war, and threw on their arms the tarnish of ridicule. In the middle of the night, a page called out to the Burgundians from the other side of the river, that they must keep on their guard; and at day-break, some archers on horseback came to skirmish before the pallisades of Charenton. They were easily repulsed; but the alarmists reported, that they saw at a distance on the plain something like a forest of lances. A thick fog then prevailed. De Calabria and Charolais immediately put themselves at the head of their men-at-arms. "We go," said they, "to measure the Parisians by the Paris ell, and will see which is the longest." The terrible forest of lances, however, remained immovable. As they approached, the fog passed away; and they at length perceived that it was only a field planted with tall thistles which they were about to attack; and this discovered, the princes withdrew in confusion, and attended mass, amidst bursts of general laughter.

Conferences were soon opened, and truces were made for periods of one, two, and three days. At length the king, impatient to finish, put himself



Interview between Louis XI. and Charles the rash.

one day into a little boat, and landed near the tent of the Count de Charolais. Louis called to him from the shore as his brother, and they tenderly embraced, as at the close of one of the mirthful evenings which they had formerly spent together at Genappe. Then, assuming that easy and jovial tone which he could take under any circumstances. "When that fool, De Morvilliers," said he, "spoke to you so roughly, you told me, through the archbishop of Narbonne, that I should repent what he had said, before a year was at an end. By Heaven! you have kept your promise, and made your words good within the year. I like to do business with those who perform what they promise." Afterwards, he took "his brother" De Charolais by the arm, and walked, conversing familiarly with him, on the banks of the river, to the great astonishment of the men-at-arms, who little expected a reconciliation so sudden. Negotiations commenced in this spirit were carried on with great rapidity. A treaty was concluded, on the 5th October, with the count at Conflans; and twenty-five days afterwards, at St. Maur, with the princes. Never did Louis appear so liberal. It seemed that the members of the league had only to ask and to obtain; and they were not slow to avail themselves of so favourable an opportunity. All claimed a share of the booty: Charles de Berri, Normandy; the Count de Charolais, the towns on the Somme; the Duke of Britany, Etampes; Montfort, Montmorillon; l'Isle d'Oleron, the restitution of regal rights, and a pension of 6000 livres for his mistress, Antoinette de Maiguelais; the Duke de Calabria, Mouzon, Neufchateau, Sainte-Menehould, and 100,000 crowns paid down; Dunois, the restoration of his pensions and of his domains, with a large sum of money, and a company of men-at-arms; the Duke de Nemours, the government of Paris; the Count de St. Pol, the constable's sword; the Count de Dammartin, who had escaped from the Bastille to join the confederates, the restoration of his goods; the others received lands, pensions, privileges, in a word, all they thought fit to demand. To such a pitch was concession carried, that the parliament refused at first to register the act of the treaty; but Louis, who had foreseen this reluctance, made light of their opposition. When they asked why he had signed a treaty so disadvantageous, he replied, "I have done it in consideration of the want of my brother of Berri, of the prudence of my noble cousin, De Calabria, of the sound sense of my brother-in-law of Bourbon, of the malice of Count d'Armagnac, of the great pride of my good cousin of Britany, and of the invincible power of my brother-in-law, De Charolais." As to the people, whom both parties had flattered and caressed while the war lasted, they were scarcely mentioned till the treaties had been concluded. When each had taken what suited him, one of them recollected that "the public good" had been forgotten by all. Thirty-six commissioners were then named, to take the interests of the people into consideration, and the princes separated.

Louis soon became uneasy, and thought only how he could regain the ground which he had lost. It was not without a mental reservation, that a

prince so jealous of his authority, had granted so much to rebels. Even at the moment of signing the treaties, he placed in the hands of the principal members of his parliament, a secret protest against the violence done to him. He himself had named the thirty-six commissioners charged ostensibly to consider of the reformation of the state, but also specially charged not to interfere with what he had established. He even used the commission to promote "the public good," as an instrument to augment the taxes, on the pretext that this was unavoidable, in consequence of the treaties of Conflans and St. Maur. The imprudent conduct of the confederates, rendered him less timid in what concerned the people. Their first care, on taking possession of the places ceded to them, was to re-establish the imposts they had so solemnly abolished at the commencement of the war. Louis, while increasing the public burdens, gained additional popularity. A citizen himself, in manners and language, he dined familiarly at the Hotel de Ville with the aldermen, got himself admitted into the fraternities of Paris, and held at the baptismal font the children of many of the Parisians. He compelled the queen and princesses to increase his popularity by visiting some of the citizens, and forced them to bathe with their wives and daughters. While he thus applied himself to get the people on his side, the confederates lost themselves by their jealousies and misconduct. Charles, the king's brother, retired into Normandy, being, in a manner, escorted thither by the Duke of Britany, his protector during the war for "the public good." A great part of the secondary members of the league, having little confidence in the pardon granted by the king, followed Charles into his new domain, proposing to establish themselves in his vicinity. The Duke Francis, abusing the trust reposed in him by his political tutor, soon endeavoured to impose all his creatures on Charles. Excluded from office, the nobles revived the ancient enmities which existed between the Normans and Bretons, and feelings, to which time has not yet done justice, excited the people of Rouen against the patron of their duke. Francis left Normandy, ravaging the country as he advanced. The Count de Charolais was at that moment wholly occupied with the war against Liege, the secret ally of Louis, who had taken the field while the count's men-at-arms were before Paris. Charles, whom the citizens of Rouen had taken by force from the Breton camp, and carried as a prisoner into their city, mounted on a horse without any saddle cloth, and covered only by a black robe, remained in the midst of these imperious subjects, whose problematical attachment was to him rather a source of embarrassment, than a support on which he could place any reliance. Louis judged that a favourable moment for his purpose. He entered Normandy, and established himself at Caen, where he treated with the Duke of Britany, who, incensed at the insult which he had received under the walls of Rouen, had little difficulty in abandoning his protégé. The Count de Charolais wrote to Charles only to hold out for a few days, till he had reduced Liege, and he would march to his

assistance. Liege, however, resisted longer than was expected. Louis had already entered Rouen; and Charles fled to Harfleur, with the intention of embarking for Flanders. Prevented by contrary winds, he soon found himself in such a state of indigence, that he was obliged to sell his plate to maintain his servants. At length he threw himself into the arms of Duke Francis, who carried him to the chateau de l'Herminie, near Vannes; and the king, become again, almost without an effort, master of Normandy, closed his expedition by performing a pilgrimage to Mount St. Michael [1466].

He, however, did not flatter himself that all was ended. The sieur de Craon, whom he had sent to the court of Burgundy, to justify his infraction of the treaties of Conflans and St. Maur, was received very coldly, and nothing but the occupations given to his troops by the men of Liege, prevented the Count de Charolais from immediately advancing to avenge his ally. Louis expected a new attack, and prepared to meet it in every possible way. The Counts de St. Pol, de Foix, d'Armagnac, the Duke de Nemours and the sieur d'Albret, renounced the treaties of 1465, gained over to the king by other concessions. On all sides Louis caused new oaths to be taken, not only by the nobles and the magistrates, but by entire cities. A superstitious swearer, notwithstanding his bad faith, Louis pleased himself by varying the forms of oaths which his subjects were to take. Sometimes it was "on the baptism;" sometimes "on the damnation of the soul," and and at others "on the evangelists," "on the relics of the holy chapel," or "on honour." The king feared nothing but an oath, because, "to be forsworn, subjected the swearer to great danger of perishing by a miserable death, in the course of the year." Another still more effective measure which he had recourse to, in the beginning of 1467, was the care which he took to ascertain the exact number of Parisians who were able to bear arms. He found the city contained eighty thousand, of whom thirty thousand were already completely armed, divided into brigades, of which each had its own commander and banner. He reviewed them, to judge of their proficiency in military manœuvres and the management of arms. At this period there were no embassies, but threats of hostilities and secret negotiations, between the courts of France, England, Burgundy and Britany. On the 15th June, 1467, the Duke of Burgundy died at Bruges, and was succeeded by his son, the Count de Charolais, who received the surname of Charles the Rash. Charles was soon engaged in forming a new league against the King of France, with the Dukes of Britany and Alençon. Louis was on his guard. He multiplied his agents on all sides, that he might in no case be taken by surprise. The artillery was collected together and strengthened, and the volunteer archers of Champagne, Normandy and Limousin, received orders to assemble. A great army marched from the German frontier, on the side of Liege and Luxembourg, under the command of Count Dammartin, now restored to favour with the king, and one of his great friends. It was

in that direction that Burgundy was most vulnerable. Liege, excited by the emissaries of Louis, was again in arms. The city of Huy had been taken by assault; and Charles was mounting his horse at Brussels, in order to proceed to make war on Liege, when he saw the constable St. Pol suddenly arrive. He had come with all speed from Paris, where he had had a conference with Louis, which lasted the whole night, and his errand now was, to offer to the Duke of Burgundy, on the part of Louis, to abandon Liege to its fate, if he agreed, on his part, not to succour Duke Francis and his protégé. "The people of Liege," said Charles, speaking aloud before the crowd, "are now in arms. I expect to give battle before three days are passed. If I lose it, I know right well you will pursue your schemes, but, if I gain it, you will allow the Bretons to live in peace." Immediately afterwards his feet were in the stirrups, and he started to join his army, which was then at Louvain.

The Duke of Brittany had himself commenced the war. René d'Alençon threw open his city to the Bretons, and they seized all the neighbouring fortresses with the exception of Saint Lo. At the same time, Charles gained a victory over the Liege forces. He advanced to St. Tron, in the Hasbain, where the people had an old saying:

"Who enters Hasbain, to his sorrow,
May find himself attacked to-morrow."

On the third day of the siege, Charles was assailed in his camp by thirty thousand men. They boldly advanced in solid columns, and at first, by means of their long pikes, threw disorder into the Burgundian ranks; but Charles, by his valour and presence of mind, put an end to the confusion, and the men of Liege, having lost their commander, were forced to give way. They fled without being pursued, saved by the marshes which surround St. Tron; and on the 11th November, the victors set up their tents under the walls of Liege. The city had no hope of holding out after the defeat which had been sustained. Three hundred of the principal citizens came in their shirts, barefooted, to bring the keys of Liege to Charles, and to surrender at discretion. He demolished twenty fathoms of their wall, and filled up their ditch, that he might pass over it, and afterwards entered Liege, a drawn sword in his hand, and the ducal mantle thrown over his armour. Each inhabitant stood at the door of his house, his head uncovered, and bearing a torch in his hand. The towers and the ramparts were thrown down. The city was compelled to pay 120,000 florins, and deprived of their artillery, their banners and their trades. For a last affront, a tall column made of copper, erected on marble steps, which stood in the market-place, and was known by the name of "the Perron" of Liege, was taken down, and carried to the Bourse, at Bruges. Du Verdier adds, that Philippe required their surrendering to execution twenty of their leading men, to which the humbled citizens assented. When the Burgundians had

wreaked their vengeance on Liege, Chabanne arrived with an army which Louis had sent to succour his allies. He did no more than show himself, and immediately returned to his post in Champagne.



Charles had triumphed at Liege ; but the king was not disposed to let the Bretons remain in peace. The winter having been passed in fruitless negotiations, when the fine season returned, the armies of Louis, at the same time, advanced against Normandy and Anjou. All the Cotentin fell into his hands. Ancenis and Chantocé opened their gates to Nicolas d'Anjou, who commanded the noblesse and the free archers of the Loire. "My good brother," wrote Duke Francis to the Duke of Burgundy, "in the name of love and of the alliance subsisting between us, come to me with the greatest speed that you can use: come to me without delay." Charles, who was then in Holland, obeyed the summons without loss of time. Arrived on the borders of France, he was met by a herald, who had been sent to communicate to him a treaty signed by his master, the Duke of Britany, at Ancenis, in which he renounced his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy. This news was so unexpected, that Charles knew not how to credit it, and threatened to put the herald to death as an impostor. But the treason was

too true. Abandoned on a sudden at the commencement of a war, into which he had been unfairly drawn, the duke dared neither to advance nor retreat. The captains of the ordinance companies, meantime, loudly demanded to be led forward, promising the king that they would give a good account of the Duke of Burgundy. Louis, however, was obstinately resolved to treat. Diplomatic finesse was not only a means on which this artful monarch depended, but the exercises of it gratified his self love, and he never suffered an opportunity of displaying his proficiency in it to escape him. Finding that his representatives could gain nothing from his impetuous cousin of Burgundy, he considered that that was the moment to prove his superiority over them, and full of confidence, from the recollection of the interview at Conflans, he resolved once more to go to him himself.

On the 9th of October, 1468, having received a safe conduct from the duke, Louis set out for Peronne, mounted on his little mule, taking with him but sixty knights and eighty of the Scotch guard. Notwithstanding all that had taken place, Charles still remembered Genappe. He advanced to meet the king, who embraced him with a great show of friendship, and they entered the city together, conversing familiarly. Louis kept his hand resting on the shoulder of the duke. At that moment, the marshal of Burgundy entered with his men-at-arms from the opposite gate. He was one of the greatest enemies of the King of France, who had taken away the city of Epinal immediately after it had been given to him. He came surrounded by a crowd of exiles, and persons disaffected to Louis, from having been imprisoned, and in various ways ill-treated by his orders, and who had now assumed the Burgundian cross. Louis thought himself in danger amidst so many enemies; and from the abode in which he had first rested when he came to Peronne, he removed with his whole household into the castle. The next day the negotiations were commenced, but little progress was made, as Charles remained obstinately faithful to his allies, notwithstanding their defection; but, on the day succeeding that, news arrived from Liege which almost put a stop to them. When the Burgundians appeared in arms on the frontiers of Picardy, Louis had sent two emissaries to Liege, to exhort the people to re-conquer their liberties, which had been lost at St. Tron. Afterwards, when he had resolved to put himself in communication with the duke, he wished to countermand the former order; but it was too late, and the citizens were already in a state of revolt. The Liege men armed and marched to Tongres, in which place their bishop and the sieur d'Himbercourt then were. They were thinking only of how they could best amuse themselves, when they were suddenly seized, the city being taken. Many other persons were involved in the calamity. Sixteen canons were massacred; and one Robert Moriamez, the bishop's standard-bearer, was killed in his presence, and cut into small pieces, which those who had deprived him of life threw at each others heads in sport. This was reported by the inhabitants of Tongres, who remained still bewildered from

alarm, but who declared that they had distinctly recognised the emissaries of Louis in the midst of the murderous crowd.

The king had sought Peronne to enjoy the emotions of a political adventure, but his situation was now rendered infinitely more dramatic than anything he had calculated upon. In the first moment of his rage, Charles had put a guard of archers at the gates of the city, and also at those of the château. The object of this was to prevent the flight of the king; the pretext that a cabinet had been lost, which contained some valuable jewels, and none could be allowed to pass in or out while search was being made for it. Charles declared it was the king who had excited the bad and cruel men of Liege to a new revolt, but he added, "By St. George, they shall be severely punished, and he shall have cause to repent what he has done."

We have a curious view afforded us of the personal conduct of the duke on this occasion. Philippe de Comines was then attached to him, and held a confidential situation, which gave him the right of sleeping at night in the bed-chamber of his royal master when he pleased. He, speaking of the discovery of the double dealing of Louis, says, "The third night after this had happened, the Duke of Burgundy did not pull off his clothes, but only threw himself twice or thrice on the bed, and got up again and walked about, as his custom was, when anything vexed him. I lay that night in his chamber, and walked several times with him. The next morning he was in a greater passion than ever, stormed exceedingly, and was ready to put some great thing in execution; but at last he recollected himself, and it came to this result: that if the king would swear to the peace, and accompany him to Liege, and assist him to revenge the injuries which the people of Liege had done to him, and the bishop of Liege his kinsman, he would be contented." Having come to this determination, he went at once to the king's apartment to make him acquainted with it. "Coming into his chamber," says the eye witness whom we have just quoted, "his voice trembled from the violence of his passion, so much was he inclined to be angry. However, he made a low reverence with his body, but his gesture and words were sharp, demanding of the king if he would sign the treaty as it was agreed and engrossed, and swear to it." In the treaty submitted to Louis, the duke had taken care that the conditions should be sufficiently favourable to himself, and all the demands which had been litigated for the last thirty years, touching the rights of sovereignty of the Duke of Burgundy in their estates of Artois and Picardy, were satisfied; and an inheritance was secured the king's brother, in Champagne and La Brie. The people about the king attempted some remonstrances, but in each instance they were stopped with "It must be so—the duke wills it." At length Louis gave his assent, and drew from his cabinet the famous cross of St Lo, which he carried everywhere with him, and swore to the treaty, in presence of his brother and the Duke of Burgundy, who immediately afterwards set forward with him towards Liege.

The King of France, with his three hundred men-at-arms, which had accompanied him to Peronne, was wholly lost in the fine army of his vassal,



which comprehended Flemings, Picards, Burgundians, and men from Savoy, Luxembourg, Limbourg, Namur and Hainault. He affected, however, a cheerful air, devoured as he was with uneasiness, at finding himself in the midst of a camp which was full of his bitterest enemies. At Liege, the people knew nothing of what had passed at Peronne, and they increased the embarrassment of Louis by continuing to call themselves his allies. Many of them exhibited the white straight cross of France. Louis wore that of St. Andrew in his hat, and made his attendants do the same. On the very day when they came before the city, a sortie was made, accompanied by loud cries of "Long live the king!" "France for ever!" Upon this, the King of France advanced in front of those who accompanied him, and shouted, "Long live Burgundy!" The French who were with him felt ashamed of this humiliation of their master; but Louis answered by quoting to them a maxim, which may be regarded as a summary of his anti-chivalric policy, "Where pride walks before, shame and mischief are often close behind." All these submissions did but half disarm the outraged duke. By great sacrifices, by selling their church ornaments, the citizens of Liege had succeeded in throwing up a sort of wall round their city; and rushing out from all parts, through the breaches in their ancient ramparts, they kept the Burgundian army in a state of constant alarm, in the faubourgs where they were now quartered. Charles the Rash, with all that impetuous courage to which he owed his surname, was disturbed by each

outbreak, and could not command with proper self-possession, while the king coldly gave his orders, with all the calmness of an old commander. One day Louis, returning after repulsing a sally, met the duke, who approached him sword in hand, and in the first moment of surprise they charged each other. Though this produced no fatal result, Charles was always suspicious of treachery on the part of Louis. The king was lodged in a small house near the quarters of the duke; and the latter placed three hundred men-at-arms in a barn, which separated their residences, and caused gaps to be made in the walls, the better to know what was passing in the abode of Louis. At length, on the 31st of October, on a Sunday, after an eight days siege, the fortress was carried by assault. The harassed citizens had persuaded themselves that they would be allowed one day's repose. The cloth was laid in every house, and all were preparing for the morning repast, when the Burgundians forced the gates. Louis marched with them, bearing the cross of St. Andrew, and shouting "Burgundy for ever!" "The town is won!" The people but thought of flying beyond the Meuse; and the pillage commenced with such unsparing eagerness, that at noon nothing remained in the houses or the churches which the spoliators could seize. Louis only waited till the duke had wreaked his vengeance on this obstinate city. On the following morning he claimed permission to depart, under the pretence of being anxious to get the treaty of Peronne registered by the parliament. "Otherwise," said he, "there is some risk of its being of none effect, as you know such is the custom of France." Always affecting the gay, open-hearted companion, he added, "Next summer we must meet again. You will be in your duchy of Burgundy, I shall go there to join you, and we will spend a merry month together, and enjoy ourselves."

But Louis, while he held this language, thought of anything but of putting himself in the power of the Burgundian again. He returned to his capital with a heart swelling with rage, at once wounded in his dignity as a king, and in his self-love as a skilful diplomatist. The raillery of the Parisians annoyed him exceedingly. The sneering citizens bantered him unmercifully, and epigrams and satirical ballads had already been composed on the royal misadventure. Caricatures were seen in every street; and magpies and parrots were taught to repeat the word "Peronne." Against these poor birds the wrath of the king was first directed. Officers were sent round for the express purpose of wringing their necks, and making an exact register of what they had been taught to say. He did not dare to resent with like severity the laughter of their owners; and he withdrew to Amboise, where he ordinarily held his court. Discomfiture served but to irritate a spirit so obstinate. He applied himself, without loss of time, to regain the ground he had lost. With this view, he opened a delicate negotiation with his brother Charles, the born enemy of his authority, of which his great vassals had made themselves the constituted protectors. He could not reconcile himself to the

cession of Champagne and Brie, which, on the side of Burgundy, brought him immediately in contact with Charles the Rash, and through which, in case of a revolt, an enemy would presently find himself at the gates of Paris. To induce him to make an exchange, he offered him Guienne, with Perigord, la Saintonge and l'Aunis, possessions of greater importance, and making of themselves almost a little kingdom, but in which Charles would find himself isolated. The easier to persuade his brother, Louis had gained over his confidant, Odet d'Aydie, lord of Lescun, who governed him at his pleasure. At the same time, he tried to win, by almost all sorts of favours, the good graces of the other princes. The Duke of Britany obtained a general pardon for all his subjects, who were pursued by the justice of the king. The Duke of Bourbon had the revenues of the salt granaries of the Bourbonese, and Auvergne given up to him. The king, René, less exacting in his demands, received permission to seal his acts with yellow wax, in Provence and Anjou, though that was a royal prerogative. The Constable St. Pol was paid the arrear of his pensions. Other lords had grants of lands and castles. But still the king could not conquer the repugnance of his brother, to accept an offer apparently extremely advantageous. Louis at length discovered the obstacle which stood in the way. John de la Balue, a poor clerk, the son of a miller of Poitou, who had been made bishop of Evreux, and afterwards cardinal, whom he had strongly suspected of betraying him in the affair of Peronne, had plotted against him on this occasion. A clerk was detained on the road, who had been sent by the bishop of Verdun with letters from the cardinal to Charles the Rash, which revealed the whole intrigue. In these, Balue reported to the duke the manner in which the king was accustomed to speak of him, describing him to be an atheist, a libertine, and an epileptic madman. He exhorted the Burgundian to resume his arms, and make war on the king more fiercely than ever. Louis never had great confidence in Balue. "He is a good devil of a bishop for the time being," he wrote some years before to John de Beaumont; "I do not know what he will prove hereafter." He nevertheless manifested a great affection for him, and was censured by many, as having done more for him than for a prince of his own blood. His harsh and intriguing disposition suited the king. It was Balue who first suggested the famous iron cages, respecting which the bastard of Bourbon, governor of the castle of Usson, exclaimed, "If the king intends thus to deal with his prisoners, he has only to watch them himself, and then, if he pleases, he can make a pie of their flesh." When Balue found himself discovered and arrested, he fell into a state of great despondency, and attempted more than once to throw himself out of the window of his bed-chamber. He obtained at length an audience from his master, who conversed with him for two hours on the road from Nôtre Dame to Cleri, and afterwards caused him to be shut up in one of his own cages, eight feet square, in the centre of one of the towers of the Château de Loches. So recently as the last century, at Loches "the Balue cage" continued to be exhibited.

Deprived of their friendship on whose support he had calculated, Charles at length yielded to the wishes of his brother. The king met him between Saintonge and Poitou, and completely brought him over, by making him feel that the cause of royalty was his. "You have been the slave of your servants," said he. "They have made you march hither and thither. Come to me, and learn what tricks these villains have played. I pardon you from my heart, for they are the cause of all that you have done." On his departure, he presented him with a beautiful golden cup, adorned with jewels, which was said to have the virtue of arresting the action of poison; a singular present! more especially if we glance forward to what occurred three years later [1469]. Some time after, the king gave of himself to his brother, the domains of John d'Armagnac, which he had caused to be seized by Chabanne for rebellion and high treason. Chabanne had become his favourite general, on account of the signal fidelity which he had displayed during the captivity of the king. Receiving a letter from Louis at that period, ordering him to disband his army in Champagne, his penetration, though he knew nothing of what the Duke of Burgundy had done, made him suspect that there was some concealed violence intended. "Let your master be well assured," said he to Nicholas Boisseau, the secretary to Charles, "that if the king does not return soon, all the kingdom will come to enquire for him, and the French will play the same game in the country of the duke, which he was pleased to amuse himself with at Liege." He kept his troops together. Louis, grateful for this instance of energetic devotion, from that time forward placed Dammartin at the head of all the great military operations of his reign. In the numerous fragments which remain to us of his correspondence with "Monsieur the grand master," as he called him, in reference to the post he held of grand master of his hotel, he overwhelms him with kind expressions, and proofs of his perfect confidence. "I know well," he said, "there is no man in my kingdom who understands the art of war better than you do, nor one in whom I can more safely confide, if anything extraordinary should occur." In 1470, Louis sent him to overrun the lands of the Duke de Nemours, another member of the all-powerful family of the Armagnacs, which had, from day to day, shaken the heavy yoke of royalty, but which was at length to fall. Chabanne made the cause of the crown successful. The duke, James d'Armagnac, to avoid the fate of Count John, then a fugitive in Fontarabia, was glad to enter into a composition, and renounce his alliance with the Duke of Burgundy.

The Duke of Britany alone adhered to Charles the Rash, of all the members of the league for "the public good." Louis, who ceaselessly dreamt but of vengeance, applied himself to withdraw from him this his last ally. At the commencement of 1470, he sent to Francis the collar of the order of St. Michael, which he had founded in the month of August preceding, and the statutes of which obliged each knight to contract formal engagements for the defence of the royal person. The duke declined an honour which would

have compromised him with the Duke of Burgundy; but the king, profiting from this pretext to employ violence, convoked the ban and arriere ban of the neighbouring provinces, and threatened Francis to carry fire and slaughter through his country, if he did not declare unequivocally for him. The dukes of Britany no longer possessed that absolute power, which enabled them to meet such menaces in former times with stern defiance. The bonds of Breton nationality had been relaxed during the wars with England. Louis, whose constant practice it was to scatter gold round his enemies, had bribed half the servants of the duke. He had one of the most powerful lords of the country about him at that moment, Pierre, Viscount de Rohan, to whom he had granted a pension of 10,000 francs, the better to enable him to gratify the rancorous hatred which he felt. Duke Francis, thus beset by some of his counsellors, threatened with a war on the one hand, and a revolt on the other, suffered himself at length to be persuaded to sign the treaty of Angiers, by which he severed himself wholly from the Duke of Burgundy [1470]. The moment was now come for memorably avenging the affront Louis had received at Liege and Peronne. In that year, the Lancastrian party had triumphed in England. Warwick, "the king maker," had succeeded in dethroning, in eleven days, his creature, Edward IV., who with great difficulty had escaped to the coast of Holland, on board a small merchant ship, in circumstances so reduced, that to pay for his passage, he had been obliged to give his furred robe to the master of the vessel. Warwick had already sent four thousand men to Calais, with orders to ravage the lands of the Duke of Burgundy, the protector of the dethroned king. On hearing this, Louis could not dissemble the joy which he felt. "Come to me," he wrote to the Count de Dammartin, "and give me your good advice as to what should be done to thwart the views of the Duke of Burgundy." In another letter, he says, "I can imagine no other Paradise than that. I have a great anxiety to speak to you, the more especially as I have never had a confessor for the welfare of my soul." This was written at Loches, on the 28th October, and the king convoked immediately at Tours an assembly of notables, who repudiated the treaty of Peronne, and ordered Charles the Rash to appear before the parliament at Paris, there to give an account of his conduct. It was thus that he had commenced the spoliation of all his great vassals. The duke was attending the celebration of mass at a church in Ghent, when the king's serjeant came to read to him the citation. He caused him to be thrown into prison and flogged; and the war commenced shortly afterwards.

Louis had already sent to seize the lordships of Vimeu and Beauvaisis. His fortresses in Picardy and Normandy were well provided with troops, his fleet was equipped, and ready to join that of Warwick. Early in January, the Constable St. Pol took the field, and made himself master of St. Quentin and Roye. Dammartin encamped before Amiens; and Charles not being strong enough to relieve it, the place soon surrendered to the king. In spite of the timorous prudence of Louis, and the jealousy of St. Pol, Dammartin

passed the Somme, when he was recalled by the sudden advance of the Burgundian forces. Charles, at Lille and other places, had, in a very short



time, collected a formidable and well appointed army, and he again found himself in a condition to resume the offensive. He passed the Somme in his turn, and established himself on the left bank, opposite Amiens. The constable was shut up there with twenty-five thousand men. His artillery opened on the Burgundian camp; and one bullet struck the tent of the duke, and for a moment it was believed in the army that he had been killed. The king was at hand; and his commanders incessantly urged him to give the enemy battle. Dammartin, especially, insisted that the duke ought to be attacked while he was enclosed between the city and the royal camp. A terrible conflict was expected; but after six weeks of skirmishing, Louis, who liked not to run great risks, where personal ability frequently effected much less than chance, on a sudden decided, in consequence of a letter sent to him by Charles, to grant him a truce for three months, from the 4th of April.

The Duke of Britany, on hearing this unhopd for conclusion of the war, which at first had been so threatening for Charles, declared Louis was a "coward king." It was not, however, on slight ground, that a monarch so enamoured of revenge had decided to postpone seeking that which was "the only paradise suggested to his imagination." Feudality, rallied for a moment round the royal person, but had never shewn itself opposed to its natural chief, and was not prepared to see him crushed. Charles de Guienne had resumed his place among the restless and discontented noblesse. He had caused these words, written with his own hand on parchment, enveloped in a ball of wax, to be conveyed to the Duke of Burgundy, "Be not alarmed, for you

will find friends." The Count de St. Pol, a petty lord, whose object it was to get himself elevated to the rank of a prince, carried on a secret negociation of immense danger to royalty, in which the names of the Dukes of Burgundy, Guienne and Britany, were found. He wished to see Mary, daughter to Charles the Rash, married to Monseigneur de Guienne, and by this match, to unite the domains of the two most formidable enemies of royal authority. That accomplished, the constable hoped to get a principality constituted for himself between France and Flanders, in the joint lands of Artois and Picardy; and to win the consent of the duke, he made a show of restoring to him St. Quentin, where he had placed a garrison, but always taking care to leave that important position insufficiently guarded. Charles the Rash, who did not wish to establish a master in his own house, but half lent himself to this combination of the intriguing constable, and preferred treating with the king, though he felt he had that in his hand which would make his enemy tremble. "Would you drive me to extremities?" he asked, at the close of that letter which had been followed by a suspension of arms. While things were in this state, in England all was changed. Seven days after the truce of Amiens, King Edward suddenly landed in Yorkshire, was received with open arms by the people, and made a peaceable entry into London. Having obtained the two victories of Tewkesbury and Barnet, in which "the king maker," Warwick, was slain, with the youthful heir of the red rose, the triumph of Edward, the brother-in-law of Charles the Rash, was assured. Louis felt that his position was no longer the same; and after remaining till June on the frontier of Picardy, waiting for news from England, he decided on retreating to Paris, there to watch the course of events.

He met with but an indifferent reception in his capital. Sneering inscriptions and satirical verses met his eyes on the Hotel de Ville, and on the charnel house of the Innocents. The citizens sung aloud "The king and his advisers," and mocked him openly on the subject of the truce of Amiens. Louis had to attend to matters of such importance, that he cared not to notice these trifling annoyances. Pierre le Mercier, who was accused of having composed some of the inscriptions, was acquitted by the parliament; and the king, to shew that he felt no rancour on the subject of the ballads which had been composed against him, condescended to kindle, with his own hand, a bonfire in honour of the event at the place de la Grève. Negotiations between the Dukes of Burgundy and Guienne were now resumed with more activity than ever. St. Pol and the Duke of Britany managed them, and their intrigues soon produced a most formidable coalition. They formed a third league, in which they engaged the Duke of Alençon, who, by this second revolt, requited after a fashion the pardon which he had received from Louis at the opening of his reign. The new Duke of Lorraine, Nicholas de Calabria, Count d'Armagnac, to whom the Duke of Guienne had restored his estates and honours, notwithstanding the

order of parliament, which declared him guilty of high treason, the old king René, who tacitly consented to the enterprise, while in foreign parts, Edward IV., victor at Barnet and at Tewkesbury, and John II. of Aragon, favoured the revolters. Their project was to dethrone Louis, and dismember the kingdom. The Duke of Burgundy was to receive Champagne and l'Isle de France, the King of England, Normandy and Guienne, without any compensation to the king's brother; and the other provinces were to be erected into feudal independent principalities. This was at the end of 1471; and the Duke of Burgundy now no longer deemed it necessary to conceal his projects. Comines says he was present one day, when the Lord d'Urfe pressed the duke to assemble his army with all speed. The latter asked Comines if he thought he should do any good by entering France. An answer in the negative was returned. "I," said the duke, "love France better than the Lord d'Urfe believes, for whereas, they have now but one king, I could wish they had six." At the little court of Charles de France, the combination formed against the king was loudly vaunted. "English, Burgundians, Gascons and Bretons, are about to run him down," was the cry of the lords and ladies; "and if he should attempt anything against Monseigneur de Guienne, so many dogs will be let loose at his heels, that he will not be able to escape on any side."

To affirm that Louis extricated himself from the difficulties in which he was involved by a crime, may be to hazard an assumption from the probability of the fact. Olivier le Roux, one of those secret agents whom the crooked policy of Louis had planted in every court, returning from Castile, discovered in a chamber in the château de Foix, some fragments of the correspondence of a Breton envoy, which disclosed all the secrets of the plot. Those about the king looked forward to a tremendous struggle, when on the 18th March, 1472, the king wrote thus, from Montil-les-Tours to his confidential favourite, Monsieur le grand maitre, "I have news that Monsieur de Guienne is dying; there is no remedy in his case. They do not expect that he can survive fifteen days from this time; that is the longest period they give him. In order that you may have no doubt, I add, the party who gives me this information is the monk with whom he prays, and who is in communication with me, being devoted to me from head to foot." The case of the sick prince was this: partaking one day of a collation with his mistress, the Lady de Montsoreau, at the house of his chaplain, Jourdan Favre, abbé de St. Jean d'Angeli, Charles had shared a fish with his mistress. Jourdan, it appears had carved it with a poisoned knife. The lady and the duke were immediately seized with excruciating pains. She expired shortly afterwards. The physicians, who had been in the habit of bleeding her every week, declared that her blood was in a very bad state. Charles lingered till the 12th May, 1472. On the first day of that month, Louis had ordered throughout the kingdom a procession in honour of the Holy Virgin, and exactly at noon every one was to fall on his knees and repeat an

ave maria, "for the establishment of a happy peace," but at the same moment, Louis caused his troops to move towards Guienne; and when the death of the duke was known, Dammartin, who was already on the frontier, entered the country immediately, and took possession of it for the king, without striking a blow. The abbé de St. Jean d'Angeli and Henry de la Roche, gentleman of the kitchen to the deceased duke, were already in prison. The sieur de Lescun, fearing to leave them in the hands of the king, carried them with him into Britany, "To avenge Monsieur, the duke of Guienne," said he to the duke, "and to gratify you, who in him have lost your best and dearest friend, I have brought here the murderers of their master and their lord, in order that they may be punished as such wretches ought to be."—"I could," Francis significantly replied "much rather wish to have in my hands those who prompted the crime, than the guilty instruments before me." The affair was however long neglected, Eighteen months afterwards, when Louis had made peace with the Duke of Britany, he himself named commissioners to bring them to trial, and the two accused persons suddenly disappeared. It was reported that one morning the goaler who had had Jourdan Favre in custody, came in a great fright, and declared to the judges that, during the night, the devil had wrung the neck of his prisoner. The monk was found stretched in his cell, his face quite black, and his body much swollen. Guilty or not, Louis was believed to be the author of his death, and in his case, as in that of his brother, to have employed a little "gentle industry," to use the language of Brantome, who, a lover of scandal, declares that he had confessed the crime at the foot of the altar of Nôtre Dame, where his jester heard him call on the Virgin, his "good lady," his "little mistress," his "great friend," to intercede for him with the Almighty for pardon. "It is more than fifty years ago," the writer adds, "since I, being then a little boy, going to college in Paris, had this statement from a canon then nearly fourscore years of age."

During the last illness of his brother, Louis XI. had made a secret treaty with the Duke of Burgundy, who was in arms on the frontier of Artois. He promised to restore the cities which Charles had lost in the preceding year, on condition that the latter should give up the Duke of Britany, and his "very dear friend, Monsieur de Guienne." On the death of the latter, the treaty was thought of no more. "When the game is taken," was the remark of the king, "there is no longer an oath to swear." Charles cruelly avenged himself. Without waiting for the end of the truce, which would expire on the 13th June, he passed the Somme, and seized on Nesle. Five hundred free archers of the country, who composed the garrison, he ordered to have their right hands amputated, and their captain, Le Petit Picard, was, without pity hung on a gallows. He then set fire to the city. "Such are the fruits of the tree of war," exclaimed the duke, while he gazed on the burning houses. When, however, he entered the church, and saw the pavement covered with dead bodies, lying in blood half a foot deep, he could not

refrain from saying, "I have good butchers about me. This is a terrible spectacle !" From that day he was called "Charles the Terrible."



The fourteen hundred free archers entrusted with the defence of Roze, alarmed by the example made at Nesle, passed along the walls, and surrendered to the Burgundians. The knights were happy to withdraw with a single doublet, carrying the white baton in their hands. Charles then attempted to circulate a manifesto through the kingdom, in which he declared that he came to avenge the death of Monsieur de Guienne, and to correct the bad government of the king. But the dupery of the leaguers for "the public good," had set the people against these periodical returns of virtuous indignation at the wrongs they endured, and they lent a deaf ear to every invitation to revolt ; and when Charles laid siege to Beauvais, where there was not even a garrison, the militia of the citizens, commanded by some gentlemen of the neighbourhood, arrested his progress. The women and children came on the ramparts to bring darts to the bowmen, as well as powder and stones for the culverines. They poured boiling oil and melted fat on the assailants, and even fought them hand to hand. One young female, Jeanne Laine, seized the banner of a Burgundian at the moment when he was about to plant it on the wall, and carried it off as a trophy. From that day, she gained the name of Jeanne de Hatchet, with which weapon she had fought on the walls. The exploits of these amazons were for ages commemorated in the town. A statue was erected to Jeanne opposite the Hotel de Ville, with her hatchet in

her hand ; and the anniversary of the triumph was solemnized by a grand procession, in which the women walked before the men.



Repulsed in the first instance, Charles soon beheld the ordinance companies approach, their lances couched and colours flying. Some of the men-at-arms had marched fifteen leagues without halting, in order to arrive the sooner ; and the moment they found themselves on the spot, they hastened to the walls. After eight days of useless efforts, Charles abandoned a place which he found so well defended, and entering Normandy, approached within sight of Rouen. He expected there to find troops of the Duke of Britany ; but Louis had taken care of them.

Leaving the Burgundian to pursue his adventures in the dark, in the interior of the kingdom, the king had tranquilly employed his army to recover Guienne, which was effected, after a feeble demonstration from the Duke of Britany, an enemy without vigour, and more formidable in peace than in war. It is true that, in support of his menaces, Louis, as was his wont, had called in the aid of corruption. The sieur de Lescun, one of those poor Gascon gentlemen, who had nothing to depend upon but the sword, had just commenced to perform with the Duke of Britany the part he had previously acted at the court of Guienne. Louis addressed himself to this adventurer, in order to gain him over to the French interest. His means of seduction were too powerful to be withstood. The king offered him the comté of Comminges, the government of Bordelais, the country of the Landes, those of Dax, Blaye, St. Sever, the two châteaux of Bayonne, and the Château

Trompette at Bordeaux, 25,000 crowns in gold, and a pension. As a good servant, he further claimed a pension of 40,000 francs for the duke. At this price, Britany passed over to the royal standard, and all the weight of the war was thrown on Burgundy. Charles, whose territories were at that moment fearfully ravaged by the Constable de St. Pol, became weary of fighting for allies who betrayed him. He retreated towards his estates on the 3rd of November; and Louis, who had reached the frontier of Picardy, concluded a truce with him. Charles demanded that it should comprehend all his allies, even the Duke of Britany, notwithstanding his recent defection. He obtained it without difficulty. But this was of little importance, as it had long been known what the promises of Louis were worth. He himself had taught his ministers those tricks of diplomacy which, at a later period, received the name of "Machiavelism," as if they had been invented by Machiavel. "If they lie well to you," Louis wrote on one occasion to the sieurs Bouchage and de Solliers, who were negotiating for him, "do you lie well also. The Duke of Burgundy withdrew perfectly tranquil, at least in appearance, in regard to the friends whom he left behind him; but scarcely had he again moved towards Germany, to which his attention was every day more and more attracted, when royal vengeance commenced, at its ease, to requite that insubordination which, from time to time, had incessantly interrupted the plans of the king.

The first punished for his everlasting opposition, was the Count d'Armagnac, already many times chastised, but always led again, by the disposition of his mind, to revolt. Restored to the possession of his estates by the Duke de Guienne, the Count d'Armagnac saw himself, on the death of his protector, a second time despoiled by the sieur de Beaujeu; but he profited by the war with the Duke of Burgundy to return, and make prisoner, in Lectoure, the sieur de Beaujeu, with his officers. Louis, relieved from the care of conducting the war in the north, determined to put an end to insubordination in the south. Balzac and Gaston, seneschals of Beaucaire and Toulouse, were sent into the comté of the Armagnacs, with orders to annihilate that factious family. That they might engage in the enterprise with more ardour, they had assigned to them beforehand portions of the domains which were to be confiscated. The seneschals acquitted themselves but too well of their cruel mission. Besieged in Lectoure, the count wished to capitulate; but while the conferences were going on, the French entered by a gate from the boulevards, which had been left open. While the men-at-arms went from house to house to murder and pillage, Balzac ran to the house of the sieur d'Armagnac, whom he found seated on a bench with his wife, who was then seven or eight months gone with child. The count rose to speak to the seneschal; but a free archer, named Pierre Gorgia, drew his dagger, and cut his throat in the presence of his wife. The corpse was then dragged into the court-yard, and was there stripped and mutilated by the soldiers. The countess was carried to the Château de Bazet, near Toulouse,

and shortly afterwards, two of the king's secretaries, Olivier le Roux, and Macé Guervadan entered her chamber, who forced her to swallow a draught, destined to produce abortion. Thus perished the family of the Armagnacs, in the bosom of which had been preserved the traditions of the old feudal system. With the exception of the celebrated constable, who had only appeared at court to command and to defy, the Armagnacs had always lived remote from royalty. Their small estate, which the royal serjeants could not approach without trembling, was, during thirty-five years, a constant hot-bed of insurrection, in the midst of that daring Gascon race already swelling with recollections of its long independence, from the period when it had to choose between England and France, and gave law to the two rival nations. Louis was so rejoiced at hearing of this fresh triumph of royalty, that he named on the spot herald of the arms of France, the bringer of the news, John d'Armagnan, master of his stable; and giving to the winds the scruples of his instrument, who, from a lingering respect for a great feudal name, applied themselves to excuse the murder of the count, by representing it to have been a chance affair in a supposititious conflict, he gave Peter Gorgia a post among his archers, and presented him with a silver dish full of crowns.

The Count d'Alençon, who, since the Praguerie, acted in Normandy the same part played by the Armagnacs in Gascony, fell with them. During the last war, he had invited the English into his strong places; and now that the king had no more enemies of importance to deal with in France, he announced that he was about to sell his domains, and withdraw to the court of Burgundy, where he might continue his opposition with less peril. Louis prevented this resolution from being carried into effect. He sent Tristan l'Hermite to him, who, notwithstanding the royal birth of the Duke d'Alençon, caused him to be seized by his archers, and conveyed to the Louvre, where his trial, which commenced immediately, had a tragic termination. All the enemies of Louis were thus brought in succession to his feet. Like the Count d'Armagnac, John II. of Aragon had taken advantage of the war carried on by the king in Normandy and Picardy, to seize on Rosillon, without re-imbursing his creditor the 300,000 crowns, for which it had been pledged. The people of the country, who were Spaniards rather than French, notwithstanding they were on this side of the Pyrenees, were accused of having given it up themselves to the foreign men-at-arms; and this being done, John II. came to put himself at their head. The first efforts of the French to take Rosillon were unfortunate; but Louis, having borrowed large sums from one Briconnet, a rich merchant of Tours, sent a second army into the country, under his compeer, John de Daillon, sieur de Lude, an ingenious, subtle man. The inhabitants of Perpignan, who had commenced the revolt, sustained an eight month's siege, and lived on dogs, cats, rats, and even the flesh of dead human beings, rather than yield, but at last were compelled to surrender. Louis, in haste to return to his ancient enemies, came to terms with the King of Aragon. The two kings agreed to

hold the province in common, which it was arranged, at the end of a year, should again be given up, if the 300,000 crowns were not previously repaid.

Intrigues and violence followed their accustomed course in France. Louis, as skilful to gain over as to alarm his rivals, allied himself, almost by force, to the powerful house of Orleans and Bourbon, by making his daughter Jeanne marry young Louis of Orleans, and Mademoiselle Ann the sieur de Beaujeu, brother of the Duke of Bourbon. Meantime, the formidable house of Anjou, which had filled with its name England, Germany and Italy, lost, one by one, all the provinces which, up to this period, had remained to it. King René, for having tacitly adhered to the league of 1471, was despoiled of Anjou. Nicolas de Calabria, who had taken so important a part in the war for "the public good," died at this juncture; and the duchies of Bar and Lorraine, were given away from his family by Louis, to René of Lorraine. The Constable St. Pol, much disturbed between his two enemies, France and Burgundy, only studied how to secure himself, and preserve the booty which he had made in the wars. The Duke of Britany, under the double influence of Maignelais and the sieur de Lescun, both pensioners of Louis, seemed to have renounced all ideas of resistance for ever. The king found himself strong enough to lay aside for the future the caressing disguise, which for some years he had judged it expedient to wear. Severe punishments had already commenced; and it was now seen that he felt no pity for those nobles whom he had found it necessary to meet in arms; one lost his head at Rhodes; another was quartered at Tours; the brother of Count d'Armagnac, who had been thrown into the Bastille, was detained in a pestilential cell, pining in mud and damp, caused by the water which constantly streamed down the walls. The consequence was he became insane. For the Duke d'Alençon, condemned to death by parliament, he was pardoned by the king, who was his godson, but detained in prison, where he died at the end of two years; and of all his possessions, Perche only remained to his son.

While Louis was acting thus, the chief of the feudality was so much occupied with other affairs, that he could not give a thought to his old friends of the league for "the public good." Not content with having the power of a king, he wished also to possess the title, and full of this desire, he gave himself up to plans of the most gigantic ambition. As he could gain nothing on the side of France, where he found an enemy able to make head against him, he turned his attention towards Germany, and formed the romantic idea of re-establishing the kingdom of Belgic Gaul, of which his estates in Flanders should be the nucleus, and which might extend along the whole length of the Rhine. On all sides he purchased domains, and established friends and partisans on the banks of the river; and it was even said that he hoped to get himself named emperor, if Frederic II. should die. Negotiations were already on foot to bring about a marriage between the daughter of the Burgundian and Maximilian of Austria, the

emperor's son. At the same time, Charles had designs on Lorraine, and advanced towards Switzerland, of which he seemed determined to effect the conquest. But his ambition was foiled by Louis. Baffled out of the kingdom, as he had been within it, in whatever direction he moved, the King of France was in his way. Louis brought forward to oppose him a competitor for the duchy of Lorraine, in the person of the young René. By means of his acquisitions in Germany, he caused the marriage of the duke's daughter with Maximilian to be broken off; and he so intimidated old King René, who had intended to name Charles his heir, that he revoked his will. Irritated at that, Charles re-entered the lists, which he seemed to have abandoned altogether, and called to his assistance the Duke of Britany, with the Constable St. Pol, to whom he added Edward IV. of England, who at length, securely seated on the throne, was disposed to prove to France, that even after the war of the two roses, England was still to be feared.

Louis saw himself again threatened by a formidable combination; but the headstrong humour of the Duke of Burgundy carried him another way, before the commencement of the war with France. After Charles had given himself up to the dream of re-establishing Belgic Gaul, he had so much on his hands, that he could conduct nothing to a satisfactory conclusion. Even at the moment while he was forming a fourth league against the king, the Swiss were defeating his men-at-arms, and driving them from Alsace. René de Lorraine, the protégé of Louis, attacked Luxembourg; and Charles himself, as if he had not previously had enemies enough, dashed hap-hazard into the quarrel between Robert of Bavaria with Hermann de Hesse, on the subject of the electorate of Boulogne, and lost himself before the walls of Neuss, where he was detained eleven months. While, with a certainty of discomfiture, Charles thus occupied himself, making head against a German army far superior in numbers, which had come to the relief of the place, his own domains were seized by Louis, who took from him Raye, Montdidier and Corbie, and put to rout his adherents in Nivernois and Artois. The siege of Neuss at length terminated; and the English landed at Calais. Charles had sent to Edward, his brother-in-law, three hundred flat-bottomed boats from Holland and Zealand. This was all the aid the King of England drew from his French allies. He had with him fifteen hundred men-at-arms, their horses barbed with iron, fifteen thousand horse-archers, and a numerous artillery; but the spirit which had animated the armies of Edward III., and Henry V., was no more. The substantial citizens who accompanied Edward, and who had enabled him to make this descent, were anxious for a great battle and a speedy return; and they had expected to be joined by those who had called them to France, with an army of not fewer than twenty-five thousand men. The Duke Francis remained inactive; and the Constable St. Pol, not caring to risk anything, received several cannon shots from the English as they advanced towards St. Quentin. Nine days after he had landed at Calais,

Edward was visited by the Duke of Burgundy. He came alone, as he did not care to let his allies see the dilapidated army which he had brought from the siege of Neuss; and besides, at this period, his thoughts were fixed on Lorraine. The interview of the two princes was very unsatisfactory. Edward bitterly reproached the duke for having so lightly committed him to an enterprise, from which he thought proper to withdraw himself. Charles, ashamed and embarrassed, at finding himself in a camp where he had not a single man-at-arms, remained but a few days with the English, and then rejoined his army in Germany. The rains set in, and provisions became scarce in the English camp. Already the citizens murmured, and were heartily tired of sleeping under a tent. The valet of James Grasset, who was the first prisoner made by the English, having been released according to custom, reported to the king that, at his departure, the Lords Howard and Stanley had given him a golden noble, and addressed to him these words, "If you can speak to the king, your master, commend us to his good graces." Louis doubted no longer but the English were willing to treat, though, in the first instance, he suspected the valet was a spy, and had him confined and put in irons. Some of the courtiers, however, talked with him; and in consequence he was released the next day, but detained in custody. The king, Comines writes, on that day bid him dine in his (Comine's) chamber. "He sent for a servant belonging to the Lord des Halles, who was son to the Merichon of Rochelle, and asked if he would venture with a message to the English army." "I obeyed his orders," he continues, "and was much astonished at the sight of the servant, for he seemed to me wholly unfit for such an undertaking; yet his judgment was good, as I found afterwards, and his manner of expressing himself very tolerable." The poor man was confounded when the questions were first put upon him, and fell on his knees in confusion and dismay. Comines, however, encouraged him, promised him reward, and, as commanded, dined in his company. This man's name was Merindot; and being instructed what he was to do, he consented to give the king his services. Though others were recommended as fitter for the contemplated mission, Louis, who liked something extravagant and strange in negotiation, would hear of no one but Merindot. The king had not the costume of a herald at hand, and sent the master of the horse for the banner of a trumpet, to make the herald a coat of arms. The order was obeyed; and the man, concealing his herald attire in his saddle bags, took his departure for the English army, having been duly instructed in what he was to say. Upon his arrival, he was stopped, and carried to the King of England's tent, where he stated that he came as a herald with a message from the King of France, and had orders to address himself to the Lords Howard and Stanley. The event threw no discredit on the discernment of Louis. He persuaded the King of England to do all that was wished, and returned with a safe conduct for ambassadors, and accompanied by a herald, to solicit a safe conduct for

the ambassadors of his master. Conferences were held at Amiens. "The English," Barante says, "commenced, according to their custom, by demanding the crown of France; and afterwards they claimed the cession of Normandy and Guienne; but aware that this would not be yielded, it was mentioned but as a matter of form. They finished by limiting their claim to 75,000 crowns, and a promise that the dauphin should marry the eldest daughter of Edward. The negotiations lasted many days; and the Constable St. Pol was extremely uneasy at finding the King of England was likely to effect an accommodation, which would comprehend neither him nor the Duke of Burgundy. He sent the sieur de Sainville to Amiens, to watch the course of the negotiations, and to ascertain if, according to custom, he could not gain something from the concessions which Louis was willing to make, in order to purchase peace. But the career of the constable, notwithstanding the great power which surrounded him, now approached its close. He had trifled long enough with France, England and Burgundy, going successively from one to the other. Louis, at this period, laid a snare for him. The Lord de Contay, a servant to the duke, who had been made prisoner, went on his parole, backwards and forwards, between Louis and his own master. Before receiving Sainville, the king caused the Lord de Contay and Comines to hide between a large old screen that stood in the chamber. "I could wish you to hear," said he to Contay, "in what manner the constable and his people protect the interests of the Duke of Burgundy." Sainville, being then introduced, was led by Louis to speak of Charles the Rash, and he, in order to pay his court to the king, began to express his hatred for the English, and said their master had lately sent them to the Duke of Burgundy, and that they had laboured much to produce a rupture between him and the English. They had found him in a great rage with the king. Speaking of him, he had stamped with his foot, swore by St. George, and called him the son of an archer, at the same time, he imitated the gestures and manners of the duke, stamping and striking the table with his hand. Seated on a stool close to the screen, Louis enjoyed this performance, and laughed heartily. That nothing of what was said should escape the Lord de Contay, "Speak loud," said the king, "I grow old, and am rather deaf." Sainville then repeated his description, mimicking the duke to the life. Afterwards, Louis dismissed him with fair words. He then called Contay from his place of concealment, and again laughed immoderately at the success of his artifice. The Burgundian immediately mounted his horse, impatient to report what he had heard to his master; and from that moment the ruin of St. Pol was resolved upon. He could only sustain himself against the duke by the aid of the king, and against the king by that of the duke. Louis at once put an end to his system of counterbalancing, by the scene of comedy just described.

Exulting in this first success, Louis carried on his negotiations with the



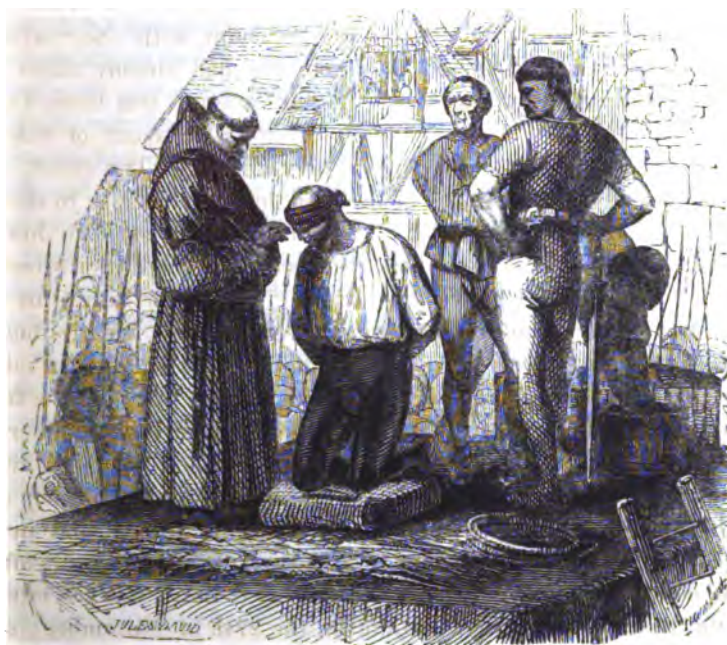
Louis XI. and the Sire de Contay.

English with great activity. He sent to raise money at Paris, when a rich citizen, James Erlau, advanced him large sums. The son of Charles VII. then applied himself to repel the invaders, in a manner which, till then, the ancient chivalry of France had not permitted. The destitution in the English camp was extreme. He sent vehicles laden with provisions, and the best wines in the kingdom, to the enemy, forgetting nothing that might contribute to their enjoyment, not even wax torches. The English, being so well entertained, presented themselves in crowds under the walls of Amiens. Two long tables, covered with viands, were permanently established at the gate of the city; and when any English man-at-arms arrived, the bridle of his horse was held for him. "Come," said the French, "and break a bone with us," and they led him to one of the tables. The taverns of the city were open gratis to the soldiers, who did not fail to avail themselves of the indulgence. "One day," writes Comines, "a hundred and eleven reckonings were to pay in a single tavern at nine o'clock in the morning." The people about the king were uneasy at seeing a foreign invader thus dealt with; but Louis would hear nothing against that course which he had resolved to pursue. He had caused his chancellor to seal six blank parchments, with a view to establish pensioners in the English council. Lord Howard, Lord Montgomery, the Marquis of Dorset, Sir Thomas Montgomery, the master of the horse, and the Chancellor of England, received each a pension of 2,000 crowns. The largesses of the king were extended to all the lords, and the wealthy citizens in the army. Presents of rich stuffs, plate, and beautiful horses, finely caparisoned, were distributed among them. This caused the people to murmur, who preserved a recollection of the habits of former times. When the English returned from Amiens to Calais, all stragglers were put to death by the exasperated peasants. Edward at length re-crossed the sea, his troops well clothed, and well fed; and Louis, who laughed with his courtiers at the good cheer which he had distributed, soon reaped the fruits of his policy.

Charles the Rash was highly incensed at learning the means by which Louis had robbed him of his ally. He went in great rage to the tent of Edward, exclaiming, "Ah by St. George! by our Lady! by our Lord and Creator! you have subscribed your own dishonour. You will repass the sea without having broken one lance, without having killed a single fly." Not being able to make any impression on his brother-in-law, Charles dashed down the chair on which he had been sitting, and instantly mounted his horse. He was, however, obliged to reconcile himself to treating also, when he saw that all was decided; and, on the 13th September, he signed a truce for nine years, at Soleure. The king abandoned to him the Swiss, the Alsacians, Lorraine, all that he had previously occupied, and asked for himself only the Count de St. Pol. Some days before, Louis, when dictating a letter to him, in the presence of Lord Howard and the sieur de Contay, told the constable, that "to terminate his grand operations, he had occasion

for a good head like his." At this point he interrupted himself, and turning to the Englishman and the Burgundian, said, "You understand me, I say I want his *head*; I have no occasion for his body." On the day of the truce of Soleure, Louis presented himself at the gates of St. Quentin, and immediately ordered away the officers of the count, with their wives and children. St. Pol had anticipated the blow, and had already taken refuge at Mons, in Hainault, where he hoped to find safety. But there Cerisais, with Gaucourt and St. Pierre, soon arrived, with the truce of Soleure in their hands, to claim him as an enemy to the king. The count, whom Charles had already caused to be guarded in his hotel, wrote to the duke, "his much honoured and great lord," recommending himself to him as a poor relation, and recalling to mind the recollections of the day of Montlhéry. "Tell him," exclaimed Charles the Rash, "that in writing this letter he has wasted his paper, and lost all hope." Nevertheless, Charles hesitated some time, before he could resolve to give him up. He was then entering on the conquest of Lorraine, and Louis had sent to him on the frontier five hundred lances. The king feared that the province once conquered the constable would escape; the duke feared for his conquest if he first released the pledge he held. Such was the confidence they had in each other! At length, Lorraine being half reduced, Charles gave orders that in eight days the constable should be delivered over to the king. Three hours after the end of the eighth day, a counter order was received, but it was too late. The gates of the Bastille closed on the count on the 27th of November; on the 19th of December his trial was terminated; and John de Popincourt, the second president of the parliament, read to him the sentence, which doomed him to be decapitated in the Place de Grève for high treason. He did not expect such severity, and appeared greatly surprised at his impending fate. He, however, said nothing that could be construed into a mark of weakness. "God be praised!" was his exclamation, "but this is a very hard decree! I pray him to grant me grace to know him well in this awful day." Afterwards, turning to M. de St. Pierre, he said, "Ah! Monsieur de St. Pierre, it is not this which you have hitherto promised me." At three o'clock in the afternoon, he left the Hotel de Ville and ascended the scaffold. He fell on his knees before the church of Nôtre Dame, and was for a long time engaged in prayer, kissing, from time to time, with marks of strong devotion, a cross, which a cordelier who attended him presented. He raised himself at length, and a man called Little John, the son of Henry Cousin, the executioner in cases of treason, approached to bind his hands. This he submitted to with great resignation; and turning to the chancellor and the other lords who were on the scaffold, begged of them to pray for his soul. To the populace he addressed the same request, and then knelt on a small square cushion, on which the city arms appeared. While they were bandaging his eyes, he repeated additional prayers, spoke to his confessor, and kissed the cross. Little John, then taking a sword which

was handed to him by his father, at one blow brought down the head of the constable. His body fell at the same moment. The executioner



took the head, which he plunged into a sieve of water, and then held it up to the spectators assembled, who were supposed to exceed two hundred thousand in number.

Thus fell the Count de St. Pol. We pause for one moment to give the subsequent extraordinary story of those ministers of justice, Henry Cousin, and his son, Petit Jean, or Little John. One Oudin du Bust, a carpenter, having claimed some money owing to him on a deed by Little John, received his debt, but was left to bear the expenses of the bond. To revenge himself, he prevailed on some disorderly young men, Du Houlx, a sergeant at Mace, John du Foing, a plumber, and Regnault Goris, a silversmith, to assist in gratifying his bloodthirsty rage. The four conspirators having waylaid Little John, meeting him at the corner of the rue des Grenelles, Du Houlx took him by the arm in a friendly way, and told him to fear nothing from the others. Goris then approached, and struck Little John on the head a severe blow with a stone. He staggered; Du Houlx let go his arm; and Du Foing thrust a javelin into his body. He fell dead on the spot; and Oudin then cut off his legs. The assassins fled, and took sanctuary. It was decided that, as the murder had been pre-concerted, they were not entitled to claim the privilege. They were doomed to die, and all four suffered on

the gallows of Paris, being hanged in a row by Henry Cousin, the father of the young man they had murdered.

The great and the small feudalities fell at the same time. Burgundy was no longer formidable to royalty, as Charles the Rash, like a knight-errant seeking adventures, on the banks of the Rhine, dissipated, by dividing his power, to the utter discomfiture of his ambition. He at length met with an enemy, before whom his restless and vagabond force was utterly to fail. Scarcely had he established himself in Lorraine, when the Burgundian resolved to advance into Switzerland, where the people had already done justice to his attempts at usurpation, by putting to death his governor, Hagenbach, who had renewed, in the comté of Ferret, the odious tyranny of the celebrated Gesler. The origin of this new war was trifling in the extreme. A Swiss trader, passing through the estates of the Count de Romont with a cart-load of sheep-skins, was detained by the men-at-arms of Morgues, and his property was seized. The people of the Swiss league, unable to obtain justice, sent to declare war against De Romont, James of Savoy, one of the friends of Charles, who had just been named governor of Burgundy. In three weeks, all the places belonging to James were taken by the Swiss, with the exception of Geneva, which ransomed itself by a payment of 26,000 florins. But Charles supported his favourite. Always indulging in some new dream, it was no longer to Germany that his thoughts were turned; his designs were now on the south. His connection was drawn closer than ever with King René, and he flattered himself that his will would make him the heir of Provence. Savoy was as much in his power as any province of his own estates; the Duke of Milan was his ally; and his army was filled with Italians, whom he preferred to any other soldiers. Already, in imagination, he saw himself passing the Alps, like another Hannibal, his favourite hero, whose name was always in his mouth. He indulged the thought of exhibiting to the princes and people of Italy, the riches and pomp by which he was surrounded.

However bold and resolute the Swiss had proved themselves in fighting against De Romont, it was not without secret apprehension that they saw the terrible Duke of Burgundy, the greatest warrior of his time, march against them. The Swiss called to their aid the King of France, who, faithful to his system of policy, and wishing to risk nothing, sheltered himself under the truce of Soleure, and declined to interfere. They then endeavoured to turn the Burgundians from their purpose, by representing that there was nothing to be gained by attacking them. "There is more silver and gold," said they, "in your spurs and bridles, than can be found in all Switzerland." The pride and self-love of Charles were engaged in this cause, and urged him forward. Forty thousand men sat down before Yverdun, taking with them the finest artillery which, up to that period, had ever been seen in Europe. A crowd of valets, traders and women, followed, filling the country which they traversed with inconceivable tumult. The duke, who lived but

in his tent, carried with him all his riches, his jewels, his plate and his costly armour. His ensigns glittered with gold worked on silk. The embroidery and the ornaments of the precious metal exhibited in the dresses even of the archers, was prodigious. For himself personally, by a proud simplicity, of which he is not the only example, he delighted to show himself in the midst of all this luxury and parade, simply attired in an old grey coat. Yverduin was given up by the inhabitants, who regretted their former governor, James; and the Swiss garrison withdrew into the Château de Granson, whither it was closely followed by the Burgundians. It was soon compelled to surrender. When the country of De Romont was conquered, the Swiss had drowned the men-at-arms of Estavayer, and the executioner of Berne had conducted the unfortunates to the lake of Neufchâtel, bound together by a cord. The prisoners made at Granson were treated with like severity. They were bound by tens, by twenties, and by thirties, and, their hands being secured behind their backs, were on the following morning thrown into the lake. "When none are spared," said the duke's people, "wars are soon finished." A few days afterwards, twenty thousand Swiss arrived before Granson, to avenge their fellow countrymen. A battle was fought on the 2nd of March, 1476. In the morning of that day, Charles, mounted on a large grey horse, went through the ranks of his army, and said to his knights, "Let us march against these clowns—who, however, are not worthy to fight with us." These clowns, nevertheless, descended boldly from the heights of Vaux-Marcus, in square battalions, bristling with long pikes and halberds, their banners displayed in the middle, flanked by small pieces of cannon, which fired incessantly as they advanced. The Burgundian cavalry, commanded by the sieur de Château Guyon, sprang forward in vain to meet the closely pressed pikes of the Swiss. All the impetuosity of the men-at-arms vanished before this dreadful wall of iron, which always continued to advance. Twice did Château Guyon lay hands on the Swiss banner, twice was he repulsed; and he sunk in the end beneath the hand of a soldier of Berne. Charles fell back on his camp, and prepared to recommence the combat, when, on a sudden, he beheld on the hills of Bouvillars and Champigny a new crowd, who rushed forward shouting "Granson! Granson!" These proved to be the soldiers of the old Swiss league, the men of Glaris, of Schaffouse and Zurich, who had so often defeated the Austrians in the war for national independence. The troops of Uri and Underwalden were preceded by two robust persons, who, from time to time, sounded two enormous trumpets, said to have been, according to the tradition of the country, the gift of King Pepin and Charlemagne, and which were called "the bull of Uri," and "the cow of Underwalden." Their terrible and prolonged sound, often repeated by the echoes of the valley, threw confusion into the ranks of the Burgundian army. The Italians were the first to fly. Charles fiercely recalled them, and furiously struck at them with his sword. Overpowered, however, by the movement, he was carried

along with them, and at length galloped from the field, nor stopped till he reached the passage of the Jura, distant from it six leagues and a half, followed only by five servants. "Ah, sire," exclaimed his jester, "we are now something like Hannibals!"

The victors were many days occupied in collecting the booty. Four hundred pieces of artillery, three hundred casks of gunpowder, and an immense quantity of arms of all kinds, with a vast stock of provisions, remained in their hands, besides the treasure, which was so abundant, that it was measured out in hat-fulls. Strange scenes were witnessed, in the midst of the immense pillage which followed. One soldier found the large diamond of the duke, which, it was said, had not its equal in Christendom. He kept the box which contained it, but threw the diamond away, which rolled under one of the carriages. He, however, changed his mind, picked it up again, and subsequently sold it for a crown. Another placed playfully on his head the yellow velvet hat of the duke, which was surmounted by a crown of valuable jewellery; he afterwards cast it from him, saying he preferred some good warlike accoutrements. Flanders lace, cloth of gold, the tapestry of Arras, were distributed by the yard at a shop in the village, where they were sold at the price of common muslin. The mountaineers treated the silver plate with contempt, mistaking it for pewter; and the gold vases they found inconvenient, on account of their weight.

The blow was tremendous; and Charles could ill brook the thought that he had been beaten by an army of shepherds and artisans. For a time it seemed to deprive him of reason. He suffered his nails and his beard to grow, and would not see any one. He who had never taken wine before, and who had only used conserve of roses, now sought to stupify himself, and called drunkenness to his aid. His Italian physician, Angelo Catho, recovered him at length from this state of prostration, and, by using cupping glasses, restored the wonted circulation of his blood, and caused him to resume his former indefatigable industry. Charles then thought only of revenging himself for Granson. He rallied the remnant of his army, and caused it to be recruited in England, in Italy, in Artois, in Picardy, in Burgundy, in the country of the Liege, and the Luxembourg. The bells in the churches of Burgundy, and the country of the Vaud, he caused to be melted down, and cast into cannon. Three months had scarcely elapsed, when he found himself in a state to re-commence hostilities. "By St. George," he exclaimed, when he saw his troops defile at Lausanne, before a scaffold on which he was standing, "we will yet have vengeance." On the 10th of June, his army encamped under the walls of Morat, which was soon invested on all sides, except towards the lake, by which small boats could approach in the night. During ten days, Adrian de Buhenberg, the former chief of the Burgundian party at Berne, but now the governor of Morat, fearlessly withstood, with a garrison of two thousand soldiers, the attacks of an army which comprehended eighty thousand men. At length, on the 21st,



Plunder of the Camp of Charles the rash.

thirty thousand Swiss arrived, with René, the Duke of Lorraine, to prevent the meditated conquest of his duchy. The combat was here more equal than that at Granson; but the advanced guard of the Swiss, which was composed of the people of Fribourg, and the mountaineers of the former leagues, having turned the entrenchments of the Burgundians, the rout soon became general. James du Maes, who was the bearer of the great standard of Burgundy, fell defending it, and holding it closely clasped in his arms. Charles, reduced once more to the necessity of retreating, fled twelve leagues from the field of battle. His Italian knights were annihilated attempting to cross the lake of



Morat. The Swiss pursued them even into the water, pouring arrows and bullets on them from their bows and arquebusses, and proceeded to finish the work of death from the boats. In many places the waters of the lake appeared red from the blood which had streamed into it. Three centuries afterwards, the fishermen continued, from time to time, to bring up casques and cuirasses from its bosom in their nets. Eight or ten thousand men fell that day by the hands of the Swiss, who would give no quarter. To be "cruel as at Morat" became a common expression in the country. In order to perpetuate the memory of that merciless display of valour, they collected all the remains left on the field of battle, and erected, four years afterwards, the celebrated *Ossuaire*, or bone house, which the people of Morat were accustomed to show till 1798, with the proofs of the desperate blows struck by their fathers; but a French Republican army passing that way, felt incensed at beholding the injurious trophy, as they considered it, of the discomfiture of France, and dispersed, from a feeling of national pride, the bones of the English, Flemings and Italians, who had fallen in assailing the liberty of a republic!

In his grief and rage, Charles wished to persevere, despite of his bad fortune; but his people refused longer to follow him. Always more

obstinate and despotic, in proportion as his ruin became more complete, his distress called forth no sympathy. For two years he had kept his knights in arms; and that, in spite of their chivalry, was more than they could contentedly endure. Their lands had got out of cultivation, their property was encumbered, and they were impatient to return to their wives and children. They reminded him that, under the old feudal laws, only forty days of military service were required from a vassal. To the mad demand of a third army of forty thousand men made by him, the estates of Burgundy answered by a flat refusal. Those of Flanders would only consent to assist his views on the condition, that he should disengage himself from his enemies, and return with them. The trades were hostile to him, on account of his violence, as he had trampled on all their privileges, and threatened to take off their heads. From this time forward, the life of the duke was but one continued paroxysm of rage. He breathed terrible menaces, and threatened to destroy the gates and walls of Brussels. These impotent ravings were laughed to scorn. He could raise but a few thousand soldiers; and Lorraine, to which he had withdrawn, was about passing from his hands. Louis had sent 40,000 crowns to René, who got together a small army in Alsatia and Switzerland, and after retaking on his march a multitude of small towns, he at length advanced to invest Nancy. Charles made a final effort, and led against René the handful of men he still retained. This was on the 22nd of October, and the siege had already lasted three months. The winter set in, and the ground was covered with snow. On Christmas night, more than four hundred men in his army died from the excessive cold, or had their hands and feet frozen off. The city was reduced to the greatest distress. All the horses and asses had been slaughtered and consumed, and the inhabitants were now compelled to prolong their existence by eating other domestic animals, not ordinarily regarded as suitable for human food, and also rats and vermin. At length, on the 4th of January, 1477, René arrived, with from nineteen to twenty thousand men, whom he had obtained from the Swiss leaguers. A battle was fought on the following day. The Duke of Burgundy armed himself early in the morning, and mounted a noble black horse, which was named Moreau. He was about to put on his casque, when the gilded lion which formed the top of it, fell off to the ground, "*Hoc est signum Dei*," (this is an omen from God,) the duke mournfully exclaimed. As if the forces already opposed to each other had not been sufficiently unequal, treason now came to work against the unfortunate Burgundian. The Count de Campo Basso, one of the Italians whom he had so largely favoured, passed over to the enemy with a party of his men, and his brother Angelo Catho. Never was baseness more elaborately flagrant than that of Campo Basso. Ungrateful for all he had received from the duke, not content with betraying his cause, he conspired against his life. With the true spirit of a mercenary, he reserved himself for an opportunity which he expected would soon occur,

for plundering his master in the moment of defeat, for which he paved the way, and appointed thirteen or fourteen of his men to watch the duke personally, in order to murder him. It was a day of awful gloom. The snow fell in huge flakes, and the horses could scarcely carry their riders, cased in iron, over the hard and slippery ground. The Swiss, who had with them eight hundred culverines, easily overpowered that trifling force, discouraged, and already half disabled by the severity of the season. The same evening, René made his triumphal entry into the city, under an arch erected on the spur of the moment, composed of the bones of the animals on which the inhabitants had subsisted during the progress of the siege. What had become of the Duke of Burgundy no one knew. It was not till the second day after the battle, that a clue was furnished by Campo Basso, and, in consequence, his corpse was discovered in the ice of a stream which filled the pond of St. John. There were ten or twelve bodies which had been stripped on this spot. A poor washerwoman of the duke's hotel recognised his corpse by a ring which remained on his finger.



The wolves had already devoured half of his body. In removing him from the ice, the skin being torn from his face, presented a most ghastly spectacle. A tremendous blow had cleft his head from the ear to the mouth; a pike had passed through both his thighs, and another had been plunged in his side. They covered with velvet and satin these discoloured remnants of the chief, and carried them to the cathedral, where René threw holy water

on the corpse, while, with tears in his eyes, he exclaimed, "Ah my dear cousin, God have mercy on your soul! You have brought on us many sorrows, and great calamity."

This is one of the most important incidents in French History. The prince, whose deplorable fall has just been described, had extended his influence not only over France, where, to use the words of Louis, "he had made the king," but to England, which to him owed her Edward IV., while Germany and Italy were filled with his name. The state of all Europe would have been changed, could he have realized his dream of Belgic Gaul; and had he been less impetuous, and less fickle, he might have done much towards working its fulfilment. His great designs were baffled by what would seem the mere work of chance, by the unconscious pikes of simple mountaineers, half savages, and, but for the seizure of a few sheepskins, the descendant of Philippe the Bold, might have established what would have been, at the present day, one of the greatest powers in Europe.

Louis alone seems to have understood the danger, and to have waited with impatience, which he could not disguise, the issue of the grand struggle. Always cautious, even when his desires were most violent, he persisted in his apparent neutrality; but he had assembled at Lyons a large army, ready to sustain those who might shed their blood in a cause which was his, as well as theirs. Thence he could, without danger, direct the movement which he seemed not to regard. He was duly informed, from day to day, of all that occurred in the lakes of Switzerland. After the affair of Morat, he had called to his court the chiefs of the victorious army, whom he engaged in his interest, with that seductive manner and language, which he knew so well how to use at the proper moment. It was he that furnished to René of Lorraine the first funds, which enabled him to commence the war destined to lead to the fatal day of Nancy. It was not long before he received the interest of the 40,000 francs, which he had advanced to René. All the vast domination of the house of Burgundy now devolved on a girl of twenty, without alliances, and without an army, and having only about her the former counsellors of her father, men who were detested by the noblesse and the people, and who had to bear all the obloquy of the violent measures with which they had been associated. They, in the first instance, hazarded some words on the subject of a union of the heir of Burgundy, with the son of the King of France; but the dauphin was but eight years old; and Louis, who was quite prepared for action, thought it useless to wait so long. All the domains which Charles had possessed in France, returned to the crown, by virtue of the Salic law. The Prince of Orange, Charles d'Amboise, and Georges de la Tremouille, entered instantly into Burgundy, which yielded without resistance, as did Franche-Comté. The cities on the Somme, Artois, and part of Picardy, were secured in the first moment of surprise. Mary had

too much to do in Flanders to dispute with Louis for the other parts of her inheritance.

The news of the duke's death had scarcely reached the ears of the Flemish communes, when all the symptoms of revolt shewed themselves in the country of Arteville, and Pierre Leroi. At Brussels, Ghent, Bruges and Antwerp, they ceased immediately to pay the taxes. The churches were empty while the obsequies of Charles were celebrated; and already the magistrates, the nobles, and all who had been in the interest of the duke, were maltreated by the populace. The king himself excited the sedition. At the head of his emissaries was a Flemish barber, born at Thiel, near Courtray. His Flemish name, which signified the devil, had been changed in France for that of Olivier, and changed by letters patent. Louis, in giving to the barber the lordship of Meulan, had added to his French name La Dain; but the people would only call him "Olivier the Bad." Olivier established himself at Ghent, where he put himself in communication with the estates of Flanders, while the king opened a sort of counter negociation with Hugonet and Himbercourt, the principal advisers of Mary, both born in France. The states of Flanders had imposed their guardianship on Mary; and, by Olivier's advice, they dispatched a deputy to the King of France, who there met with that of the counsellors sent to negotiate a marriage with the dauphin. Here, Louis used once more that remorseless perfidy which he preferred to everything. That which more than anything else set the Flemings against the domination of the house of Burgundy was its French origin. They wished to be delivered from that; but they did not intend to favour the views of a despotic royalty, the subjects of which had no privileges. They sought elsewhere a husband for their duchess, and their choice had fallen on Adolphus of Cleves, a sickly and dissipated young man, little calculated to please the queen of the elegant court of Burgundy. "I know," said Louis, speaking of him, "that he has a bad ulcer in his leg, besides being, like all Germans, a drunkard. After a debauch, he will break his glass on her head, and beat her too." But Adolphus was of the German race; he was a petty prince, whose power gave them no alarm for the safety of the country. The estates repudiated the Picard, Himbercourt, and the Burgundian, Hugonet, because they believed them opposed to this alliance. Great was their surprise to hear from Louis, that the estates of Flanders could not be attended to in these matters, as the duchess gave all her confidence to her French counsellors. Seeing this, he put into their hands a letter, which he had, in a manner extorted from Mary, affecting to doubt his intentions. Returning to Ghent, the deputies reproached the duchess for thus opposing the wishes of the state; and when she declared it was untrue, one of them drew from his bosom the letter which she had written to Louis, and presented it to her before all present. Hugonet and Himbercourt were seized that evening, and instead of being punished in the ordinary way, the

two ministers were sent before a tribunal, who subjected them to the most atrocious tortures, and condemned them to death on the sixth day. The whole of the proceedings were marked by savage violence, and the most profound contempt for justice. To some of the charges urged against them they had a good defence, but they were not listened to. When sentence was passed, but three hours were allowed them for confession, and the arrangement of their affairs. On their way to execution, they saw Mary enter the Hotel de Ville. She had left her hotel in mourning, with a simple veil on her head. For all answer to her supplications, the master of one of the communes, said to her, "Look at that crowd. It is necessary to do something to content them." The condemned were then placed in a cart, which moved on to the market-place. Upon this, the duchess ran thither also, her eyes filled with tears, her hair dishevelled, and begged of the people that their lives might be spared. Some of the citizens were softened by her entreaties; others remained inflexible. The pikes of the opposite parties already touched each other, when those who surrounded the executioners forced them to perform their office. Mary saw their heads fall, and was carried away, half dead with horror, to her hotel.



This act of blood consummated, Louis immediately protested against the movement which he had provoked; and at once transposing his emissary into

an ambassador, he commanded Olivier le Dain to demand publicly, in his name, the hand of Mary for the dauphin. Olivier presented himself before the duchess, magnificently dressed, and under the title of Count de Meulan, but in the great lord, the people would only see the barber. "The king, my cousin," said Mary, "supposes I am sick, or he would not send me his physician." At this remark loud hisses were heard in the hall. Olivier, notwithstanding his character of ambassador, was treated as a low, untaught pretender, and shewn to the door. The people began to jeer him, and after a few days, threatened to throw the Count de Meulan into the river. Olivier thought it prudent to retreat to Tournay. Public opinion was pronounced against the marriage of the duchess with the dauphin. Among the people, national spirit, at the court, resentment of the disingenuous manœuvres of the king, produced this feeling. "Mademoiselle is of an age to bear children, and must not marry a child," said the Lady d'Hallwyn, the governante of Mary.

Louis instantly declared war against Flanders, and marched with Dammartin into Hainault. Bouchain, Le Quesnoi, Avesnes and Cambray, were taken by assault, after an obstinate resistance. The people of Ghent persisted, nevertheless, in demanding for their duchess a German prince. Wanting a valiant chief, they placed at their head Adolphus de Gueldres, a determined warrior, but a man of bad reputation. He was at that time in the prison of Courtray, where he had been sent by the late duke, for having confined his aged father in a cell. It was even said that he had struck, and wished to kill him. Happily for the unfortunate duchess, she did not remain long under the apprehension of being forced into this hateful union. The first time Adolphus marched against the French, from the discord that prevailed between the people of Bruges and those of Ghent, he found himself deserted in the midst of the enemy, and though he fought with bravery, he fell, covered with wounds, shouting his cry of war, "Gueldres, Gueldres!" The French were already at Courtray. They conducted the prisoners in crowds to the frontier; but instead of advancing into the country, and profiting from the confusion which reigned in Flanders, to seize the power then fluctuating in a state of uncertainty between Mary and her states, Louis, always hesitating, from excess of prudence in war, detained his troops in French Flanders and Hainault, hoping to intimidate by the ravages which he sanctioned there. He wrote to Dammartin, "Monsieur de grand maitre, I send you three or four hundred insects to prey on the country; you know in what way. I beg of you to set them to work. Do not spare five or six casks of wine, but let them drink well and get drunk. The next day set them to work, so that I may hear of them." All this cruelty was gratuitous. Finding themselves pressed so closely, the trades began to desire that some powerful prince should protect them against the insults of Louis; and Maximilian, the son of the Emperor Frederic, presented himself to them, under these circumstances,

as the future husband of the duchess. Mary sent to him immediately her ring. The marriage was celebrated at Ghent on the 18th of August; and a month afterwards, Louis, who feared to bring upon him all the forces of the empire, concluded a truce, which he may be said to have purchased by the cession of Quesnoi and De Bouchain, [September 18th].

In the following year, Louis, being assured of new alliances with England, Italy and Aragon, re-commenced the war. Maximilian, for whom the hand of Mary had been destined, even during the life time of Charles the Rash, did not see, without great vexation, half that inheritance jeopardised on which he had calculated. The Prince of Orange, who had led the French into the province, soon grew weary of the rude domineering of the King of France, and called the Swiss to his aid, who lent themselves alternately to the service of each party, and now for some weeks drove the French before them. The duchy, upon this, revolted, and wished to return under the government of the house of their ancient dukes. But Louis repressed the attempts of the seditious, and gained over the Swiss by paying them greater sums than they were to receive from the Prince of Orange. More than 20,000 francs, in pensions, were distributed by him in each canton. To make a good bargain with his kingly dignity, for the benefit of his power and authority, Louis claimed to be received as a citizen of Berne, and wrote letters to that effect. At length, at the beginning of May, in the year 1479, the king sent a herald to Maximilian, to complain that the truces had been badly observed, a pretext that was never wanting while any of those ancient captains remained, some of whom had lived in the time of the English domination, and had not been able to lay aside altogether their former habits of predatory warfare. Louis seemed to be more anxious to guard against his own companies, than against the soldiers of Maximilian. He reformed two of them at the moment he was entering on the war, and at the head of them, that of his dear friend the grand master. That commander was well disposed to keep up his band on the old footing, and the services of Count Dammartin had not entirely effaced from the suspicious mind of the king, the remembrance of Chabanne, the captain of skinners. "I have thought," he wrote to him, to soothe him, "of making you no longer a man of war." Notwithstanding the forced retreat of his best general, Louis obtained at first great successes. The sieur d'Amboise re-conquered Franche-Comté in a single campaign, in spite of the resistance of the inhabitants of Dole, from the university of which all the scholars were sent to oppose the French. The Swiss no longer defended the Burgundian cause; they filled on the contrary the camp of D'Amboise, where they took the place of the newly reformed companies. At the same time, M. d'Esquerdes, the governor of Picardy, had commenced hostilities in the north, by an attack on Douay, which caused the treason of the inhabitants of Arras to prove abortive. Maximilian soon appeared on that side with twenty-seven thousand men, and sat down before Terouanne.

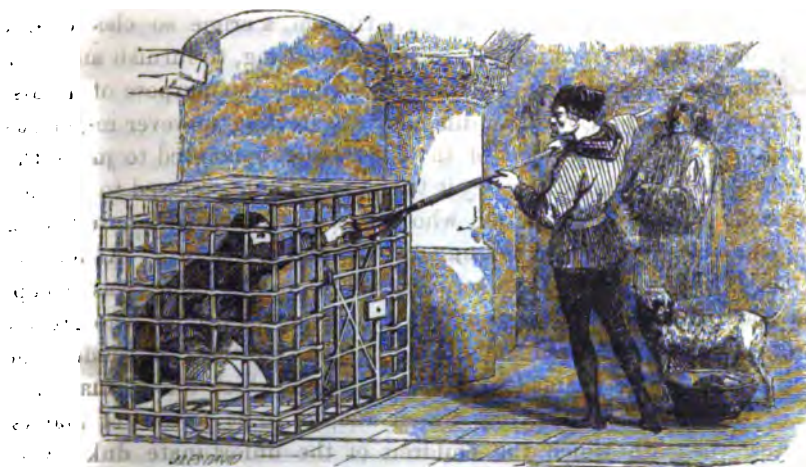
D'Esquerdes came to relieve the place with eighteen hundred lances, fourteen thousand archers, and a numerous artillery. It was a century and a half since artillery was first introduced to the battle field, and it had, in the course of time, greatly increased in importance. It no longer threw merely the small iron balls, which, at Crécy, had mingled with the arrows of the English archers. Bombs were cast of much greater magnitude than the cannon now used, such as those which, in modern times, were used at the Bastille and the bridge of Charenton, and which threw an iron bullet weighing five hundred pounds. D'Esquerdes had with him one of those enormous engines, which was called "La Belle Bourbonaise." Notwithstanding this, they still fought on the old system. The militia of Flanders came with their long pikes, and before their lines they planted iron pointed palisades, after the English custom. The men-at-arms of France at first routed the enemy's cavalry; but having too rashly engaged in the pursuit, and the free archers having quitted the field to seize the baggage of the Flemings, the face of the battle was quickly changed. The trades remained unbroken behind their palisades. Maximilian rallied his knights, and charged the French, who were already in great disorder. At eight o'clock in the evening the duke was master of the field; but the victory cost him dear. He left, at the foot of the hill of Guinegate, more than nine thousand men. The loss of the French amounted to scarcely four thousand [July 1479]. This day of blood seemed to have disgusted both parties with the war. An armourer of Normandy, named Coulon, caused Maximilian to expiate, at the same moment, his almost imaginary triumph at Guinegate. Collecting all the sailors of the country, he set sail for the north, attacked in its passage a great Flemish fleet, which was returning from Prussia with cargoes of grain for Holland. Coulon captured eighty vessels, and seized, at the same moment, the whole produce of the Dutch herring fishery for that year. In Flanders so heavy a loss had not been known for more than a century. Louis and Maximilian at length concluded a truce, which was prolonged till 1482, when all the differences were terminated by the treaty of Arras. Mary of Burgundy having died through a fall from her horse, it was now agreed that her daughter should marry the dauphin; and Louis had Artois, Burgundy, and Franche-Comté, transferred in advance, as the dowry of the young duchess, [December 25th]. This, however, was but a provisional arrangement, and the house of Austria, subsequently, more than once called for the re-opening of the question.

To bring to its close this great conquest of royalty over the house of Burgundy, we have passed over all that occurred elsewhere in that part of the reign of Louis XI. He did not remain inactive after the day when Charles the Rash ruined his fortunes by his war upon the Swiss. Relieved from the presence of that troublesome rival, the king pursued, with more ardour than ever, his scheme for humbling the other feudal chiefs. Of all the family of Armagnac there remained in 1475 but James d'Armagnac,

Duke de Nemours, the second son of the constable Bernard, who, from the year 1469, had tranquilly reposed in his domains, renouncing, at least in appearance, a struggle to which he was no longer equal. This prudent retreat from public life could not save him from the hatred which Louis cherished against that rebel family. Shortly after the execution of the Count St. Pol, the sieur de Beaujeu surprised James de Nemours in his castle of Carlat, and conducted him to Pierre-sceise in Dauphiny, and confined him in a cell, dark and damp, which had the effect of causing his hair to turn white in a few days. After the events of Granson and Morat, Louis, who was emboldened as his enemies became weaker, sent James to the Bastille, and placed him in an iron cage. This proceeded from some secret hatred which the king had conceived against the unfortunate duke, for political vengeance had little to do with those refinements of cruelty with which he was visited on this occasion. "Monsieur de St. Pierre," he wrote to the governor of the Bastille, "I am not pleased with what you tell me, of their having removed the irons from the prisoner's legs. Whatever the chancellor or others may say, take care that he leaves his cage no more, but to be tortured, and they can torture him in his room." The trial proceeded on a charge of high treason, a crime so elastic and vague, and of which the formula was so accommodating, to furnish an order for condemning to death, was admirably suited to the purpose of Louis. That order, nevertheless, Louis had difficulty in extorting, however imperious his will. Three of the members of the commission appointed to judge the duke, for they had not dared to carry it to the parliament, refused to decide; and the sieur de Beaujeu himself, who presided, contented himself with collecting the votes, without expressing any opinion of his own. At length, on the 10th July 1477, the sentence was pronounced. James was decapitated in the halls, in the midst of the groans of the people, who greatly commiserated this unmerited infliction. It is said that to render the execution more terrible, instead of a stone scaffold, which was permanently established in the halls, the king caused another to be formed of planks, badly joined, beneath which the children of the unfortunate duke were placed, that the blood of their dying father might fall on them. This is but a tradition that no contemporary writer is found to support, which, however, is kept in countenance by the odious ferocity Louis exhibited in everything connected with the proceedings. The three counsellors who had refrained from voting for the death of the accused, were immediately afterwards dismissed from their offices; and the parliament having wished to interfere, he wrote to them a letter full of menaces, remarking that they were disposed to make a good bargain of his skin.

At the commencement of this year, the king received the news of the assassination of Galeas Sforza, his brother-in-law and his friend, who had been poniarded in a church, surrounded by his guards, by the Puzzi. "From that time," Seyssel remarks, "a great change was marked in the king." Louis felt himself growing old; and the thirst for dominion which had devoured

him from the time of the Praguerie, now gave way to a sentiment more imperious still, the dread of death, the only serious enemy to his power that remained. The Duke of Brittany terminated his life, which had been so intimately connected with all the struggles of the great against royalty. Landais, the son of a tailor, who had succeeded to Lescun in administering to the pleasures of the duke, having wished to draw his master into a new league against the king, Louis seized the duchy of Etampes, which belonged to Francis; and to hold in still greater check this rebel, he purchased from Madame Nicole, the sole heiress of the house of Blois, all the rights of her family to the duchy. Louis had in some sort isolated Brittany, which he could never pardon for having remained opposed to his authority. In 1482, René, Count of Perche, the son of the Duke of Alençon, for having attempted to seek in Brittany an asylum from the ill-will of the courtiers, was imprisoned at Chinon in an iron cage of very narrow dimensions, from which he was only brought out once in each week to a meal. The rest of his time his food



was given him through the bars on a fork. He was afterwards tried at Vincennes; and, by special favour, Louis contented himself with depriving him of his domains. All these confiscated lands came successively, one by one, to swell the royal possessions. In December, 1481, the vast inheritance of the house of Anjou, which comprehended Anjou and the duchy of Bar, were united to the domains of the crown by the death of Charles du Maine, the nephew of King René, who left all his estates to Louis. He also left him his pretensions to the crown of Naples, an insignificant legacy, but one which may be said to have commenced modern history.

Louis had, at this period, other things to attend to than distant conquests. The Genoese offered him their city, and his reply was, "The Genoese give

themselves to me, and I give them to the devil." He had already engaged in that desperate struggle with death, which gave to the remainder of his reign, a hue as sombre as it was original. Louis was but fifty-eight years of age, but the cares of royalty anticipate the decay of years; such, at least, was especially his case. The suspicion which belonged to his nature was aggravated from day to day as his strength declined, as if he hoped to get relieved from his fears by putting them down to dread of assassination, which might possibly be guarded against, instead of alarm for that inevitable decline against which he vainly strove. He lived now wholly at his château of du Plessis-les-Tours, which he surrounded first with a great iron enclosure, and then with a pallisade of iron bars. Four watch-towers were also erected. These were said to have cost 20,000 francs. They were built of iron, and full of loop-holes, from which his archers were instructed to shoot at all intruders. There, every precaution that fear could suggest as desirable was adopted. The doors were strengthened by massy gratings, the windows defended by iron darts, and caltrops (iron implements, so contrived that, thrown on the ground, they must present some of their points upwards) and gibbets were set up in all the surrounding country; and Tristan l'Hermite rode constantly in the vicinity of the château, attended by his archers, ready, at a moment, to put to death any stranger who approached. One day, when the king had pointed out to him a Picard captain, whom he suspected, Tristan supposed that his attention had been directed to a poor monk, who was by the side of the officer; and the moment he came down to the yard, he was sown up in a sack, and thrown into the Loire. "Ah! by Heaven!" exclaimed Louis, when apprised of this mistake, "that was one of the best monks in my kingdom." The people of the court only laughed at the accident. So much care, and such expeditious violence, could not tranquillize the diseased mind of the king. He required that a page should follow him wherever he went, carrying a pike, ready to present to him if it should be wanted; and when he slept, the weapon was laid on his bolster. In the excess of his fear, he could no longer place confidence but in foreigners. The archers of his guard were almost all Scotch. He had formed his ordinance companies anew, in order to bring about him the Swiss. The free archers instituted by his father soon became suspected in their turn. He disbanded them, and imposed upon the parishes who had raised them a tax of four livres, ten sous per month, with which he paid his new Swiss guards. At the commencement of 1481, their numbers exceeded eight thousand!

But the real danger became more imminent each succeeding day. In the month of March, 1481, Louis was seized with a fit of apoplexy at St. Benoit-du-Lac-Mort, near Chinon, where he was seeking the pleasures of the chase. He remained speechless and bereft of reason for three days, and then, but very imperfectly restored, he languished in a miserable state. He had about him the most celebrated physicians, Adam Fumée, his father's physician, and Angelo Catho, who had cured Charles the Rash after the defeat at

Granson. But the one most in favour was James Coictier, a greedy and brutal man, to whom he had given 10,000 crowns per month, and who treated as a valet this gloomy despot. "I know right well," said he to the king one day, with an oath, "that you will put me out of the way, as you have done so many others; but by God's death, you shall not live eight hours after me." Louis did not wish to die; and that stern will, which till then had triumphed everywhere, attempted, in some sort, to prevail over nature herself. To cure him, says a contemporary historian, wonderful and terrible medicines were compounded. It was reported among the people, that his physicians opened the veins of little children, and made him drink their blood, to correct the poorness of his own. The inferior persons, of whom his court was now composed, saw the time was coming, when they were likely to be called to an account for the hatred heaped on their heads, and were most anxious to prolong his existence on whom their own depended. To amuse him, and prevent him from sleeping too long, they assembled under his windows the shepherds of the country, and compelled them to sing to the sound of their bagpipes. To present to him something like the semblance of the chase in



which he had so much delighted, they collected large rats, which they trained cats to chase in his apartments. Louis still strove against his malady, and,

like an actor who wishes to play his part to the end, he now more than ever affected the king. He had multiplied his spies in foreign courts, and throughout the kingdom; and, from the apprehension that it would be thought he was dying, that active turbulence which he had displayed so long, was at this period exerted in a greater degree than before. Never had he commenced so many negotiations at the same time, or made so many changes in every part of his administration. Become more puerile in his tastes and his habits, he appeared before his people in the richest attire, which formerly he had held in contempt. He sent French merchants into Britany, Spain, Naples, Sicily, Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Africa, to collect, at a great expense, horses, mules and dogs, as also lions, and other wild animals. All their purchases were made in the name of the king; and thus Europe was held in suspense, as it gave them to understand, that Louis had no idea he was about to die. In despair, he finished by requiring from Heaven a miracle. His servants sought everywhere for relics, which were obtained for him at any price. The holy ampoule was brought from Rheims, and the precious oil, which had been reserved solely to anoint the kings of France, was unsparingly applied, and rubbed in over all parts of his body. So some writers report; but Comines denies that the oil was thus wasted. He, however, states that it was on the king's cupboard when he died, for he himself saw it there; but Louis could never have thought of using it in the manner described, "as the vial was but small, and there was no great store of oil in it." At this time Holy Virgins and blessed images were strewed around Louis. A petty mercer in the halls, who had brought one from Aix-la-Chapelle, sold it for 160 livres to the king. The pope sent to him the corporal, or fine linen vest, in which, according to tradition, St. Peter had celebrated mass. All was useless. Louis wished for the presence of a saint.

There was then living at Calabria, in the hollow of a rock, a hermit, who had an extraordinary character for sanctity. At the age of twelve, he had withdrawn from the ordinary dwellings of men, and in this rugged and cheerless abode he had resided more than forty-three years. He was possessed of good means, and built two churches in the neighbourhood for the solace of others, but to himself he was most severe. Flesh, fish, eggs, wine or milk, were never allowed to form part of his diet; and from the description given of him, it would really seem that he made "Prayer all his business, all his pleasure praise." This man was sent for by Louis; but even the will of a king would not induce him to leave his humble retreat, till letters from the pope required him to do so, and made obedience to the will of Louis a duty. Friar Robert, as he was called, (some called him Francis) passed through Naples, where he was received with great honours. The pope, on that occasion, gave him permission to found a new order, to be called the hermits of St. Francis. From Rome he proceeded to Paris, and at length stood before the dying king. On seeing him, Louis fell on



Louis XI, at the feet of Saint Francis.

his knees before the holy man, and earnestly implored him to grant him the boon of a prolongation of life. The hermit was shocked at such prostration. He was a simple man, and being withal a man of sense, he rejected this impious homage, and would only promise that the monarch should have his prayers.

At length, on the 25th August, 1483, death put an end to the afflicting spectacle of a king thus passionately clinging to life, and seeming to regard death as the dreaded and cruel agent of some great vassal. The Count de Meulan, and others who were about the court, thought it their duty, or perhaps judged it not bad policy, to make known to Louis the view they took of his hopeless state. They resolved, that a distinct communication to this effect should be made to him by his physician, Coictier, or at least in his presence. Louis had sent abrupt messages to St. Pol and the Duke de Nemours, when they were under sentence, to make known that, in a few hours, they must prepare to die; and now it became his turn to hear his own doom pronounced. They told him that things had come to that pass, that it was in vain for him to hope that the hermit, or any other mortal, could prolong his existence; that he was a dead man, and had only to think of a future state. This solemn announcement he received with great calmness; he said "he hoped God would assist him; but thought it possible that his case might not be so desperate as they supposed." He then applied himself in earnest to settle his worldly affairs. He ordered the seals of the kingdom to be carried to his son, and caused a part of his guard and his officers to set out for Amboise, where the dauphin then was. He gave many sensible instructions to those about him, for the benefit of his successor, chiefly remarkable for the advice they conveyed in favour of a course, the opposite of that which he had himself pursued. Relieved at last from the horrible state of alarm which he had endured so long, he quitted the world with little suffering, and with much serenity of manner, conversing, without complaining of the least twinge of pain, till the last moment of his life. He occupied himself with arranging the order of his own obsequies, and named the persons he wished to follow his remains to the grave. He had a particular wish to die on a Saturday, and expressed an earnest desire that the Holy Virgin would obtain for him that favour. In this he was gratified; and on Saturday, the 30th of August, 1483, about eight o'clock in the evening, he died in the castle of Plessis. Before breathing his last, he requested to be interred in the church of Nôtre Dame de Cléry, where he wished a statue to his memory to be placed, kneeling, the hands joined, opposite the altar of the Virgin, wearing his hat according to his custom; and bestowing a last thought on the chase, to which he had been so fondly attached, he added directions that he should be sculptured dressed as a hunter, with a dog lying at his feet. He breathed his last exclaiming, "Our Lady of Embrun! my good mistress, have pity upon me!"

In France, the fall of Louis caused a great sensation. That he who had held in check so many bold and discontented spirits, should yield his throne to a youth but fourteen years of age, was a momentous event. This prince, now Charles VIII., was born on Saturday, the last day of June, 1470, at the castle of Amboise. At his baptism, the Prince of Wales, son to King Henry VI., who was afterwards put to death by Richard, Duke of Gloucester, stood as godfather, and the Duchess of Bourbon was his godmother. He was of diminutive stature, of a sickly constitution, and unprepossessing exterior. He had been educated at Amboise privately, so much so, that few besides his servants ever approached him. The course pursued by the late king was, in one respect, most singular. He would not allow the dauphin to be taught more Latin than the single sentence, "*Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare*," (who does not know how to dissemble, does not know how to reign.) "Not," says Comines, "that he had an aversion to learning; but he was fearful that too great application to study would injure a prince so delicate." Louis had named his sister, Anne de Beaujeu, his favourite daughter, a clever and determined woman, long initiated in all the secrets of his policy, to be his adviser and guide. She, however, was but a woman, and a vast field was opened to the ambition of those who had been reined in for so many years. Royalty had not then to fear another league for "the public good." War and the executioner had dispersed the elements of which it had been composed. But low as it had been reduced by the compeer of Tristan, feudality still lived, and might again be revived, to connect great names and extensive domains. The two houses of Orleans and Britany were ready to appear at its head. After them came the Duke of Bourbon, the brother-in-law of Anne of Beaujeu, an old commander, soured by the persecutions of the last reign, and who now was prepared to claim the guardianship of the young king; the Viscount of Narbonne, the Count d'Angoulême, father of Francis I., René d'Alençon, eager to regain possession of Perche, and all the noblesse of the provinces, in whom the spirit of independence survived. The danger of such a combination was augmented by the presence of a go-between, who had formerly moved in the affair of St. Pol. This was Dunois, the son of the famous bastard of that name, a more adroit diplomatist than the constable, with as much ambition, who, from the first days of the regency, began to negotiate a union of the discontented princes. Maximilian, who held the position of the former chief of the feudality, was invited to assist in these deliberations, notwithstanding his German origin, which had caused Burgundy to be, in a manner, isolated from the kingdom. To give the last blow to the threatened regency of Anne of Beaujeu, the princes revived the old idea of the national sovereignty. The value of this idea had been sufficiently exploded in application, after its triumph in 1355; but the principle was always kept in view. Louis of Orleans now demanded that the question on the regency should be decided by the states general; and

whether of her own will, or by compulsion, they were convoked by Anne, to meet at Tours in the month of January.

In the interval, the daughter of Louis sought to parry the blow aimed at her authority, by the sacrifices which she made to the lords, and also to public opinion. The princes were admitted to the provisional council, which was to govern till the states could be assembled. The Duke of Bourbon received the constable's sword; Dunois, the government of Dauphiny and Paris; l'Île-de-France, Champagne, and de la Brie were confided to the care of Louis of Orleans. At the same time she recalled those who had been banished; she opened the iron cages of her father and diminished the imposts. The Swiss companies, whose presence had been much complained of by the inhabitants of the towns, were sent to their own country; and finally, as if to make the *amende honorable* to all who had suffered during the last years of her father's reign, she placed in the hands of justice those who were deemed the authors of the cruelties which had been witnessed: Olivier le Dain, the great lord of Louis's making, was prosecuted by the widow of a gentleman, who had vainly sought to purchase from Olivier her husband's life at the expense of her honour. He was condemned, and the Count de Meulan was hanged on a gallows, like a common offender. John Doyac, an ill-disposed serjeant of Montferrand, in Auvergne, who had dared to preside in "the great days of Auvergne at Clermont," and to brave it out before the Duke of Bourbon, his suzerain, was now dealt with as an insolent menial. He was flogged in the crossways of Paris, and the hangman cut off one ear, after having pierced his tongue with a red hot iron, as a calumniator. He was then sent back to his native town, was again flogged, and his other ear was cut off. Afterwards, he was banished from the kingdom. For Coictier, the third victim, it was easy to foresee that he would not be forgotten, but he got off more easily. He was only compelled to restore the enormous sums which he had extorted from the dying king. He made a jest of his disgrace, and caused to be sculptured in front of the small house which still remained to him, an apricot tree, with this playfully philosophical inscription:—"A shelter for Coictier, escaped from Tristan l'Hermite—no one knows how."

The day fixed for the opening of the states general, January 15th, 1484, arrived: Charles VIII. came to preside, for the first time, in the hall of the bishop's palace, which had been divided into two apartments on this occasion. In the one was the throne of the king, surrounded by the chief nobility; in the other the deputies of the three orders, the clergy, noblesse, and citizens. Masselin, who edited the *procès-verbal* of the estates of 1484, brings before us some curious particulars. It appears that nobles, clerks, and citizens, who appeared as deputies, had been named by the suffrages of the three orders united, all of whom they consequently represented. The deliberations were in common, and every one voted without distinction as to order or rank. It was soon found, from the speeches made in this assembly, that the theories

of Marcel and of Robert le Coq had not died with them. On the first question debated, that of the regency, the nation of Burgundy loudly demanded that the power of the state should be lodged in the hands of twenty-four counsellors, chosen by the estates, and from among themselves. This was to propose the re-production of the council of thirty-six, which the chaperons had formerly imposed on the son of King John, and the principle was more holdly urged now than it had been then. "Let them doubt no more," exclaimed Philippe Pot, Lord of La Roche, "that when the throne or the regency is in litigation, it is for the people alone to decide on the question raised, the people who first elected their kings, who have preserved them and their authority, and in whom resides the principle of all sovereign power." In the end, it was resolved that they would not have any regent for the king, but that Anne of Beaujeu, who was more prudent and virtuous, should have the care of his person while he was under age. As to the council, it was to be composed of the princes of the blood, and some of the old counsellors of the crown, and of twelve members of the estates, the choice of whom was left to the king. Afterwards the orators of the three orders fell on their knees, and presented to the new sovereign their budgets of grievances, in which each *very humbly* set forth that of which he complained. The noblesse, which claimed to be called "the nerve of the estate," prayed for their seignorial privileges,—the right of the chace and the monopoly of the offices connected with the crown, which had fallen into the hands of people of no consideration, under the citizen reign of Louis XI. The jealous pretensions of the noblesse already peeped out to appropriate to themselves, in a manner exclusively, the charge of the royal person, when it saw its ancient enemy—royalty—triumphant; a fatal jealousy which has often led to fatal consequences. The clergy asked for the official re-establishment of the pragmatic sanction, that charter of the Gallican franchise. It spoke also of the oppression which the church had endured under the late king; as, notwithstanding his orations, and the good virgins worn in his hat, he had little spared the ecclesiastics—fining, imprisoning, and otherwise punishing them, in goods or person, as his capricious temper dictated. For the third estate, that was sufficiently occupied with the misery of the people, suffering from the violence of the military and those connected with the collection of the taxes, and from the waste of the public money. Taxation had necessarily followed the progressive march of royal organization. Languedoc, which paid 50,000 livres in land-tax on the accession of Louis XI, was subjected to a payment of 600,000 at the time of his decease. In Normandy it had been raised from 250,000 to 1,500,000. This caused the inhabitants to emigrate to Britany and England. Those who remained, men, women, and children, were forced, from the want of beasts, to work the plough by their own unaided exertions. They dared not proceed with their miserable work but at night, from a dread of being seized for the taxes claimed. A vast number died from starvation, and many, in compassion to

their wives and children, cut their throats, or in various other ways destroyed them. Louis was said to have had nine hundred pensioners, besides foreigners, in the kingdom; nor was it doubted that the substance of the unfortunate peasant passed into the hands of those at whose doors he begged for alms in vain. They raised their voices against the duties which attached to the circulation of all kinds of merchandize, and against the importation of cloths and silk stuffs, which ruined the trade of Lyons, and the weavers of Normandy and Picardy. Of all these complaints, those of the noblesse were the only ones attended to. Their privileges were renewed, and to appease their resentments, some of the domains seized by Louis were given back to their former proprietors; Perche to the Duke of Alençon, and the country of Bar to René of Lorraine. Charles d'Armagnac, having been drawn from his cell by his friends, claimed vengeance on his gaolers for the tortures which had been inflicted on him. His inheritance was restored to him for life, but after his death it was to revert for ever to the crown. The third estate vainly endeavoured to revenge the scorn with which their complaints were viewed, when the grand discussion on the taxes took place. On this subject, the states placed themselves in direct opposition to the crown. The ministers of finance submitted to the deputies their statements, which were declared to be full of gross falsehoods, and the royal domain in Burgundy was reduced from 80,000 to 18,000 livres, while the revenue of Normandy was valued at 22,000. Each of the Norman deputies offered for it, without hesitation, 40,000. The sitting became stormy, and the constable of Bourbon declared in the midst of the assembly that he knew the situation of the labouring classes, and knew that they were not oppressed, but were themselves oppressors. The regent met this opposition by gaining over Paris and Burgundy. A reduction was made in the land-tax, which under Louis was 5,400,000 francs. It was now brought down to 1,200,000, and the general taxation from 4,700,000 francs to 2,500,000. This question disposed of, Anne dissolved the estates without loss of time. They asked, when about to be separated, for an assurance that they should be again convoked once in every two years, but the council did not deem it expedient to give any such pledge. Though the taxes had only been voted for two years, Anne, fortified by precedents in the last reign, prolonged the concession indefinitely, and even exceeded what had been granted by her own authority. The public burdens, however, were still less, by a third, than they had been under Louis XI.

The states dismissed, the court entered without opposition, on the free exercise of its power, but it remained to be decided whether Anne of Beaujeu or Louis of Orleans should reign. The decision at Tours was in favour of the former, but the latter could not reconcile himself to be the subject of his sister-in-law. He came to Paris, and in order to get talked about, was careful to show himself everywhere to the people, sometimes playing at tennis, sometimes engaged in horse races, and in other

exercises where his grace and address could be displayed to advantage. He was to be seen daily at the Maison de Ville, at the parliament, in the halls of the university, and wherever he could hope to gain support in a revolt.

The young king, who was present at all his games, would have decidedly preferred the government of such a gay companion, to the austere superintendence of his sister, accustomed as she had been by her father Louis, to treat him as a mere child. To escape from the irksomeness of the restraint she imposed, Charles had already plotted against her, in concert with his cousin of Orleans, and the two were about to fly together into Britany. Anne, timely apprised of what was contemplated, prevented the escape of her charge, by causing him to be removed from Vincennes to Montargis, and by removing from him his three chamberlains, who were the creatures of the Duke of Orleans. Louis, whose projects were all defeated by this decisive step, then redoubled his efforts to create a party in the capital. He made harangues at the Maison de Ville, and one day appeared before the parliament to complain of the conduct of Anne, who had, as he declared, withdrawn



the king from those who were his best servants, and seemed anxious to keep him to herself, in order to assure the continuance of her own power. "Let her remove him," said he, "but ten leagues from Paris, and I will retire forty leagues from it." This affected disinterestedness could not deceive those to whom he addressed himself. The first president, James de le Vaquerie replied to the prince that the parliament could not interfere in the quarrels of the royal family. Louis did not succeed better with the univer-

sity. The memoir which he submitted to that body was sent to the king, without being honoured with a single note or comment. The agents he had sent to the cities, could accomplish nothing in furtherance of his views. At this, transported by rage, and perhaps anxious to place himself out of the reach of Anne's resentment, who, it is said, was disposed to arrest him in Paris, he abruptly quitted the capital, and hastened to Verneuil, one of the fortresses of René d'Alençon, who had scarcely re-entered Perche, so lately restored to him, ere he prepared to engage in a new revolt. When Anne learnt at Montargis the course Louis had judged it proper to pursue, she immediately deprived him of his governments of Champagne and L'Isle de France. Immediately afterwards her armies marched upon Evreux, and the duke compelled to ask pardon, was content, thus humiliated, to re-enter the council, where from that time his influence was at an end.

Dunois came to his assistance. The association of 1483 was soon reconstructed; and Richard III. of England was induced to join it, being anxious to stand well with Francis, Duke of Britany, in order to baffle his rival, the Earl of Richmond, who was the protégé of Landais, the duke's favourite. Already Louis advanced to Orleans with eight thousand infantry, and three thousand horse. Maximilian had sent his soldiers to the frontier. The chief of the confederacy, encamped at Beaugency, awaited the arrival of troops from Perche, Languedoc, Angoumois and Britany. Anne met the danger with as much calmness and address as her father could have done. She united with the Breton barons against Francis, with the Flemings and the terrible William de la Marck, "the wild boar of Ardennes," against Maximilian. She assisted Richmond with two thousand men, with which he raised all England in opposition to Richard, who, attempting to resist his advance, lost his life on Bosworth field. The Duke of Britany was soon besieged in Nantes by his barons, Lescun, his former favourite, at their head, and compelled to deliver up Landais, whom they immediately hanged almost before the duke's face; and he was then obliged to sign the treaty of Bourges, by which he abandoned to the regent the Duke of Orleans. That prince, rejected by the population of his own hereditary states, found himself shut up in Beaugency by Louis de la Tremouille, the chief of the royal army; and despairing of the result of a contest which he alone had to sustain, he accepted peace on the terms offered to him. His fortresses, in consequence, received royal garrisons; and Dunois, his counsellor, was banished to Asti, the only remaining vestige of the inheritance of Valentina, which remained to the house of Orleans. The old Duke of Bourbon, who had hastened, while these events were in progress, to Beaugency, lent himself with a good grace to the accommodation, when he found that the Duke of Orleans had submitted; and the regent, who aimed but at arresting the movement, without entertaining any thought of vengeance, as easily arranged with the other members of the league. In the meantime Maximilian had put down the revolted Flemings, and triumphed over "the wild boar of

Ardennes." There had been between him and France an everlasting motive for war on the question of the Burgundian succession, which had not yet been adjudicated. Without disturbing himself about the treaties made by his allies with France, he continued hostilities alone ; and having passed the frontier, his troops seized on Lens and Terouanne. D'Esquerdes, however, having seduced the Swiss from his army, he was obliged to withdraw, and the formidable array of bucklers which he had brought together, produced results so insignificant, that the demonstration he had vainly made, received the name of "the mad war."

Feudality, so often vanquished, was not discouraged by the last unsuccessful attempt. Dunois, in exile, resumed the thread of his intrigues, and all those who had been implicated in "the mad war" responded to his call. Each had his post assigned, and his route traced, and the general rendezvous was to be at Paris. Dunois escaped from Asti, and suddenly appeared at Poitou, in his city of Parthenay, where Anne of Beaujeu immediately sent to call him to an account for his audacious return. "I am in my own home," the son of the bastard calmly replied ; and the war was forthwith re-commenced between the regent and the noblesse. The success of the new league was not greater than that of the one which preceded it. The Duke of Lorraine and Maximilian, who had made preparations for invading France, were checked by the arrival of two armies, sent by Anne to observe their movements. Lescun alone had openly declared hostility to the royal authority in his government of Guienne. He was reduced in a few days by the regent, who carried her brother into the revolted province. Dunois, Lescun, and the Duke of Orleans took refuge in Brittany ; the others were compelled to ask for peace.

There remained but one spot where serious resistance could be apprehended, the duchy of Brittany ; which since the days of Clovis, and the Armorican league, had, from time to time, disturbed France, with an obstinacy, which nothing as yet had been able to subdue. The old feudal claims, which everywhere else inspired but cold listless sympathies, were there sustained by a lively sentiment of nationality, which attached itself to the ducal power, as the last resource against the threatened invasion of royal centralization. But the moment approached, when the barriers which still isolated Brittany from the rest of the kingdom, were to fall. Its Duke Francis, had no issue but daughters, and already, they disputed before his eyes with each other for the rich inheritance. Rivals were not wanting. Anne of Beaujeu put forward her brother ; Maximilian, who had already gained one triumph over the son of Louis XI., in the case of Mary of Burgundy, aspired to the hand of the heiress of Brittany ; Dunois claimed it for the chief of his house ; Lescun for the sieur d'Albret, an old commander, fifty years of age, little calculated to please a girl of fourteen, with his coarse habits and red pimpled face, but he of all, perhaps alone, suited the views of the national party. Married, in his younger days, to Frances de Blois,

the youngest grand-daughter of Jeanne la Boiteux, Alain d'Albret, had united by this marriage the rights of the two houses of Penthièvre and Montfort, and thus saved Britany from foreign domination. Through all these matrimonial intrigues, war was constantly carried on between royalty and the league formed by Dunois. Anne of Beaujeu now caused her brother to hold a "bed of justice," in the great hall of the palace; and the serjeant having called the rebel lords three times before the marble table, according to ancient custom, as they did not appear, the parliament passed an order declaring them guilty of high treason. The effect of this, under the new legislation established by Louis XI., was to put them out of the protection of the law. Their domains were immediately entered by the royal troops; and, that the sentence might be carried completely into execution, La Tremouille advanced with twelve thousand men into Britany [1488]. He entered Chateaubriant and Ancenis, which he razed to the ground. Tongres was taken in eight days, notwithstanding it had a garrison of three thousand men, and already he laid siege to St. Aubin-du-Cormier, when the enemy's army arrived, commanded by the Duke of Orleans and the sieur d'Albret. They had with them eight thousand foot and four hundred lances, besides eight hundred German men-at-arms, which Maximilian had sent, and three hundred English, who, weary of the delays of their new king, had crossed the sea on their own authority, to assist their old allies of Britany in this, their last struggle against the race of Valois. The discord which already prevailed in the Breton camp, seemed beforehand to assure the French of victory. During the night of the 26th of July, while the two armies were in sight of each other, on a sudden a great tumult was heard in the quarter of the Duke of Orleans. The cause of it was, the sieur d'Albret, who, inflamed with wine, wished to relieve himself from one rival, and already it was reported that the young princess had been heard to express herself favourably of the good mien and agreeable manners of the French prince. In a moment the whole camp was on foot, and the two parties were ready to engage, in presence of the enemy, and were separated with difficulty. It was under these dismal auspices that the battle was fought the next morning. Louis of Orleans, accused by the Bretons of intending to leave them during the fight, quitted his horse, and was placed at the head of the infantry; the Prince of Orange imitated his example, and fought with the German foot soldiers. At first the Breton army had the advantage, but hastening forward incautiously in pursuit, it was taken in flank by the artillery of La Tremouille, and the French men-at-arms and lances galloped through their broken ranks, and made a terrific slaughter. At the commencement of the action, twelve hundred Bretons had put on the red jackets of the English, to give a more formidable appearance to their little force. They were all put to the sword, with the real English troops. On the other side, the Prince of Orange lay on a pile of dead bodies, counterfeiting death. He was recognised by an

archer, and obliged to surrender. The Duke of Orleans also fell into the hands of the conquerors, and was courteously received by La Tremouille, who, the same evening, made the two princes dine with him, in the Château St. Aubin. Anne of Beaujeu was less generous; she treated harshly the Duke of Orleans, sent him from prison to prison, and had him at last conveyed to the Tower of Bourges, where he was shut up at night in an iron cage. The Prince of Orange, who had caused her less uneasiness, was placed in the Château of Angiers, where the king resided.

The battle of St. Aubin gave Brittany up to France. Aided by the influence of the house of Rohan, which, since the death of Louis XI., was wholly devoted to the crown, La Tremouille seized on Dinan, on St. Malo, and six other cities. One part of the population had declared against the duke, and hardly waited to be attacked, before they surrendered. Francis now deliberated whether he should not pass into England, but age and his infirmities detained him at Nantes. Anne wished at once to finish the conquest of Brittany; but the council inclined to an accommodation. On the 28th August, Francis signed the treaty of Sable, by which he engaged to expel from the duchy the crowd of rebels who had followed the Duke of Orleans, and not to marry his daughters but with the consent of the king. For greater security, the French were to retain possession of the places they had captured. The natural consequence of this treaty was, a marriage of Anne of Brittany with Charles VIII., and the annexation of Brittany to the domains of the crown; but Francis died ten days after the signing of the treaty, and everything was left in confusion.

Anne of Brittany found herself in a more desolate state, even than that in which Mary of Burgundy had been left after the battle of Nancy. Surrounded by pretenders to her hand, who did not trouble themselves to consult her wishes, she was in danger of being forcibly carried away by the soldiers, who constantly traversed the country. The most ferocious of all was the sieur d'Albret, who, charged by the duke while dying to protect his daughter, desired to receive immediately from the vice-chancellor of Brittany, Philippe de Montauban, a procuration under the hand of the princess, to obtain from Rome a dispensation on account of relationship. Anne having directed her chamberlain to oppose this demand, he threatened vengeance. The Viscount de Rohan held the country on his side, and the French re-entered her duchy, and possessed themselves of five of its cities. In this state of things, six thousand English and two thousand Spaniards arrived, the former to support the pretensions of D'Albret, the latter to espouse the cause of Maximilian. Dunois, who had remained near the young duchess, exhausted every artifice to favour the views of the Duke of Orleans. Louis, however, was still in prison, and the situation of the princess became more critical from day to day. Overpowered at length by her fears, she consented to throw herself into the arms of Maximilian, who had been released from a captivity of nine months, imposed upon him by the people of Bruges.



Marriage by Procuration of Maximilian and Anne of Brittany.

By some fatality, the same foreigner became heir, in despite of the king, to the two great fiefs, which restored to France its territorial unity. But it was now time to make Anne of Britany recall her desperate decision. Maximilian had only married her by procuration, and it was reported the young princess was exceedingly shocked, when, according to the German custom, the proxy of the husband, holding the procuration of his master in his hand, approached her nuptial bed, and put one leg naked into it, to complete the ceremonial.

In France, the state of the nation no longer gave the regent uneasiness ; but, at this period, another formidable league was formed in foreign parts. The King of Aragon, Ferdinand, demanded the restitution of Cerdagne and Rosillon, which had been craftily obtained by Louis XI. Henry VII. now revived the ancient pretensions of England, and claimed the cession of Guienne and Normandy. Both made common cause with Maximilian, who, while endeavouring to secure Britany, was anxious to supply whatever was wanting to make complete his Burgundian inheritance—Artois, the towns on the Somme, the duchy and the comté of Burgundy. The hostile temper of the princes and the Orleans party greatly embarrassed the council. A whim of the king's, all at once, had the effect of establishing a good understanding in the royal family [1491]. Charles had then attained his eighteenth year. Always somewhat addicted to the chivalrous, he resolved to shake off the yoke, which was rather galling, imposed by his sister ; and leaving Plessis one afternoon, under pretence of joining a grand hunting party, he slept on the road to Bourges, and advanced to the bridge of Baranges, where he was met by his cousin of Orleans, who had regained his liberty. Louis threw himself at the king's feet, without saying a word ; and the king, having tenderly embraced him, made him sleep the same night in his chamber. Immediately afterwards, he appointed him governor of Normandy. On the 4th September in this year, Louis, and the husband of Anne of Beaujeu, signed at La Flèche a paper, entitled " League between Louis, Duke of Orleans, Peter, Duke of Bourbon, and others, for the service of the king."

From that time the affairs of Britany began to take a more favourable turn. Dunois, who was comprehended in the league concluded at La Flèche, carried to the party of the king the weight of his influence and of his intrigues. Ferdinand, wholly occupied with his memorable war against the Moors of Grenada, could not any longer interfere with France. Maximilian had too much to do in Austria, in Hungary, in Flanders, and in Gueldres, to complete in Britany the marriage so ridiculously entered upon. Henry VII. eluded his engagement to make war, and temporised. Urged on by those who surrounded him, Charles resolved at length to impose on the heiress of Britany a union which had seemed impossible. Never was a marriage more violently brought about. Anne, who considered herself engaged to Maximilian, having refused to listen to the arguments of Dunois, the Lady de Laval, her governante, and almost all her court, who preferred the King of

France to Maximilian ; they at length proceeded to more energetic means of persuasion. The sieur d'Albret, whose domains had been confiscated by the king's ministers, ransomed them by giving up Nantes to the French. Three armies entered Britany at the same moment. One conducted Charles VIII. to Vannes, where he caused himself to be recognised by the states of the province, a second besieged the duchess in Rennes, while the third occupied the road to England, where she had at first thought of seeking a refuge. All was ready for the nuptial ceremony. The besiegers had with them the dispensation from Rome to annul the marriage, by procuration, of Anne and Maximilian. Abandoned and betrayed on all sides, blamed even for her resistance by the few who remained faithful to her interest, the young princess, proud and resolute as she was, found herself at length obliged to capitulate. She consented to seek Charles at Langeais, and submitted to



become Queen of France. In the contract, she gave up irrevocably her duchy to the crown, and engaged, in the event of the king dying before her, to marry his successor. The marriage was immediately celebrated in the great hall of the château, and, in a few days afterwards, Anne was crowned at St. Denis.

The marriage, thus effected by force, completed the plan so painfully sketched by the Capetians. France had again recovered her unity, and royalty, delivered from all rivalry at home, was free to enter on a new career. It could now direct its attention to foreign wars, when nothing remained to conquer in the kingdom. All the force, so long retained within narrow limits, being let loose, France was ready to play her part in the grand European movement, which then commenced.

The house of Anjou had never abandoned its claim to the sovereignty of Naples, and, in France, the legitimacy of that claim was not questioned. More than once it protested against the Aragonese usurpation; success only was wanting; and now, its rights being preserved entire, and passed into stronger hands, it threatened more than ever the descendants of Peter of Aragon. This was the age for great adventures, marvellous revolutions, and conquests of every description. Christopher Columbus had discovered the new world; and the Portuguese sailors were attempting to solve the grand problem of a passage to the East Indies. England had presented, three times in the short space of fifteen years, the extraordinary spectacle of a crown gained by a single battle. Ferdinand and Isabella kept all Europe in a state of excitement, by the accounts which transpired of the war carried on by them against the Moors in Grenada. At the same time, the janissaries of Mahomet II. and Bajazet, seemed to defy all the chivalry of Christendom to battle; and the ancient spirit of the crusaders was revived by the tidings of the taking of Constantinople. Modern erudition exhumed, with a sort of feverish passion, the long lost recollections of antiquity. The Greek and Roman heroes were everywhere extolled. Nothing was wanting, in the circumstances of the times, to inspire ambition in a young King of France, eager for military glory. Ardent, inconsiderate, carried away by the desire of the moment, he strongly recalled the budding heroism and the wildness of that youthful monarch, who had closed his career in madness. In the first years of his reign, while Anne of Beaujeu carried on the government, Charles passed his time with his dogs and falcons, making collars and bells for them, and amused himself with his *enfants d'honneur*, conversing with the scholars, lasses, and minstrels of the neighbourhood. Become a king, *de facto*, he found himself possessed of present power, knowing nothing of the past but the battles of Alexander and the wars of Cæsar, translated expressly for him by his preceptor, Gaguin.

For such a king, the inheritance of the rights of the house of Anjou, was a godsend not to be passed over. Naples, however, was not enough for him. Like another Charles of Anjou, and afterwards Charles de Valois, behind Naples he saw Greece, and the Eastern Empire, and the countries of Asia, through which he could trace the progress of his hero, Alexander. Besides, he had near him a man who fondly dreamt of another conquest in Italy: this was his friend Louis, Duke of Orleans, who advanced stronger and more recent claims to the Duchy of Milan, than Charles himself could put forth to the kingdom of Naples. Italy seemed to invite invasion. The Neapolitan barons, oppressed by King Ferdinand, anxiously invoked French domination. These were those in Rome, who insolently called themselves the pope's handcuffs, and were ready to welcome any conqueror who might relieve them from the tyranny of the Borgias. At Florence, Jerome Savonarole, the turbulent preacher, who had been the precursor of the reform in Italy, if Italy could have been reformed, Savonarole announced

the arrival of the barbarians, and prepared the population, by his prophetic accents, to allow the envoys of God to advance. Savoy had been half French, since the strife of Louis XI. and Charles the Rash. Genoa would have already belonged to France, if Louis had cared to accept the sovereignty of it. The senate of Venice, sounded by the ambassadors of Charles, declared that they would rather assist than disappoint his wishes. The present master of Milan, Ludovico le More, threatened by the King of Naples, who espoused the cause of his son, John Marie Galeas, the legitimate heir of the duchy, immediately resolved to oppose to him the King of France. Carried away by the terrors of the moment, Ludovico thought only of giving to his usurpation the support of the French arms, which, at a subsequent period, were to accomplish his overthrow. Such importance did he attach to the foreign aid he craved, that he bribed the two favourites of Charles, De Vesc and Briçonnet, and it was, perhaps, through their influence, that the expedition to Italy was ultimately determined upon.

But previously to the king's setting out, it was necessary to secure peace on the frontiers; as the three powers who had not succeeded in taking Anne of Britany from Charles, were likely to invade the kingdom, while all his forces were on the other side of the Alps. It gave little concern to the conqueror of Naples, and, in imagination, of Constantinople, to satisfy the mean rivalry of adversaries, who could be appeased by a few shreds of provinces. Maximilian and Henry VII. had already prepared for the commencement of war. The former took Arras by surprise, and excited an insurrection in Franche-Comté; the latter had crossed to Calais with an army, but was foiled in his first attempt on Boulogne. Instead of sending against the English his men-at-arms, who burned to come to blows, and pledged themselves to drive the invaders out of the kingdom, Charles unwisely consented to meet with concession the enemies he could only regard with disdain. Henry demanded 745,000 gold crowns; Maximilian, Artois and Franche-Comté. All was granted by the treaties of Etaples and Senlis, concluded in 1492 and 1493. Ferdinand wanted Cerdagne and Rosillon, and, not satisfied with the disposition of Charles to make the proposed arrangement, he brought into action a new spring to move the simple and candid mind of the king. The confessor of Charles, Father Maillard, made him believe that the soul of his father, Louis XI., was detained in purgatory, for having unjustly torn from the crown of Aragon the two provinces in question; and, from feelings of filial piety, the "good little king," so he was called by the court, with a stroke of his pen, signed away the important acquisitions, which had been gained by so much policy and persevering energy. In return, Ferdinand the Catholic engaged, on oath, to abandon the Aragonese house of Naples; and Charles considered that he had made a good bargain. He now hastened his preparations for the expedition. At Genoa, at Marseilles, at Villefranche, ships and provisions were collected, Apartments were already prepared in the palaces of Spinoza and Doria,

under the direction of D'Urfe. Charles repaired to Lyons, and there, before the commencement of the war, yielding himself up to pleasure, passed his days with the princes and nobles in jousts and tournaments, and the nights in dances and entertainments, given in honour of the ladies of the place. Their graces and beauty were said to have wrought so powerfully on the young monarch, that he hesitated whether or not to go farther. De Vesq, his valet-de-chambre, and especially Briçonnet, bishop of St. Malo, who thought only of Rome and a cardinal's hat, re-kindled his warlike desires. Money was however wanting, and they, to procure it, pledged the revenues of his domain. The bankers of Genoa and Milan advanced large sums for his use, at an interest of fifty-six per cent, to be paid at the expiration of four months!

At length, on the 29th August, the French army left Grenoble, provided with forty brass cannons, besides twelve hundred mountain guns, as they at that time called those which were mounted on two wheels, or carried by two men, or supported during a battle in an iron fork planted in the earth. Among the thirty thousand men led to war by Charles VIII., six thousand Swiss soldiers were especially remarked, formed in large square battalions, of one thousand men each, which were called "bristlers," in allusion to the pikes which they presented on all sides. The weapons carried by the men in the eighth rank were from sixteen to seventeen feet long. The horses



of the men-at-arms were, for the most part, barbed with iron, while others presented a sort of shell, formed of boiled leather, in the Italian manner.

Six thousand Gascons marched before them, small in stature, dirty, their hair and beards in disorder, such as they were seen by the Parisians in the time of the Armagnacs. The greater portion of them, however, according to Brantome, were gentry of the sack and cord, shewing their hairy forms through their ragged habiliments. To these terrible soldiers, and to this formidable artillery, the Italians had but little to oppose besides their lumbering cannons, drawn by oxen, and the insignificant troops, the condottieri, timid, but arrogant soldiers, who, in the absence of bravery, hoped to inspire terror by the high-sounding surnames they assumed. Notwithstanding all these circumstances, the superiority of the French was only in appearance. Almost everything essential to an army was wanting to them, according to Comines. "They were commanded," he says, "by a young, unfledged king, who had but just left his nest, of weakly constitution, and self-willed. They were accompanied by few wise men, or discreet commanders, and they had no ready money. They had no pavillions or tents for wintering in Lombardy. One thing indeed they had in perfection, a wanton, pleasure-loving company, consisting of young gentlemen, but little attentive to discipline. In going forward, the French relied solely on God to secure them a safe return, for those who conducted them could contribute little to their safety."

After two months delay, Charles advanced towards Italy, leaving the government of his kingdom in the hands of Monsieur and Madame de Beaujeu. Under the firm and prudent sway of Anne, no serious disorders were likely to arise during the expedition. Her brother led all the noblesse with him; and this was the first time since the crusades, that a King of France had engaged at the head of his people in one of those adventurous wars, which roused all the sympathies of the nation. Charles had scarcely entered Italy, when he was received with a triumph. At Turin, the Duchess of Savoy met him at the head of her young ladies, attired and equipped in a manner which left nothing to be wished for. Mysteries were performed on great scaffolds prepared in the streets, which were covered with cloth of gold and silk. The city afterwards presented the king with a beautiful horse, which he made his battle horse during the remainder of the war. In acknowledgement of the gift, he named the horse Savoy, and, in imitation of the regard Alexander the Great had for his famous Bucephalus, he is said to have directed the sieur de la Vigne, who was to write the history of the expedition, to make frequent mention of Savoy.

While these matters were in progress, Louis d'Orleans and D'Aubigny, whom he had sent forward with the Swiss soldiers, prepared the way for him by defeating the Neapolitans. Ferdinand, the old King of Naples, had died from fright, at learning what was intended against him by the King of France. His son Alphonso attempted to make head against the invaders, by cutting off, at the same moment, the route by land through Ferrara and Romania, and that by sea through the gulph of Genoa. But the Swiss beat at Rapallo the troops which he had landed near Genoa; D'Aubigny

repulsed those which advanced by Ferrara, and the Neapolitan was obliged to retreat to his kingdom, there to await the arrival of his dreaded enemy.

Five months he expected their coming. Charles seemed to regard his march as a mirthful parade. He enjoyed at his ease the impression made by his approach on the people of Italy, and suffered himself to be delayed by all the accidents of the road. After enjoying the fêtes prepared for him at Turin, he leisurely moved on towards Asti, carrying with him the diamonds of the Duchess of Savoy, whose liberality, perhaps, did not spring solely from good-will. At Chiére, the daughter of a gentleman in whose house he lodged, Anne Soleri, detained him three days. Arrived at Asti, Ludovico rejoined him with a troop of young females of noble family, who made a triumphal entry into the city, in six cars, and on twenty-three horses, all covered with cloth of gold and velvet. It was not without a sufficient motive, that the usurper of the duchy of Milan had called to his assistance the charms of these accommodating beauties. Louis of Orleans could no longer contain himself, when so near his inheritance, at the head of a formidable army. Blanche of Savoy, who detested Le More, had lost sight of him, enjoying the wit of Charles, on his advance from Turin. Everything seemed to invite the King of France to signalize, by some great action, his entrance into Italy, and to prepare for the conquest of Naples, by securing to himself some rallying point in the Peninsula. "The beautiful auxiliaries of the Duke of Milan, in two days," Comines writes, "disposed the king to regulate his affairs, in all respects, according to the wishes of Ludovico." Fêtes and balls were given at Asti, while D'Aubigny, at Ferrara, sustained all the attacks of the Neapolitan army. Charles still revelled in these peaceful enjoyments; when a new disease, said to have been imported into Europe by Columbus and his companions, attacked the king, and threatened to annihilate altogether the proud and pompous expedition. He sickened with the small-pox, and for seven days remained in a state, which might be regarded as between life and death. Louis of Orleans, who had joined him with the victors at Rapallo, was attacked by a fever, which detained him at Asti till the end of the war. The health of the king was at length restored; and, after remaining a month at this small town, where he had nearly fallen a victim to his excesses, he marched on the 6th of October, and, on the 10th, arrived at Pavia. Universal alarm prevailed at the approach of that brutal soldiery, who, at Rapallo, had overturned the whole military system of the country, and, abandoning the system of feints, wheeling about, and the passes of the tournament, rushed at once on the enemy, striking home, and killing all prisoners, instead of stripping them to the shirt, as had been the custom. Ludovico did not see his allies enter Pavia without alarm. His cousin Galeas was held there in captivity by him, and, to avoid all contact between Charles and the heir of the duchy of Milan, he prepared beforehand a palace for the king in the interior of the city. But the caprice of the French rendered this precaution useless, and the royal

quarters were immediately established precisely on the spot where Galeas was detained. A mournful scene awaited Charles. Having demanded to see the young duke, he found him pale and sinking, attacked by an inward disease, which Theodore de Pavie, physician to the king, was disposed to regard as the effect of poison. A secret door opened, while the king was exchanging some common-place speeches with Galeas, and the Duchess Isabella, rushing into the chamber with dishevelled hair, threw



herself at the feet of the young monarch, and claimed his protection for herself, for her children, and for the dying prince. Her tears at first affected him; but she spoke of her father, and Charles, chilled immediately at the recollection of the expedition to Naples, was hastily led away by Ludovico, who hastened to induce him to quit the city. The army arrived at Plaisance, where news was received that Galeas was dead. They were now on the borders of Tuscany, and money was wanting in the camp, but all were impatient to reach Naples. Comines and Briçonnet counselled the king to retrace his steps, and to do justice on Ludovico for the crime of which he was presumed to be guilty, by an act of confiscation. Charles, however, notwithstanding their representations, passed on.

Tuscany remained undecided between its national antipathies and the neutrality which it had promised to observe. Peter de Medicis detested the French, and, after their advance into the country, had endeavoured to arrest their march; but the fate of Sarzano, and of the bourg of Savizano, which were first approached, terrified the other cities, and even Peter himself. At Savizano there was a general massacre. The Swiss overpowered, at a

single shock, a body of three hundred horsemen that came to the succour of Sarzano. Ransom was not thought of; the prisoners were treated as common booty, being regarded as not worth more than five or six sous each, and killed in sport, or in order to get rid of them. Peter, confounded at what he saw, consented to all the king desired, and agreed to place in his hands five fortresses during the war, and afterwards to pay a sum of 200,000 ducats. The treaty dictated to him he promised to sign at Florence. This ignominious arrangement was concluded on the 6th of November, at Sarzano. In the evening of the 8th, Peter re-entered his capital, for which he had answered to Charles, but low as the spirit of that ancient republic had fallen, under the yoke of a family of merchants, it could not endure to be thus given up without a battle. On the day after his arrival, Peter found all the city in arms. Stones whistled round his head, and "Pale! Pale!" a term of heraldry, the old war cry of the country, was everywhere raised. The corporations of the artisans assembled in the market-place, having Francisco Valore at their head, who was always the enemy of the Medici family. Peter fled by the Bologna gate; but tracked by the peasants, he found it necessary to assume the disguise of a valet, and did not pause in his retreat till he had reached the lagunes of Venice. His palace was pillaged, his library and museum, inestimable collections of manuscripts, objects of antiquarian research, which had been obtained at a great expence, by Cosmo, and Laurent the Magnificent, were sold by auction. In the first moments of rage, the Florentines wished even to abolish the glorious name of the Medicis. The members of it who remained, took in place of it, that of Popolani. It was, however, necessary to abate the expression of this patriotic indignation, when the French appeared under the walls of the city. In marching on Pisa, Charles, carried away by the transports of those who received him on their knees, and with shouts of liberty, freed it at once from Florentine domination; and the lion of Florence, thrown immediately into the river Arno, was speedily replaced by the statue of the liberator. Savonarole, who, in the name of his compatriots, came to harangue the king, was hardly listened to. Charles saw but a preacher in the prophet, and gave him a satirical reply. A second embassy had no better success. D'Aubigny had just rejoined the army with his three thousand Swiss, and two thousand horse. At length, on the 17th, they arrived at the gates of Florence. The streets had been hung with tapestry, and a lodging prepared for the king in the marble palace of the Medicis. But behind this preparation, hostile precautions were concealed. The lords had posted their condottieri at a distance; and each citizen had summoned the peasants of his villa, and concealed them in his town house. The attitude taken by the French, but too well justified these preparations for defence. Faithful to his system of intimidation, Charles passed under the triumphal arches which had been raised in Florence, completely armed, mounted on Savoy, his battle horse, with his lance couched in the rest. The

artillery preceded him with swords drawn and lighted matches; the archers had their bows bent, and their arrows in their hands. All this warlike array did not greatly impose on the Florentines. Charles wished to speak as a master in the city, and to have his edicts proclaimed by sound of trumpet, declaring it to be his conquest, as he had entered it with his lance on his thigh, and he even intimated to the Florentine lords, that they must submit themselves to the surveillance of his counsellors of the long robe. Pierre Capponi, the *negociateur* of the republic, snatched from the hands of the royal secretary, the paper on which these strange propositions were written, and tore it to pieces. "Sound your trumpets!" he exclaimed, "but we are going to ring our bells." Florence was, however, obliged to accept the conditions agreed to by Peter, and to revoke the sentence of death which had been pronounced against the signer of the treaty of Sarzano.

The humiliation of Florence afforded great joy to all the cities which it had subjugated. The Siennese renewed the demonstrations of enthusiastic joy, exhibited by the inhabitants of Pisa, when they beheld the approach of the French army. It was liberty which they also demanded. Charles VIII. had heard but that word through the whole of his progress, a word which he arbitrarily translated, and the gift which he was to bestow more arbitrarily still. Collecting all they knew of the French, the Siennese had composed two verses to the following effect, which they sung everywhere in the streets:

"Long live the king for his great goodness! He,
Secures to us the boon of liberty."

To mark the advent of true liberty, the Siennese had thrown down their gates and a part of their wall, in order to afford a more commodious entrance to the French, and the great liberator left a garrison behind on his departure.

The army of Charles now approached the states of the church. Ferdinand, the son of the King of Naples, was at Rome with his forces. Alexander VI., always more irresolute as danger approached, could not decide whether to attack the French or to allow them to pass on. On the 7th of December, Charles entered Acqua-Pendente, the clergy of which place had advanced to meet him in procession, carrying with them the cross, holy relics, and the sacred host. Arrived at Viterbe, he learned that the pope had thrown his ambassadors into prison, but, after some days, released them. Nothing, however, gave Charles uneasiness. While his armies were spread over the country, and while new negotiations were entered upon with his holiness, he had no other care than to visit the churches of Viterbe, and to go with his court to pay his devotions at the tomb of St. Rose. His good fortune put aside all obstacles that seemed likely to impede his progress. The Colonna and Orsini declared themselves at Rome for the French, and began to

overrun the country on the left bank of the Tiber. A portion of the wall was thrown down by accident, precisely at the spot to which the army of Charles had marched, and made at once a breach more than twenty-five fathoms wide in the ramparts. Rome found itself already threatened with a famine, by the entrance of the Swiss into Ostia and Civita-Vecchia. The populace crowded together in the streets, and raised the cry of "Peace! peace!" Ferdinand, struck with terror, flew to Rome with his Neapolitans. The pope concealed himself with five cardinals in the castle of St. Ange. At length, on the 31st of December, two hours before the close of day, the French ensigns were seen flying over the gates of Rome on Mount Mario. Charles had carelessly lost twelve days near Bracciano, to occupy a vast forest of lofty trees, filled with porcupines and other savage animals; but, on seeing Rome, his impatience could no longer be restrained, and he immediately ordered that his army should enter by torch light. It proceeded in the same imposing order which had been adopted at Florence. Charles, riding on Savoy, in complete armour, treated as most serious this bloodless war, and pleased himself by likening his triumphal entries to the glorious exploits of the most famous conquerors of other days. An insurrection of the Jews, who massacred some Swiss in taverns, and other scenes of dissipation, favoured wonderfully this thirst for exterior domination. Charles set up a gallows at the Champ de Flore, another in the street of the Jews, and he caused some of the seditious to be suspended from them; others were beheaded and thrown into the Tiber. "In this," Brantome remarks, "he made it appear that at Rome, as at Paris, he had at his call high justice, moderate justice, and low justice." One occasion offered for making a greater show of real force and authority. The majority of the cardinals implored Charles to deliver the church from the infamous family of the Borgia, who seemed to have accumulated from taste all possible vices, and all imaginable crimes, but "the good little king," who, at the first rumour of resistance on the part of Alexander VI., had prepared with great parade his batteries before the château St. Ange, shrunk from the moral responsibility of the convocation of a council. Briçonnet, moved incessantly by his dream of a cardinal's hat, lent himself easily to the offers of the Borgia, and turned aside the blow which had menaced them. In vain Savonarole, who reigned now at Florence, where, from his chair, he had established universal suffrage, and the primitive equality of the evangelical code, wrote to Charles, threatening him with the wrath of God, if he did not overturn that prostituted Babylon. His language had no weight with the King of France. Briçonnet was made a cardinal; and Alexander was excused on his placing in the hands of the French three of his strong fortresses, and giving them as a hostage his illegitimate son, Caesar Borgia, and Zizim; the brother of Bajazet, the Emperor of the Turks. This prince had fled from the cruelty of his brother to the grand master of Rhodes. Bajazet, informed of the step he had taken, sent to request that

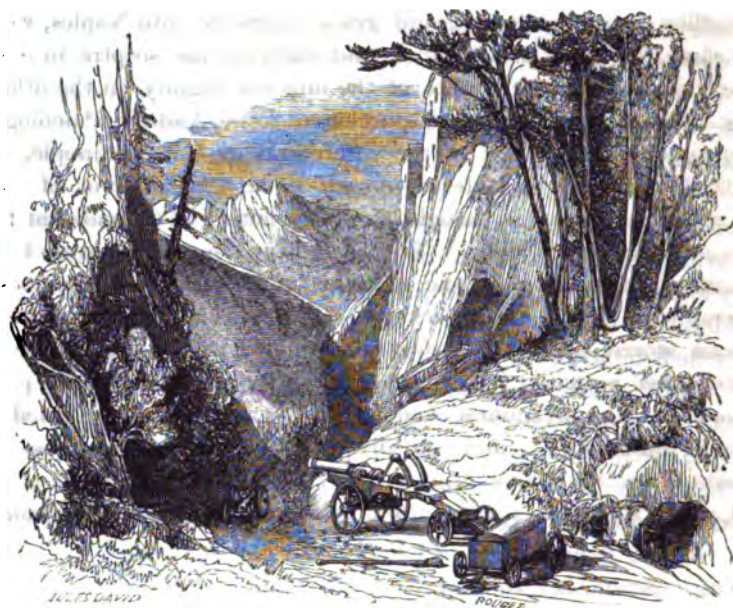
the grand master would detain him, at the same time offering for his maintenance there the annual sum of 30,000 ducats. Pope Innocent VIII., who then filled the holy seat, knowing of the quarrel between the two brothers, and apprised of the conditions on which the grand master protected him, wrote to require him to do all in his power towards effecting the ruin of the Emperor of the Turks; and, in consequence, Zizim was sent by the grand master to Rome. Bajazet, thereupon, sent express to the pope, to offer him 40,000 ducats annually, on the condition that he should not suffer his brother to depart. Innocent consented to the proposed arrangement, and his successor, Alexander, received the same pension from Bajazet. Charles, possessed of the secret, regarded the Ottoman prince as a man who could prepare the way for him to effect the conquest of Constantinople, to which his hopes aspired. It was therefore that he demanded Zizim should be given up to him. The pope subscribed to this condition with reluctance, because it took from him a large yearly income; but Zizim, finding himself in the hands of a king capable of avenging him on his enemy, promised that he would support the meditated enterprise of Charles with all the credit he had with his countrymen. He advised Charles at once to assume the title of Emperor of Constantinople. This council moved Charles to call upon the pope to give him the crown of the east. Some historians relate that the pope did not comply but with regret, that he advertised Bajazet of what was intended, and that, corrupted by the sultan, he caused Zizim to be poisoned, that he might the more effectually thwart the views of Charles. La Varmoza, the pope's mistress, was believed to have mixed a baleful poison, much favoured by the Borgia family, called the *Cantarella*, with the Turkish prince's sugar, who, in consequence, expired in the royal tent, a few days after he had been given up. Others say that Zizim died a natural death. Be this as it may, the event put aside the plan which the king had formed of crossing the sea to proceed to Constantinople.

The treaty signed on the 15th of January, reconciled, at least in appearance, the pope and the king, who promenaded the city side by side, rivaling each other in pomp and ceremony. Alexander caused it to be proclaimed three times in Italian, in Latin, and in French, that he had granted plenary indulgence to the whole of Charles's army. The next morning the monarch, to shew with what supernatural power he also was endued, touched, in the church of St. Peter, more than five hundred persons who were afflicted with the king's evil. It was an old tradition of the monarchy, which gave to the kings of France the power of curing, by touching the afflicted, the moment they had been anointed at Rheims with the oil of the holy ampoule. Even Louis XI. was said to have been confessed once a week, (some of his letters seem to prove such was not always the case) to preserve to himself the precious privilege, which it was declared, and this was unquestionably true, that a monarch, not in a state of grace, could never exercise with benefit to the sufferers who looked up to him for relief.

On the 28th of January, Charles tore himself from these ignoble triumphs of self-love, and entered definitively on his march to Naples, which had been long delayed. Of the pledges which he had obtained from Alexander, after a very short time, but little remained. The army had not yet left the Roman territory, when the fortresses of Conté arrested its progress for some days, and Cæsar Borgia, disguised as a groom, made his escape from the camp. Zizim was no more; and by this time it became known that Alexander had intrigued with the King of Aragon, to assist the house of Naples. He was, however, too late, and the news received of these proceedings only hastened the advance of the French army.

The new King of Naples, Alphonso VI., felt that he was too much detested by his subjects to render it possible for him successfully to resist that invincible French army, which had seen Italy prostrate at its feet. Greedy and tyrannical, he had provoked all his people to rise against him. He sold abbeys to the feeders of falcons, and bishoprics to Jews. In the country he bought up the fruits of the harvest, and, by means of a fictitious famine, sold the corn so obtained at any price which he thought proper to demand. In order to deprive the barons of their inheritance, he drew them from their fortresses, and caused them to be murdered in his dungeons. Thus the population were agitated on all sides at the approach of the French, and hatred indulged its resentment in anticipations, and by reports of awful signs. At one place three suns had been seen, accompanied by thunder and lightning. At another, the statues of the saints were dissolving in sweat and tears. Innumerable squadrons of horsemen had traversed the air, accompanied by timbrels and trumpets. Alphonso experienced no difficulty in reading what these signs would draw upon his house, if he still retained the throne; and the very day that the French quitted Rome, he put his treasures on board four galleys, and sought a refuge at Mazzara, in Sicily, in the convent of the Olivetans, leaving his crown to his son Ferdinand, a brave, but unfortunate warrior, who, at the commencement, had hastened to meet the invaders, but who could only retreat before them from Genoa and Ferrara to the frontiers of his own kingdom. There he once more attempted to arrest the progress of his enemies. He posted himself, with fifteen squadrons of horse, and six thousand foot soldiers, in the middle of the defile of Saint Germano, where the road, enclosed between woods, high mountains, and marshes, was defended by three castles, and intersected by the Garigliano. Ferdinand swore there to defend himself till he died. The French army advanced in disorder; the men-at-arms carelessly ambling on their cropped horses, in undress, wearing slippers, adorned with a wooden spur, and frequently turning right and left in search of plunder. They at length drew near San Germano, where the scouts of Louis d'Armagnac, Count de Guise, who commanded the advanced guard of two thousand foot soldiers and three hundred lances, came suddenly to announce that the defile had been deserted. A panic had seized the camp of Ferdinand. Everything had

been abandoned to chance with such precipitation, that eight pieces of artillery were left on the road. The defection soon became general.



The Milanese, John James Trivulce, one of Ferdinand's bravest generals, waited on Charles, completely armed, at Calvi, and opened to him the gates of Capua. The unfortunate king returned to his capital, only to find his people in a state of insurrection, and prepared to receive the French with open arms. He in vain harangued them from the square of the Château Neuf;—he had scarcely finished when the crowd ran to pillage his stables. Ferdinand then shut himself up in the château with five hundred Germans, commanded by the Marquis de Pescara; and while they thought only of sharing among them the furniture and valuables in the château, he went out at the gate called *Du Secours*, February 21st, 1495, with his daughter and his grand-mother, and, embarking in a galley, sailed for Ischia. So long as Naples remained in sight, he remained on deck, his eyes fixed on its towers, repeating this verse from the Psalmist:—"If the Lord does not look over the city, the watchmen guard it in vain."

On the following day, Charles made his triumphant entry into Naples. Received by the people with transports of joy, he had a right to exult more than ever in his good fortune. Since leaving France, his commanders had scarcely had occasion to draw their swords, and he now was in the position of a conqueror, without having taken part in a single battle. The Germans,

under Pescaire, at Château Neuf, held out for some days, but were at length obliged to beg for mercy. By degrees, in the course of a fortnight, the whole country submitted to Charles, with the exception of Brindes, Gallipoli, and the three castles of Calabria, which were, in a manner, overlooked by the French in that wild and inaccessible country. Charles, who was delighted with warlike pomp, made a second grand entrance into Naples, wearing a scarlet cloak, bordered with ermine, and carrying the sceptre in one hand, and the golden apple, the symbol of the imperial dignity, in the other. In passing through Turin, he had purchased from Andrew Paléologue the illusory rights of his family to the sovereignty of Constantinople, and this done, the king already considered himself to be the Emperor of the East. Those about him, however, thought only of profiting at the moment from the French court being at Naples. The whole kingdom was given up to pillage. Not content with seizing on the châteaux and cities, the magazines of the state were sold off, as also the arms, the munitions of war, and even the provisions stored up in the strong places. Six weeks after the conquest, there remained no native lord who had not been despoiled of some portion of his domains. The Aragonese, and all parties were comprehended in this universal proscription; and already the extravagant fondness of the Neapolitans for their new friends, had been succeeded by the bitterest hatred, which seemed to increase from day to day, as the depredations of the



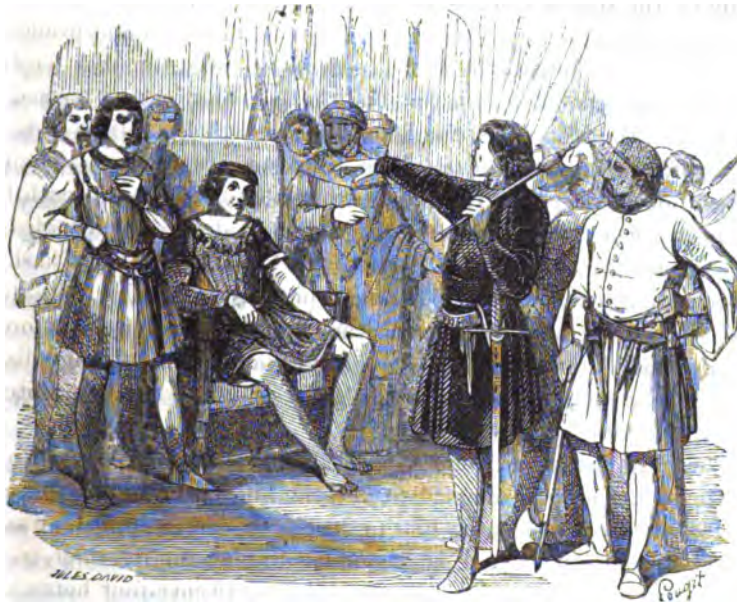
French became more and more intolerable. They began to exercise their stilletoes in the streets of Naples. At the same time the country through

which Charles had proudly marched, recovering its courage, prepared to make the French pay dearly for their easy conquest. Their resentment, however, gave Charles no concern, and he remained as perfectly at his ease in the heart of Italy, separated from his own dominions by so many enemies, as if he had been in one of his own châteaux on the banks of the Loire. Residing at Pongo-Réale, one of the pleasant retreats of the Kings of Naples, at the feet of the young Duchess of Melfi, a daring amazon, who occupied herself taming wild horses in his presence, he heeded not the murmurs which filled his ears, nor the schemes which were plotting against him. "The good little king" thought only of giving to the lords and ladies that accompanied him the most splendid balls, the most delightful entertainments, and the noblest tournaments, in the French fashion, which had always excelled those of other nations.

A letter from Comines, received in the midst of these rejoicings, suddenly interrupted their course. From Venice, where he had been sent as an ambassador, he watched over the flighty youth, now King of France, whose policy is described by Brantome, in effect, to have been simply this:—"If there is anything that can disturb me, here am I in arms, ready to attack and overthrow every foe." At Milan, at Florence, and at Rome, the missives of Comines, though sometimes badly received, failed not to apprise the king of the snares which were spread for him. He was the only one, of all the court of Charles, who faithfully adhered to the cold and prudent policy of Louis XI. At the close of Lent, in the year 1495, Comines wrote to the king, that a formidable league was in the course of being formed against him, to which the Venetians, the pope, and the Duke of Milan were parties, with Ferdinand the Catholic and the Emperor Maximilian. Their object was to cut off his return to France, and, while in Naples, to crush him and all his army, who had as yet seen war but at a distance. This league was signed on the 30th of March, at Venice. On the 20th of May, Charles began his march, in order to return to France, putting in motion half his army. He led with him nine thousand men, leaving the remainder of his forces with D'Aubigny and Montpensier, at once rendering, by this strange disposition of his army, defence impossible to his generals, and retreat infinitely more hazardous for himself.

In ten days after quitting Naples, the French arrived at Rome, the sovereign of which had thought fit to betake himself to flight. The cardinals made new attempts to induce him to depose the Borgia, but he was pressed for time, and had no desire at that moment to play the reformer, in order to forward the wishes of others. He remained but twenty-four hours at Rome, and advancing with all speed to Tuscany, on the 18th June he entered Sienna, where Comines waited for him. It was there that he first heard of that formidable army of the league, before which the French forces were obliged to retreat. It had assembled at Parma, and was said to number forty thousand men. The advice of Comines to the king was, that he should

withdraw from that land of crime and treason with all expedition; but the thoughtless young men who surrounded the king turned into ridicule the advice of the sage ministers of Louis XI., who remarked upon them, that "they seemed to imagine that in all Italy there were no men acquainted with the use of arms but themselves." As if the few soldiers with Charles were deemed too numerous to meet the forty thousand men opposed to them, they were still further reduced to supply garrisons to Pisa and Sienna. The former agreed to pay 100,000 ducats, and to furnish three thousand eight hundred men, to be enabled to regain their domination over their ancient rivals. Savonarole came to appeal to the king in his camp, and did not hesitate to threaten him with celestial vengeance, if he failed to restore to Florence its late possessions. The king was disposed to concede what was thus claimed; but the fierce chivalry of those about him, prevented him from doing anything more in the cause of that liberty for which he had formerly declared, at Sienna and Pisa. Fifty of them, with their battle-axes in their hands, came to his chamber, headed by their leader, Sallezard, to insult, in the presence of the king, those who talked of concessions, accusing them of selling to the Florentines the honour of their sovereign, and of the French name. Sallezard carried his point; but the French, when they reached



Sarzano, at the foot of the Appenines, were but eight thousand strong. Louis of Orleans, who, with the troop left with him at Asti, ought to have joined the king, failed him altogether. The vicinity of the duchy of Milan had moved the cupidity of the grandson of Valentina. Tempted by a

traitor, who offered to procure the surrender of Novarra, distant two leagues from Milan, he marched on that place, and presently found himself besieged by San Severino, the general of Lodovico. It was therefore necessary for the king to abandon every hope of receiving succour from that side. He and his army, however, moved joyously on, desiring nothing so much as to meet with an enemy. Before they could repass the Appenines, it was necessary for them to transport their artillery through roads, known only to the shepherds. This was a labour of infinite difficulty. The Swiss applied themselves to it with great alacrity and perseverance. They harnessed themselves by hundreds to the guns, and put bullets, powder, and cannon-balls in their hats, and in the pockets of their coats. La Tremouille, who commanded, set the example himself. Throwing off his armour and part of his clothing, he carried two bullets in his hands. The army was filled with enthusiasm—pages, archers, men-at-arms, and even the officers of the king's household, lent their horses to assist in drawing the artillery, and took part in the work themselves. Thus they laboured through rocks and precipices for three days, during which the heat was excessive; and when La Tremouille appeared before the king, to announce that the army had passed the Appenines, he is said by Lavigne to have been "as black as a Moor." Charles VIII., during these operations, remained tranquilly in his tent; and his historian praises the minions who surrounded him, for making the time pass so pleasantly.

On the 3rd of July, the army at length reached Fornova, on the right bank of the Taro, where the Marshal Gié passed first with the advanced guard, and held in check, for three days, with eight hundred Swiss and a hundred and sixty lances, the forty thousand men opposed to them by Ludovico and Venice. In the course of two days, all the artillery was put in complete order; and, on the night between the 5th and 6th, the French army prepared for battle, in the midst of a dreadful tempest. "We had great rain that night," says Comines, "with thunder and lightning, as if heaven and earth were coming together. This was thought by some an omen of mischief, but we were at the foot of great mountains, in a hot country, in the midst of summer, so the thing was natural enough; but it was very terrible."

The following morning, Monday, the 6th July, after attending mass, Charles was early on horseback. He appears to have been as brave as he was vain, and to have coveted something more than the easy conquests he had previously made. At seven o'clock he mounted Savoy, and the beholders viewed both man and horse with admiration. The sickly, ill-favoured prince, we are told—such Charles had always been—on this occasion was quite other than himself, being all animation, and his complexion fresh and lively, while his every word indicated courage and discretion. He presented himself in armour, and in the midst of his men-at-arms. Without waiting for the foe to approach, the French rushed impetuously through the Taro, swollen as its

roaring waters were, by the awful storm which had raged through the night, and, at the first shock, broke the main body of the hostile condottieri. One hour sufficed for the "French fury," as the Italians called it, to rout that host, which had made sure of an easy victory. If Charles had declined sharing in the pioneers' work, so generously volunteered by La Tremouille, he payed for it nobly, by exposing his person at Fornova. It was known in the camp that the Venetians were informed of the colour of the arms which he wore, and of the part of the field in which he would be found. The "*Neuf Preux*," or nine knights, by whom he was surrounded, and who, in the spirit of ancient chivalry, wore arms similar to those of the king, in order to mislead those who would assail him personally, were the objects of especial attack. Regardless of the danger he ran, the young king put himself in the first rank, and in the mêlée which ensued, he was separated from his people, and surrounded by those of the Marquis de Gonzague, who had already seized on his bridle, when Savoy became furious, and burst from their grasp. While yet the fate of the day was undecided, the Stradiots, a semi-barbarous crowd, furnished by Venice from Illyria, seeing the baggage of the king unprotected, rushed forward to seize it. They succeeded in their object, and carried off the royal sword and the mantle of Charles, which were afterwards displayed with great triumph at Venice. The French, however, were victorious, for they succeeded in passing through the opposing enemy; and there were many among them wished to turn and pursue the scattered Italians; but those immediately about the king, weary of the hardships which had been experienced in the latter part of a campaign so gloriously and so pleasantly commenced, were in favour of a different course, and the army marched on to Asti.

Du Verdier ascribes the triumph of the day, in a great measure, to the wisdom of La Tremouille, in tempting the avarice of the Stradiots by leaving the baggage unprotected. Always calm in the midst of danger, his courage and presence of mind never failed him. "Charles," he adds, "performed wonders in person; and such an example caused the French to fight like lions." In this battle, eight princes of the house of Mantua laid down their lives, the principal authors of the league formed against France, with a hundred and twenty commanders of distinction, and more than three thousand five hundred meaner individuals; while, on the side of the French, only thirty-five cavaliers fell, and ninety-three soldiers.

The army of Charles, continuing on its way, was a good deal harassed, from time to time, by the Stradiots, who were indefatigable skirmishers, their cupidity having been stimulated by an offer from the Venetian government of a ducat for the head of every enemy they could produce. The French reached Asti on the 15th July, after enduring much useless fatigue. "It had suffered exceedingly," writes Lavigne, "from hunger and thirst, from great toil, excessive heat, and want of rest; and all its clothing was worn out and torn. They were obliged to carry provender for the

horses in their arms, and for two days they had had nothing to eat but very bad bread." All the gentry were anxious to return to their estates, and wished again to enjoy the luxurious repose of a court; but they could not abandon Italy, leaving Louis of Orleans at Novarra, in the power of Ludovico. It was not till the 22nd of September, that Charles succeeded in effecting the release of his cousin; and this done, while preparing for his departure, twenty thousand Swiss arrived, moved by avarice and great poverty, almost to force on the French, already weary of the war, the undesired aid of their arms. These, when they found that Charles had consented to treat with Ludovico, became furious. They sounded their war tambourines, and some of them then demanded that Charles and his lords should be carried with them into Switzerland. Alarmed at this, the king withdrew from Vercell, where they then were, to Trino; but the Swiss seized the royal baggage, and arrested the magistrate of Dijon, by whom they had been enrolled. To appease this formidable body, it was necessary to promise them a grant of 500,000 francs, or three months pay; and Charles was rejoiced to find that they consented to take his written engagement to pay that sum, hostages being given to ensure performance, for he had no ready money at his command to give them. On the 24th October, the king again stepped on the soil of France, and thanked God for his grace and goodness, in having enabled him "to complete his enterprise with such great honour." That he returned in safety, from an expedition in which all the ordinary precautions which prudence would dictate were neglected, surprised many. Comines declares it to be "a mystery which God alone could work."

Charles had been at Lyons about two months, when he received the painful and unlooked for intelligence that the dauphin was dangerously ill, and three days afterwards letters arrived to announce his death. The prince was about three years old, handsome, and, as the courtiers declared, of extraordinary promise, as he had already given proofs of an undaunted spirit, and never appeared disturbed, according to Comines, at those things which frightened other children. Charles was greatly affected by the event; but his queen, Anne of Britany, was for a long period wholly inconsolable. The king endeavoured to conquer his grief, and soon after gave a ball, in the hope of amusing his royal consort. On this occasion, the Duke of Orleans was said to have so conducted himself, that it was obvious to every one that he felt little grief on account of the dauphin's death, which left him next in succession. Charles was so hurt and offended at the want of sympathy thus manifested, that for a long time afterwards he never spoke to the duke. This loss, however severe, was not the only affliction which the king had to deplore. Mournful news was soon received from Naples. Scarcely had the king commenced his march to his own dominions, when Ferdinand of Aragon re-appeared in his estates, supported by the Venetians, who seized on all the ports of La Pouille, and by Gonsalvo de Cordova,

"the great captain," as he was named, whom Ferdinand the Catholic had sent against him with eight hundred cavalry. At the same time a revolt broke out. Gaeta attempted the massacre of its Gascon garrison; and Naples, in a state of great excitement, claimed the restoration of her former king. D'Aubigny checked the movement at first, by the victory which he gained near Seminara; but it was not a few thousands of men that could maintain authority assailed from so many sides at the same time. Gonsalvo, after his defeat, retreated to Calabria, which immediately submitted to him. On the 7th of July, the morning after the battle of Fornova, Ferdinand, with swelling sails, entered the port of Naples; and Montpensier, the viceroy of Naples, besieged in the château of the city, was soon reduced to great extremity, notwithstanding the efforts of his commanders to extricate him from the difficulty. Precy, one of them, advanced near to Eboli, with two thousand eight hundred men, eleven hundred of them being Neapolitans; but he dared not place himself under the fire of the fortress, and that of the Aragonese fleet, at the same time. A month after this fruitless victory, the viceroy embarked secretly in the middle of the night, and fled to Salerno, whence he was speedily driven by the revolt of the Neapolitan barons. Montpensier was not a man fitted to conduct a difficult war. He was, according to Comines, a good and brave soldier, but of small capacity and of indolent habits. He seldom rose before noon; and the commanders and troops under him, negligent of discipline, from the habits they had acquired under Charles VIII., laughed with impunity at a general deficient in activity, and without method. In the summer of 1496, the Swiss, who for a year had received no pay, flatly refused to march against the enemy. At length, on the 20th of July, Montpensier was surprised by the King of Naples at Atella, in a sort of tunnel, in the midst of the mountains, and compelled to sign a disgraceful capitulation, under which he engaged, at the end of thirty days, if no succour should arrive from France, to give up to Ferdinand all his artillery, and the fortresses still held in that kingdom. D'Aubigny and the other commanders submitted, one after the other, and returned to France as they could, by the laborious route which had been traced out for them by the king.

Returned to France, Charles seemed disgusted with Italy for ever. While he abandoned Montpensier and D'Aubigny, and their companions-in-arms, to all the horrors of an unequal strife in the north of Italy, he suffered Ludovico to recapture the places he had lost by the late invasion, to shut up Trivulce in Aati, and bring Genoa again under his rule. An incursion of the Spaniards into Languedoc, caused his mind to be again for some time occupied with warlike ideas; but Ferdinand the Catholic, attacked in his turn in Rosillon, was soon eager to make peace; and the fickle mind of the king, skilfully directed by Briçonnet, speedily carried his infantine ardour to the side of the administration, and the cause of "reform," that favorite word of the fifteenth century, which, in the next age, was made use of with still greater

boldness. Taking up the old abuses of the church, he applied himself to reform the order of St. Benoit, and other religious establishments. It was his wish, if he could have carried it into effect, that one bishop should have but one bishopric. Many of them held three or four, without reckoning the abbeys that were under their controul. Another of his schemes was to abate the poll tax, which he wished to reduce from 2,500,000 francs to 1,200,000. For himself, he was resolved to confine his expenses to the revenues of his own domains, as the monarchs of France had done in ancient times; and this he considered quite practicable, as their income was very large, amounting, with certain aids, to more than one million of francs. The administration of justice, above everything, attracted the notice of the king, in the course on which he had entered. In each bailiwick he appointed a commission of notables of the three orders, and caused them to commence making a collection of the ancient traditions and customs which formed the old jurisprudence of those periods. He instituted enquiries, which were not brought to a conclusion till long after he was in his grave. He gave public audiences, in which, "as St. Louis had done," he announced that every one should have a hearing, more especially the poor. Their grievances he caused to be promptly attended to. Complaints were made of certain officers of justice, who had betrayed their trust. The king, convinced the charge was not unfounded, broke many of them, and replaced them by functionaries of better reputation.

But while thus laudably engaged, neither the reforms he was making, nor the loss he had sustained, abated his love of good cheer. He lived as luxuriously as formerly. His body, withered and disproportioned, sunk under the excesses in which he habitually indulged. "Though but eight-and-twenty years of age," says Marillac, "his constitution was more worn than that of an ordinary man at threescore." He, however, still thought only of enjoyment, when, in the fine season of July, 1498, being at Amboise, and surrounded by architects and painters, who had just built for him the wonderful château on which his equestrian statue appeared, they submitted to him new plans for vast erections, which he contemplated for the embellishment of his capital. Occupied with these, he appeared to have no thought of dying; but on the 7th of July, after dinner, he proposed to the queen that she should accompany him to the fosses of the château, there to witness the game of tennis. He conducted her by the gallery of Haquelebac, the least commodious passage of the castle, where many nuisances were permitted. As they advanced, the king struck his forehead against a door-way. The injury, however, was considered slight, and he went forward, and remained for a long time looking at the players. On his return by the same gallery, he suddenly fell to the ground in a fit of apoplexy. There, for nine hours, he was suffered to remain, the place being open to all comers and goers, stretched on a coarse palliasse, from which he was not removed till he had breathed his last.

Notwithstanding his childish arrogance, and his nullity in politics, "the good little king" was beloved by his people. "Never," according to Brantome, "had a King of France been seen so mild, so benign, and so liberal." So affectionately attached to him were the officers of his household, that it is recorded, one of his archers and one of his butlers expired from grief, at the moment his remains were lowered into the vaults of St. Denis. Such funeral eulogies, while they do honour to the man, prove little or nothing for the king.

Charles left no children. Louis of Orleans succeeded to his throne without opposition. In this mild and considerate monarch, nothing had been manifested, up to that period, which could give promise that his fame would, in the sequel, eclipse that of the "good little king." Louis, then entering his thirty-seventh year, was a bold soldier, a bold hunter, a bold combatant in tournaments—but he was of the brutal school of the first princes of the house of Valois, having no passion but for athletic exercises. At Château-Néuf, in the Orleanais, there is still shewn a ditch, fifteen feet across, which is called "the king's leap," which, on one occasion, he cleared for amusement. As a child, the violence of his disposition was such, that the duchess, his mother, when it was necessary that he should be chastised, was accustomed to mask the servant appointed to inflict punishment, to save him from the future ferocious vengeance of the young offender. All this malevolence vanished, as if by enchantment, the moment he placed his foot on the steps of the throne. "The King of France does not revenge the injuries of the Duke of Orleans," was the first resolution announced by the new monarch. The duke, however, had many affronts to forget. The parliament, the university, the citizens even, had been hostile to him, on account of his having caused "the mad war." In the tower of Bourges, the iron cage was still to be seen, in which he had been confined by Anne of Beaujeu, on receiving him from the hands of La Tremouille. Louis, however, contented himself with placing on a list of the officers of the crown, a red cross against the names of those who had been his enemies; and when he found this had caused them to experience alarm, he enquired, smiling, "whether, since the advent of Jesus Christ, the cross had not always been a sign of redemption." The conqueror of St. Aubin remained at the head of his companies; and as to the former regent, (Anne of Beaujeu) the only vengeance Louis took of her, was to renounce in favour of Susannah, her daughter, the duchy of Bourbon, which, from the absence of male issue, would otherwise have reverted, on the death of Anne, to the crown.

Louis acted less generously by his wife, Jeanne of France, a fond and pious creature, to whose tears he had owed his liberation in 1491. Jeanne was plain, so plain, that her father, who willingly lost sight of his family amid the cares of royalty, had withdrawn immediately on signing the contract when she was to marry the duke, and had himself led her to Plessis la Tours. The intended bridegroom had wept with rage, contemplating the

marriage, and had exclaimed that "he would prefer uniting himself to any private young lady of Beauce." Jeanne herself felt ashamed of the forced



union, and said to her physician :—" Ah ! Master Salmon, I have no person for such a prince." Louis XI. once writing to Chabanne, said of her :—" Monsieur le grand maitre, I am thinking of bringing about a marriage between my little daughter Jeanne, and the little Duke of Orleans, because it seems to me, the children they will be likely to have together will not cost the state much. Apprising you that I mean to make the said marriage, those who act contrary to my wish shall never be safe in my kingdom." It however appears, that the barrier of disgust thus raised between the parties in a great measure broke down before the fine traits in the character of Jeanne. The want of beauty alone would hardly have sufficed to make Louis incur the scandal of seeking a divorce, had not a more potent reason suggested itself to decide the question. Anne of Britany, become a widow, returning to her duchy, according to the terms of the contract signed at Langeais, the important province of Britany would go from the crown.

Louis, besides, had not forgotten his former passion, which he had given up with so good a grace to the late king. A tribunal was established at Tours, to take into consideration the validity of his marriage with the daughter of Louis XI.; and, notwithstanding the resistance of Jeanne, who disputed to the last with her rival for the husband she loved, a sentence was pronounced in accordance with the wishes of the monarch. The repudiated wife retired in silence to Berry, where a suitable provision was made for her. Nevertheless, the people, whose judgment is rarely governed by reason, did not see her depart without murmuring. At Paris, where the memory of Louis XI., the jovial compeer of aldermen, was still held in respect, the public discontent assumed an almost threatening character. The preachers spoke loudly against it from their pulpits; and the university, of which the moral authority was so great, besides its twenty-five thousand students, declared altogether against the decision of the judges at Tours. Louis, however, without regarding this untoward opposition, hastened to Nantes, where Anne of Brittany expected him, and a dispensation being obtained from Pope Alexander VI., at the price of the duchy of Valence, given to his natural son, Cæsar Borgia, that alliance was at length completed, the preliminaries of which had been decided upon fifteen years before [1499].

This great affair arranged, nothing remained to confine Louis to France. He had long fixed a wishful eye on the fine duchy of Milan, regarded by him with so much desire at the period of the expedition of the French into Italy. Now that the forces of the whole kingdom were at his disposal, the moment had at length arrived, when the almost forgotten rights of the house of Visconti were at last to prevail over the usurpation of the house of Sforza. In order the better to secure his triumph, Louis applied himself everywhere to form alliances, or rather, to secure neutrality. The cession of the duchy of Valence had already gained Cæsar Borgia over to his side, and he, discarding the robe of the priest and the hat of the cardinal, assumed the cuirasse and spurs of a warrior, and thenceforth would only be called the Duke of Valence. In addition, Louis granted him a pension of 20,000 livres, a company of a hundred lances, and consented to his marrying Charlotte de Foix, sister to the King of Navarre. To the Venetians, Louis promised Cremona, and the country between the Adda, the Oglio, and the Po, if they assisted him against Ludovico. The latter sought in vain for allies to aid him in the unequal contest. Maximilian was at war with the Swiss; and his son, Philippe the Fair, came to render him solemn homage, in the ancient feudal mode, for the comtés of Flanders, Artois, and Charolais. Henry VII. of England regarded foreign contests with indifference, and willingly consented to renew the treaty of Etaples, in which Charles VIII. had secured to him great pecuniary advantages. The Neapolitans had not yet pardoned the Duke of Milan for the poisoning of Galeas Sforza, and the tears of Isabella. Ferdinand, at length, as if he had been tired of Italy, gave orders to his general, Gonsalvo, to return to Spain, abandoning to the new king of

Naples, Frederick, the cities of La Pouille, which "the great captain" had wrested from France. In this distress, Ludovico addressed himself to the only people in whom he could hope to find friends, the Swiss, whose aid was to be bought. But they were willing to sell it also to Louis; and when he appeared in Milan with his army, the Swiss in the French camp gained over the others. The operations against Milan were rather a taking possession than a conquest. At the approach of the French, the fortresses surrendered without firing a shot, and the Venetians advancing on Cremona and Caravaggio, Ludovico had no resource but to escape with his treasure into the dominions of Maximilian [1499].

In the first transports of joy, Louis overwhelmed with benefits the subjects who seemed to welcome his domination. The taxes were reduced to a third of what they had been, and the nobles restored to the rights of the chase, which had been taken from them by the dukes. In conformity with an ancient custom, each clerk in office furnished annually an ox for the ducal table. Louis, affecting an excess of severity in principle, demanded to know on what the claim was founded, and, as the title to it could not be made good, the practice was abolished. Unfortunately, the king did not act with equal prudence in appointing the governor, to whom, on his departure, he confided the conquered provinces. He named to that post Trivulce, the Milanese refugee, who brought into the country all the resentment of an exile, and all the little passions of party spirit. Long the chief of the Guelphs at Milan, Trivulce thought of nothing but exalting his own faction, by oppressing the families of the Gibelines, who were almost all visited with a confiscation of their estates. The lesson received at Naples had not cured the French of their folly. Their rapacity, their insolence, and especially, their intolerable gallantries, which passed all bounds, soon excited mortal hatred everywhere, and revolt was almost immediately the consequence. At Milan, the butchers rose on the occasion of a duty being laid on meat. Trivulce repressed the movement by poniarding the chiefs in the grand square. This violence served but to inflame minds sufficiently excited before. Meantime Ludovico, having withdrawn to the bank of the Lake of Como, considered only how he could best profit from the mistakes of his enemies. Barks and lighters, full of armed men, who only desired war, sought him in his retirement. In the month of February in the following year, he re-entered the Milanese territory, at the head of thirty thousand men, and retook from the French his dominions, as rapidly as he had previously lost them. Trivulce could with difficulty sustain himself against the Lombards alone. Assailed all at once by an infuriated multitude in the town hall at Milan, he would have been massacred, but for the interference of a gentleman of Savoy, named Coursingue, who forced his way through the crowd with sixty cavaliers only, and rescued him at the moment when, with his back against the door, he strove to repel his assailants by blows from his battle-axe. They

followed him into the citadel with furious cries of "More! More!" and their hissings and hootings were continued for three hours. Upwards of



a hundred thousand men were collected in the grand square. Trivulce and the Count de Ligny, who had attempted in vain to arrest the march of Ludovico from Como, retired with all their troops to Mortare, there to wait, behind its formidable entrenchments, till succour from France should arrive. They had not long to wait. At the first news of the return of Ludovico, Louis had sent into Switzerland the Bailli of Dijon, his usual *negociateur* with the cantons, and ten thousand men were immediately entered in the registers. La Tremouille passed the Alps in the month of March, and immediately surprised Ludovico at Novarra, which he had just seized, in order to prevent the advance of the French. In France, a great battle was expected, so much so, that a large party of young gentlemen, who were at Lyons with the king, travelled post, in order to join the army at Mortare, and passed over a hundred leagues in three days and a half, which was then considered a wonderful instance of expedition. But the lords of the league gave orders to their followers of the same nations in the two camps, that they, so far as in them lay, should guard against attacking each other. The Swiss in the camp of Ludovico, and those who accompanied the Dijon functionary, went and came, and conversed together, as if there had been a regular truce established between them. La Tremouille artfully drew from the Swiss opposed to him, that their pay was in arrear. On learning this, he offered to pay more than was due to them, on condition that they should change sides. This offer was too tempting to be rejected. That night their commander put himself under the standard of the Count de Ligny, and, on the following morning, all his companions, imitating his example, resolved to abandon Ludovico, only stipulating that they should be

enabled to return to their native mountains. Ludovico, in despair, now could only hope to save himself by flying with them. Wearing a mean disguise, he went in the rear, attired in a smock frock, and mounted on a lean horse, as if he had been one of the ordinary camp followers. The Bailli of Dijon, however, by offering a reward of 200 crowns for his capture, caused his secret to be revealed. He was seized in the Swiss ranks, and sent prisoner to the Château de Chinon, where he died two years afterwards, having from time to time requested to have an interview with the king, which had been constantly refused.

Ludovico being a prisoner, Milan was immediately restored to France, and, from that time, Louis became the arbiter of all Italy. His attention was naturally turned towards Naples, where France had an affront to revenge, but, before attempting to renew the expedition of Charles VIII., he applied himself to engage other powers in his cause. He aided Cæsar Borgia with soldiers to put down the little barons in his vicinity, and to establish for himself a principality in Romania. Florence, since the expedition of the late king, had not yet been able to obtain satisfaction for the rebellion at Pisa, which defended its liberty against the Florentines with all the fierceness of an ancient rival. The lords addressed Louis, who, to render these garrisons useful, which had long been inactive in Lombardy, sent six hundred Swiss and Gascon foot soldiers against them, under De Beaumont. Notwithstanding this hostile intervention, the Pisans obstinately refused to regard the French as anything other than friends and old allies. Jannet d'Arbourville, sent by De Beaumont to summon them to submit to their former masters, was received in great form by the magistrates, who conducted him to the Hotel de Ville, and there, before the portrait of Charles VIII., imploringly asked "if they had the heart to destroy the work of 'the good little king.'" While they were still in the hall, suddenly the doors were thrown open, and five hundred young ladies, dressed in white, their hair disordered, rushed in, and threw themselves on their knees, at the same time imploring the French, as guardians of orphans, defenders of widows, champions of the sex in general, to become the especial protectors of the poor innocent virgins then suppliant before them. After that, near the image of Our Lady, the maidens began to sing in a strain so soft, so harmonious, and so melancholy, that of all present, whether French or not, there was not one whose heart was not touched, as was plainly evinced by the tears in their eyes. This dramatic spectacle, however, had no effect on De Beaumont, a veteran commander, familiar with all the scenes growing out of a state of warfare. He led his troops to the assault; but the Pisans, even from the ramparts, proclaimed their affectionate regard for the French. It was impossible for the latter seriously to attack such an enemy. The army was soon disbanded; the Swiss retraced the road to their own country, the Gascons quitted the siege, and De Beaumont was obliged to raise it altogether. After the army had withdrawn, the women



The wounded French assisted by the women of Pisa.

of the city searched all the hedges and bushes for the sick and wounded left behind by their companions, and such as were found they gently took in their arms, and carefully removed them into the town, where they lodged them in their hotels, dressed their wounds, and treated them with the utmost kindness.

The policy, perhaps somewhat timid, which had induced Louis to sacrifice to the Florentines those desperately devoted friends to France, led him shortly afterwards to take another false step. Apprehensive that Ferdinand the Catholic might thwart his views, he wished to interest him in the war against Naples, and, by the treaty of Grenada, he engaged beforehand to share with him the spoil proposed to be won from Frederick. The charm of certain principalities offered to Alexander VI., made him enter heartily into this odious scheme, which received his signature and his blessing. Secure of his prey, Ferdinand the Catholic then, in order to secure it with less trouble, availed himself of an infamous stratagem, such as he prized himself in being able to invent. Concealing as a profound mystery the treaty of Grenada, he sent his general, Gonsalvo de Cordova, to the unfortunate Frederick, who, being assured the Spaniards were come but to support him, gave up to them as his defenders his fortresses in Calabria, and his arsenals. When the French arrived at Rome, Gonsalvo threw off the mask; and Frederick, confounded, without attempting resistance, immediately sought refuge in Ischia, where he was soon followed by the French admiral, Ravestein, who forced him, by threatening an assault, to surrender himself a prisoner. He was graciously received by Louis, and subsequently he established him as a great lord in La Maine, with a pension of more than 30,000 livres, which was continued to him by the king, though he no longer possessed a foot of land in the kingdom of Naples [1501]. His son was less fortunate. Besieged in Tarentum by Gonsalvo, he would not surrender till "the great captain" had promised, on oath, in presence of all his army, with his hand on the sacred host, to respect the liberty of the young prince and the garrison. But neither his oath nor the consecrated host could restrain the general of Ferdinand the Catholic, when he had in his power the last surviving member of the bastard house of Aragon, and he caused him to be sent to Spain, where Ferdinand detained him in captivity till he died.

The wars which occurred in the commencement of this reign, were marked by a degree of fear and treachery, which afforded no opportunity for the personal exploits of those, who might otherwise have been the representatives of the ancient chivalry of France. After the great exertions which he had made to prepare for the expedition to Naples, Louis himself did not condescend to take any part in it. He remained at Lyons, and trusting to fortune for the success of his arms in Italy, only occupied himself in celebrating, by dances and sumptuous feasts, the premature affiancing of his daughter, Claude of France, then but three years old, to the infant, who,

on a future day, was to become Charles V. Ferdinand did not long remain quiet. Scarcely had the spoliation of Naples been consummated, when he coveted the portion of it which Louis had reserved for himself. Calabria and La Pouille had been ceded to the Spaniards by the partition treaty; but Gonsalvo de Cordova claimed the Basilicate and Capitanate as part of La Pouille. The Duke de Nemours, on the other hand, insisted that they formed a portion of the Abruzzi's. It was by the Capitanate that the great passage of beasts took place, during the winter, into La Pouille. They were sometimes brought from places distant more than a hundred leagues, attracted by the herbage on the coast, which, at that period, was in its prime. The duty paid on the transit of the cattle amounted annually to 200,000 ducats, and was regarded as the best revenue of the ancient kings of Naples, and the possession of this advantage now became the main object in dispute. The quarrel grew more bitter every day, and, in the end, it led to hostilities. The French, being in greater numbers than the Spaniards, had at first the advantage; and Gonsalvo, obliged to throw himself into Barletta, saw them overrun his master's possessions with impunity; and perhaps chance would now have repaired the error which Louis had committed, when he called in Ferdinand to take part in his enterprise against Naples; but "the good king," as Machiavel calls him, suffered himself to be again taken in the snares of the Catholic. Ferdinand, publicly disavowing the pretensions of his general, sent the Archduke Philippe to Lyons, to effect an accommodation with the court of France. While this proceeding was going forward, the Aragonese caused troops to be sent privately to Calabria and La Pouille, and, as soon as Gonsalvo found himself strong enough to make head against the enemy, the negotiations at Lyons were suddenly broken off. The conduct of "the great captain" and his master, through the whole of the war, was but one continued course of perfidy. Even in private combats, and especially in two cases, where eleven Spaniards fought against eleven Frenchmen, and where twelve of the latter fought against a like number of Italians, (after the manner of the famous combat of thirty) dishonest trickery was used, and such advantages taken as were most inconsistent with the ancient rules of chivalry, such as would formerly have been visited with scorn and measureless reproach, by the courts and courtiers of France, England and Burgundy.

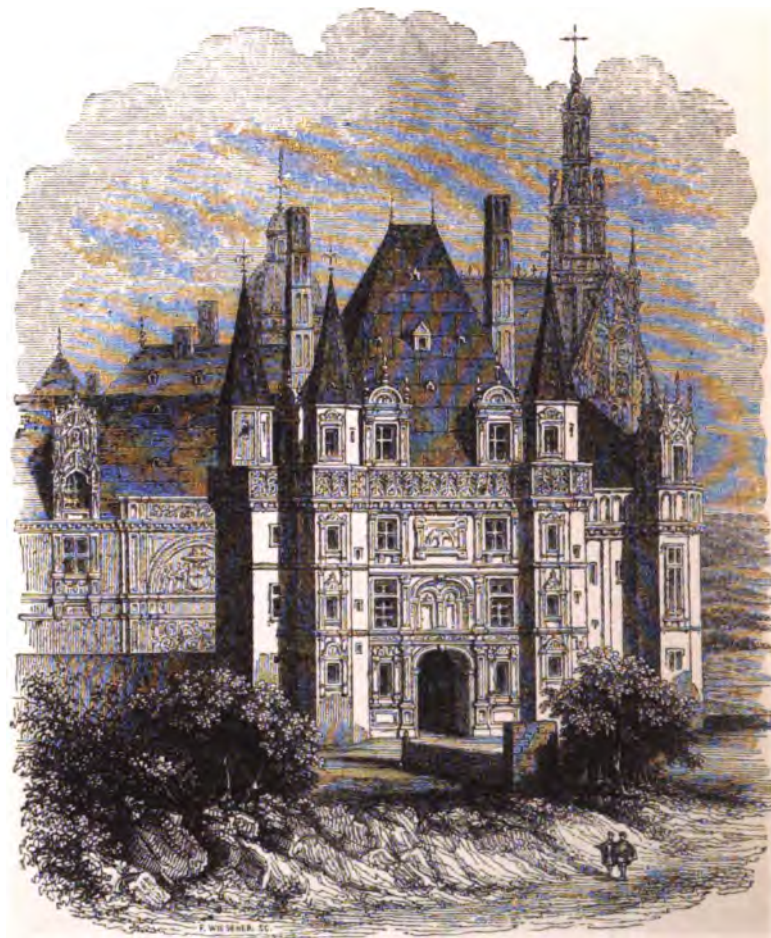
But martial games like these were soon abandoned by Gonsalvo for more serious strife. All the French companies in Lombardy were detained on the banks of the Lake Major, by a war with the Swiss, who, on the return of the expedition against Ludovico, had taken possession of Bellinzona, in discharge of the arrears of their pay, and who, disturbed by Chaumont, the governor of Milan in that place, had seized on Lugano and Muzata. Fifteen thousand Swiss, or Grisons, had already seized Lombardy. Chaumont, by his skilful manœuvres, forced them soon to withdraw into their own country; but the effect of the diversion which had been made, was to leave the army of

Naples, wholly without reinforcements, which was soon exposed to a repetition of the disasters of 1495. On the 21st April, 1503, D'Aubigny was defeated by Andrada, in the plains of Seminara, on the very spot where, six years before, he had routed the combined armies of Gonsalvo and Ferdinand. The day of Cerignola was more disastrous still for the French. Gonsalvo, pursued by the Duke de Nemours in the Barletta country, retired to a camp, prepared on an eminence, with an entrenchment of pallisades and broad ditches. The French army arrived in the evening. There remained scarcely two hours of daylight; nevertheless, in the council, D'Alégre persuaded all the commanders to side with him; and, in opposition to the Duke de Nemours, it was decided to attack the enemy forthwith. "You will see," said Nemours, "that this brave man, after we have engaged, will find means to take care of himself." The Swiss, who had almost insisted on being allowed to give battle, rushed valiantly forward to tear up the spikes and the pallisades; but the enemy's cannon, which opened upon them from above, made frightful ravages in their ranks, while the French artillery could scarcely manœuvre at all to support them, having no firm ground to rest upon, and being encompassed on every side by ditches, vineyards, and hedges. Some barrels of gunpowder suddenly exploded in the Spanish camp; and Nemours advanced at the head of eight hundred men, with a view of taking advantage of the confusion caused by the accident; but his movement was impeded by the fosses; and while he was endeavouring to march round to the gates, he was killed by a shot from an arquebus. The disorder was awfully augmented in the night, which now came on, and the army dispersed and took shelter in a wood, abandoning all its baggage and artillery. From three to four thousand French were left dead on the field; while Gonsalvo was said to have lost only nine hundred men. This mournful defeat occurred on the 28th of April, on a Friday. It was also on a Friday that the French had been beaten at Seminara. From that time the Spaniards regarded Friday as a happy day for the Spanish nation; and French superstition made it an unfortunate day for France; a ridiculous idea, which, however, has not yet been wholly obliterated.

Superstition and intolerance had but little declined. In this year, at Paris, a young scholar, a native of Abbeville, whose parents were respectable, went on the feast of St. Louis to see mass performed at the chapel of the palace. When the priest was preparing to consecrate the host, the young man foolishly snatched it from him, and ran off with it. On being pursued, he tore the wafer to pieces, and threw it on the pavement. He was secured, and confined in the Conciergerie, but manifested no penitence for what he had done. His parents were sent for, who greatly lamented the misconduct of their son; and his mother was said to have died in Paris through grief, at witnessing his depravity; while his father denounced the offender as a heretic, and wished to be allowed to put him to death with his own hands. On being examined before the court of parliament, when asked what was his religion,

his answer was "The religion of nature." A general procession was made to the chapel, to offer up prayers for the conversion of the scholar; and a sermon was preached in his presence by an eminent doctor. The court condemned him to be dragged from prison to the place where he had thrown down the wafer in the street, then put into a tumbril, and have his wrist cut off; and after that to be carried to the pig market, and there burnt. This cruel sentence was executed, and the headstrong young man remained unrepentant to the last. Immediately after his atrocious act of impiety, as it was deemed, had been committed, a canopy of cloth of gold was supported over the spot where the host had fallen, with two burning tapers beside it. The wafer was too precious to be lost. It was carefully taken up, at least, such fragments of it as remained, with part of the pavement, and carried to the holy chapel, there to be treasured as holy relics.

The battle of Cerignola gave Naples to Gonsalvo. After a few days, the only places that remained to the French were Gaeta, Venouse, and Troia. D'Alegre, however, Louis D'Ars, D'Aubigny, Bayard, La Palice, and all the heroes of these useless wars, sustained their courage still, and disputed the ground inch by inch with "the great captain." Louis made a desperate effort to avenge the disgrace which had fallen on his arms. Alain d'Albret and the Marshal de Rieux were ordered to enter Spain at the same moment, by Navarre and Rosillon; while a fleet was equipped at Marseilles, destined to scour the coast of Catalonia, and to annoy Valencia; and La Tremouille marched for Italy with eighteen hundred men-at-arms, ten thousand foot soldiers, and eight thousand Swiss, brought into France by the Bailli of Dijon. Alain, however, refused to commit his Gascons to the hazard of an uncertain warfare. De Rieux fell sick early in the expedition, and was obliged to relinquish the command of the army to the grandson of the great Dunois, who, on being attacked by forty thousand men, fled precipitately into France, and was pursued to the walls of Narbonne. The fleet from Marseilles, assailed by a tempest, returned to port, without having inflicted any injury on the enemy; and La Tremouille, at the moment when he was about to terminate the sieges of Venouse and Gaeta, was suddenly arrested in his course by an event, which the ill-timed ambition of the Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, the favorite minister of Louis, rendered fatal to France, without being productive of any advantage to himself. On the 18th of August, 1503, as the French army passed over the lands of the holy church, Alexander VI. and his son, Cæsar Borgia, were suddenly brought to their vineyard at Belvidera, the one dead, the other dying. They had both been poisoned by the wine destined for the Cardinal Corneto, whom they had brought there with them. D'Amboise, on receiving this intelligence, returned post to the camp in Italy, and detained the Swiss and the men-at-arms at Nepi; but instead of assuming the authority of the tiara, which no one would have dared to dispute, D'Amboise involved himself in a labyrinth of intrigues and pitiful Italian negotiations, in which he was defeated. On



The Chateau Gaillon.

the 31st of October, Julian de la Rovère, after playing by turns the game of D'Amboise and Cæsar, was at length proclaimed pope. He had so well



prepared the way beforehand, that not even the shadow of opposition was offered to his claim in the conclave, and D'Amboise, forced to humble himself before the master he had thought to make his tool, retired to hide his shame and his resentment in the Château de Gaillon, where he died in 1510, repeating in his last moments to the poor ecclesiastic who attended him, "Ah! brother John, my friend, what have I been all my life, brother John?"

The French army resumed its march; but, arrived on the banks of the Garigliano, it met with Gonsalvo, who had waited for it, encamped in the famous marshes of Minturnes. Without money, without food—sleeping on the damp ground in miserable huts, the Spaniards maintained their position for more than three months, during which famine and fever destroyed above half of the French army. The Marquis of Mantua, who had succeeded La Tremouille in the command, lay sick at Parma, and, weary of a war which led to no brilliant result, prepared to return to his little principality. He was replaced by the Marquis de Saluces, who soon found Gonsalvo again, ready to act on the offensive, and could not, with any chance of success, oppose his demoralised army to the iron men under "the great captain," of

whom, not a single individual, during those three months, had strayed more than a mile from the place where they had been stationed. On the 1st of January, 1504, all was over for the French army, and those who remained alive were glad to give up Gaeta to the enemy, for permission to return to their own country. Louis d'Ars was the only one allowed to march out with the honours of war. He defended Venouse for a year against Gonsalvo, and did not give up the fortress till he was ordered to do so by his master; and he returned with his people through Milan and Naples, and indeed through Italy—their lances in their hands, armed at all points, and living at discretion wherever they halted. He always continued his march in military order, and thus preserved his life and his honour for himself, and for his men their baggage and their booty. In this order he reached Blois, where he made his reverence to the king and queen, who warmly eulogised him for returning in such array; and after having refreshed them with good cheer and great distinction, did not forget to recompense their valour and their merit.

Notwithstanding the brilliancy of these isolated exploits, the kingdom of Naples was irrecoverably lost. France, however, had not yet done with Italy. Milan still remained to it—a fatal possession, which more than once was to recall its warriors to that murderous soil. So many interests had been disturbed since the time of Charles VIII., that all could not at once gain a state of repose. On the contrary, the universal agitation, instead of subsiding, was found to increase from day to day. The question became one of vast importance. Nations, imprudently excited by the caprice of a child, prepared to disturb the world with new strife. From Naples and from the Milanese, France herself was threatened with invasion. Maximilian, the ally of Ferdinand, and his son, Philippe the Fair, the son-in-law of the Catholic king, revived the suspended claim to the duchy of Burgundy. The history of France then became complicated with a series of negotiations, marked by neither frankness nor dignity, which only produced insignificant results.

France was weakened by the loss of many armies and immense materiel. Its enemies seemed invited to despoil the Milanese, and even to assail her own territory. Louis had caused this danger by the treaty of Blois. The interests of Ferdinand the Catholic, of Maximilian, and of his son, Philippe the Fair, were then closely united. Ferdinand had given his only daughter Jeanne, to Philippe; and the son of the latter, Charles of Luxembourg, became at the same time heir to the Austrian states, the Low Countries, and the kingdoms of Spain, Sicily and Naples. Ferdinand granted a truce, and Maximilian the investiture of the duchy of Milan to Louis, who, on his part, promised his daughter, Claude, to the son of Philippe the Fair, with Britany, Burgundy, and the duchy of Milan for her dower. If this treaty signed at Blois, in September, in 1504, had been carried into effect, it is beyond doubt that Charles of Luxembourg, afterwards Charles V., would

have been likely to overwhelm France, to have dismembered her for his advantage, and realized the project of universal monarchy, which occupied his mind during the whole of his reign. Anne of Britany was, on this occasion, charged with having abused the influence which she had over the king, to swell the grandeur of her daughter at the expence of the kingdom. Anne had never regarded France as her country; and Louis, supposed to be dying at Blois, in 1504, she made preparations for returning to her own duchy, and perhaps for securing Francis d'Angoulême, the presumptive heir to the crown. The Marshal de Gié, and those attached to the young prince, feared that, after the death of the king, Anne, in the hope of one day placing her daughter on the united thrones of the empires of France and Spain, would have endeavoured to set aside the Salic law, in favour of the intended consort of Charles of Luxembourg. They, at all events, doubted not of her disposition to secure to the Princess Claude and Charles the dowry of Britany, Burgundy and Milan, as stipulated by the treaty of Blois, and took steps to defeat her projects. Gié carried his precautions so



far, as to attach at Saumur the jewels and effects of the queen, who had already transmitted them thither by the Loire. Though Louis, when the danger was no more, sacrificed Gié to the resentment of the queen, he shared the apprehensions of the marshal, and resolved, with little loss of time, to give France greater security, by setting aside the contemplated union of his daughter with Charles.

The dissensions which broke out between the houses of Spain and Austria, enabled Louis to accomplish his design, and to escape from the conditions of the treaty of Blois, without exposing France to a war with the greater portion of continental Europe. In the month of February, 1504, Queen Isabella died. Her husband, Ferdinand, and her son-in-law, Philippe the Fair, disputed with each other the sovereignty of Castille. Ferdinand, wishing to establish his own sway, and to disinherit his grand children, applied to Louis to form an alliance and to contract a marriage. By a new treaty, which, like the former, was signed at Blois, dated November 12th, 1505, Louis and Ferdinand formed a close confederacy. Louis gave up to Ferdinand, with the hand of his niece, Germaine de Foix, all his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, in the event of children being born from this new marriage. Thus secure, on the side of Ferdinand, Louis thought the time had arrived when he might free himself from the onerous engagements imposed upon him, by the arrangement which had been made with Philippe the Fair. He accordingly convoked the states general at Tours, in May, 1506, where it was represented to him, that the fundamental law of the kingdom forbade all alienation of the domains of the crown, and the states therefore prayed him to break the treaty of Blois, and to bestow the hand of his daughter, Claude, on Francis d'Angoulême, then presumptive heir to the throne. Louis yielded to their representations, which he had apparently invited, and by affiancing his daughter to Francis d'Angoulême, then Duke of Valois [May 28, 1506], secured the integrity of the territory and the independence of France. The continued differences between the King of Spain and his son-in-law, soon after the death of Philippe the Fair, September, 1506, and the minority of his children, the increasing embarrassments of Maximilian, an emperor without authority, often without troops, and always in want of money, saved France from a war, which otherwise would have been the consequence of this rupture, and left it still in possession of the Milanese dominions.

No sooner was he rescued from these complicated and counter alliances, than Louis turned his attention towards Italy, where other intrigues were in progress a thousand times more complicated. While the fate of Naples, and of the Milanese, were disposed of pell-mell, with other interests between France, Austria and Spain, Italy endeavoured to protest, by impotent agitation, against this insolent protectorate of "barbarians." The word had been revived from Savonarole by the new pope, Julius II., a fierce and ardent spirit, a sort of Gregory VII. of the period of the Borgia, who, forced to descend from the solemn character of the ancient papacy, to act the mean and pitiful part of a petty Italian prince, threw himself resolutely into his new position, and sought to satisfy, at least by war and policy, his restless eagerness for authority. Julius II. felt ill at ease in the presence of gross and brutal Swiss soldiers, and in that of the Gascons, who took off heads in wantonness at their pleasure, and before whom Alexander VI. had been

compelled to humble himself so many times. His national self-love felt outraged at seeing foreigners divide his country between them as their prey; and in order to drive the barbarians from Italy, to rally all those who were unfriendly to them round the pontifical chair, became from that time the political dream of Julius. Unhappily, while he cherished this ambition, the Prince of the Romans was ready to dispute with him for the Italian states and the pontificate. Cæsar Borgia repeatedly triumphed over Hildebrand. The other dream of Julius was the aggrandisement of his small domains. As an interested proprietor, to enlarge at his ease the patrimony of St. Peter, he commenced by uniting with those same "Barbarians," whose ruin he had sworn to accomplish. In 1506, he undertook, with the assistance of the French, to conquer Perouse and Bologna. After that, he could not escape but with great difficulty from the insults of his allies. Already he threw a longing eye at Faenza and Rimini, which Venice had taken from the holy seat when the Borgia fell; and his legates had hazarded the first overtures for a treaty, which was concluded at Cambray two years afterwards. A revolution, effected on the 18th of July this year, by the Genoese, recalled him for some time to his original design.

A French governor having been established at Genoa, in place of the ancient doges, magistrates of plebeian origin, the aristocratical party under the protection of high-born men from the other side of the Alps, domineered insolently over the people whom they had been accustomed to treat with respect. The arrogance of the nobles already went so far, that they had caused to be engraved on the handles of their poniards, the words "*castiga vilain*," (rabble punisher). But the Italian citizens, rich and numerous, long possessed of democratic authority, were in no humour to imitate the servile submission of the feudal population, to the orders, and even to the caprices of the seignorial classes. The irritation daily increased. It was at its height, when a trifling quarrel, on the 18th of July, 1506, in the herb market, produced all at once a terrible insurrection. There was a man, says John d'Autun, named Guillon, one of the people who wished to purchase some mushrooms or champignons, which the Viscount Doria also desired to buy, who, when Guillon would have carried them off, put his hand on the basket containing the mushrooms. Guillon, who had not paid for them, attempted to remove them, saying "he had first bargained for them, and would have them." The other, upon this, gave Guillon a blow in the face with his fist, saying, "Take that, fellow; but I will take the mushrooms." At the same time, he drew his dagger, with which he would have struck Guillon, had not the latter fallen back. Guillon then gave up the object in dispute; but outraged by the blow he had received, and full of rage, called out "Popli! Popli!" which at once inflamed the crowd so, that in less than an hour, more than ten thousand of the lower orders assembled with arms in the streets. The nobles, driven from the city,

sought in vain to shelter themselves by flying to the Sieur de Ravestein, Governor of Asti. The Genoese cared little for the hostile intervention of the French. They sent to Julius II. and to Maximilian, who declared in their favour; and the Genoese immediately rose in open hostility to France, rejecting its protectorate by the nomination of a new doge. Their choice fell on Paul de Novi, a dyer of silks, a man brave and intelligent, but who was unable to defend his degenerate country. Since its late struggles, Genoa had renounced the sea and the use of arms. It now contained only weavers and manufacturers. There scarcely remained a sufficient number of soldiers and sailors to man the two or three galleys employed to guard the port. When Louis XII., called to Italy by the news of this unexpected insurrection, appeared near the mountains of Genoa, his advanced guard commanded by Bayard, he instantly routed the troops which Paul de Novi had posted at the entrance of the valley of Polsevera, and on the heights of Belvidera. "Begone merchants," exclaimed the good chevalier; "defend yourselves with your measures, and leave pikes and lances, to which you are unaccustomed, to us." On the 29th April, 1507, Louis XII. entered Genoa on horseback, his drawn sword in his hand. The inhabitants fell on their knees, and begged for mercy, carrying olive branches before them. It cost those who had made themselves conspicuous in the movement their lives. The several chiefs were hanged in various parts of the city. Paul de Novi fled to Pisa, where a perfidious friend betrayed him to his pursuers. He was decapitated, his head exhibited on a pike, and his members suspended from each of the city gates. To secure the authority of the French, Louis caused a strong fort to be built at La Lanterne, which commanded at once both the fort and the city. A contribution of 800,000 florins was demanded from the conquered to cover the expences of the war, which was afterwards reduced to 200,000.

Julius II., prepared to make Genoa a *point d'appui* for the national war which he meditated, was recalled by the humiliation of that republic to the execution of other plans connected with his personal interest. For him it was no difficult task to array numerous enemies against Venice. With its political system, greedy and faithless, that power had possessed the secret of setting others at variance, without scarcely taking any part herself in the strife, which had pervaded all parts of Italy during the last thirteen years. The government of Venice knew how to profit by the faults and misfortunes of all neighbouring powers. It had gained by the fall of Ludovico More, by the expulsion of the French from Naples, and by the ruin of Cæsar Borgia. So much success excited the fears and the jealousies of the Italian states themselves, who ought to have exulted in the aggrandisement of Venice. "Your lords," Machiavel wrote to the Florentines, "have always told me that it was the Venetians who threatened the liberties of Italy." After the year 1503, M. de Chaumont, the king's lieutenant in the Milanese territory, said to the same ambassador, "they would in future order things in such a

manner, that the Venetians should only occupy themselves in fishing." "As to the Swiss," he added, "we can make sure of them." This conspiracy against Venice, which existed in 1504, was renewed on the 10th of December, 1508, by the league of Cambray, through the imprudence of Julius, who wished, at any price, to recover certain cities in Romania. The pope, the emperor, and the King of France, offered to the King of Hungary to enter into a confederation to recover Dalmatia and Sclavonia. There was no one, not excepting the Dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, and the Marquis of Mantua, who was not desirous of striking a blow against that power which had so long been regarded with fear. Venice did not remain supine in this moment of danger. She hastily sought for recruits in the country of the Stradiots, and formed a body of fifteen thousand infantry, out of the militia of her states on *terra firma*, allowing them pay, and adding to them two thousand men-at-arms. L'Alviana and Petigliano, two of the most famous commanders in Italy, were placed at the head of this imposing army, and soon recaptured Trévi, which De Chaumont, the governor of Milan, had taken immediately after war had been declared. Louis, however, arrived at Milan in May, 1509, with two thousand seven hundred lances, eight thousand Swiss, and from ten to twelve thousand Gascon foot soldiers. On the 14th of that month, he was in the heart of the Venetian states, and marched on Pandoné through the country of Agnadel. The Venetian army was induced to move, in order to occupy that important post which commanded the communication between Creme and Cremona, and advanced by a road parallel to one which the French had been ordered to take. A forest of bushes, through the midst of which a torrent had pursued its course, but which was now half dried up, separated the two armies in such a manner, that they approached without seeing each other. The advanced guard of the French, having at length made a small circuit to the right, found itself on a sudden in front of the Venetian rear-guard, commanded by Alviana, who was soon seen from all parts by the French. In vain did he apprise Petigliano of his danger. Petigliano was his enemy, and suffered him to engage the French alone. L'Alviana, in this emergency, well sustained his reputation for bravery and skill. He posted himself on the brink of the torrent with six pieces of artillery and his band of *brisighella*, an intrepid force, which he himself had formed, and which was distinguished in battle by its party-coloured coats of red and white. There he sustained for some time all the efforts of the enemy's gendarmerie, which, entangled among the bushes and ditches, could with difficulty act under the fire of his artillery. These obstacles, however, were at length surmounted, and the French pushed forward with their usual gaiety and valour. "Let those who are afraid stand behind me," was the exclamation of Louis, while he saw the bullets were falling thick about him. Grigoul de Talleyrand, who was subsequently blamed for plunging too desperately into the mêlée, replied, that he had a horse more courageous than himself. Vandenesse

went forward against L'Alviaria, overthrew him with one stroke of his lance, which put out his eye, and he was made prisoner. The tardy arrival of Petigliano with several squadrons could not prevent the rout of the Venetians. The *brisighella* stood their ground till they were cut to pieces on the bank where they had been posted. In three hours Venice had lost eight thousand of her best warriors. Some writers estimate the loss at from fifteen to twenty thousand. The king pursued the fugitives to the sea shore at La Chafousine; and thence, contemplating at his ease the city of Venice, which, however, he could not reach, on account of the broad ditch from the sea which intervened, before retracing his steps, he caused six long culverines, of which three had been taken from the enemy, and three were French, to be pointed at it as a mark of triumph, and as displaying a trophy, and caused five or six hundred volleys to be fired, in order that it might be told, in future times, that Louis XII. had cannonaded the once



deemed impregnable city of Venice. The cause of Venice was lost. In the course of a few days all its possessions on terra firma were wrested from it at once. Julius regained his towns in Romania; the Marquis of Mantua took Asola and Lunato; the Duke of Ferrara, Le Polesin de Rovigo, a great domain between the Tanaro and the Adige, which the Venetians had deprived him of a long time before. Two generals of Maximilian, the Duke of Brunswick, and Christopher Frangipani, came to Trieste, and seized, at the same time, on Frioul and on Istria. At Trent, the bishop drove out the Venetian garrison. Louis, for himself, had seized on all the cities of ancient Venetia. The proud republic found the tables completely turned



Tax registers burnt at Treviso.

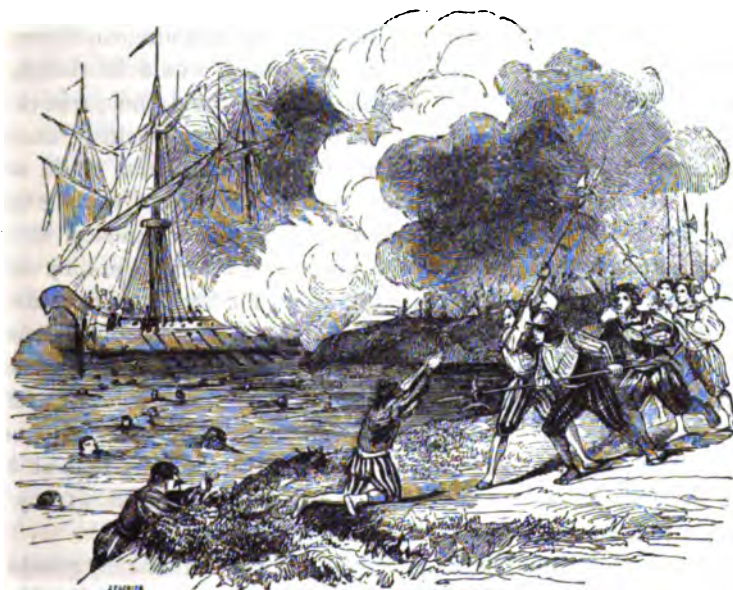
on it, and was despoiled, in an inconceivably short space of time, of all those possessions which it obtained, one by one, through so many intrigues and well studied calculations. Her imperturbable *sang froid* and proverbial prudence alone saved her from total ruin. Profiting even from her losses, which terminated all jealousies, and extinguished all resentments among themselves, she now only aimed at sowing discord among her enemies. At the first news of the defeat at Agnadel, the senate passed a decree, which released from their oath of fidelity all of its subjects whom the republic could no longer defend, and authorised them to treat as might best suit their convenience with the enemy. This policy, adroitly paternal, rekindled the sympathies of the masses for a government which could so generously abdicate. The peasants of Treviso, and of the Cremonas, suffered themselves to be hanged, rather than shout "Long live the king!" The cities which had opened their gates to the conquerors soon began to revolt. A shoemaker of Treviso, Mark Caligaro, raised the whole city by promenading the streets with the flag of the republic, and the cry of "Long live St. Mark!" and Venice, to give importance to an example for her so precious, solemnly burnt, in the great square at Treviso, all the registers of the contributions, and freed that faithful city from all imposts for fifteen years. The people of Padua, one of the cities ceded by Louis to Maximilian, favoured a *coup de main*, which put the place again into the hands of the proveditor, Andrew Gritti. At the same time, Venice entered on negociations with Julius II., with the emperor, and with the King of Spain. To the latter it freely gave the fortresses of La Pouille, which the republic was to have received as its share of the spoils of the Aragonese dynasty. She offered to the pope to resign in his favour the citadel of Ravenna, and some chateaux which were still besieged; to Maximilian all that he had conquered from the house of Austria, and a tribute of 50,000 ducats. Julius had not as yet enjoyed the humiliation of his ancient rivals. To James Caroldo, the envoy from the senate, he replied by complaints and menaces, but, however, consented that six of the principal senators should come to renew negociations with him. As to Maximilian, he conformed to the terms of the league of Cambray, and swore that he would listen to no proposition without the participation or approbation of the King of France.

The emperor was then in the first glow of his friendship for Louis XII. On his way to Spire, he caused to be burnt before his eyes the register containing a statement of all the crimes of France against the house of Austria. On the 17th of September the imperial army came to besiege Padua. It consisted of eighteen thousand Germans, six thousand Spaniards, and six thousand soldiers of other nations. The Cardinal D'Este appeared on the side of the pope, and the Duke of Ferrara at the head of two thousand Italians. Louis, who had just repassed the Alps, to shelter himself from the intolerable heat of the sun of Italy, had sent four thousand horse under the command of La Palice. The artillery, of which a part belonged to France,

was the most formidable that had yet been employed in any one siege. There was seen two hundred cannons on carriages, and a hundred and six mounted on wheels. Besides these they had eight bombs, so large, that they could only be fired four times a day. Venice had shut up all her troops in the fortress, with Petigliano, her general, and the proveditor, Andrew Gritti. The peasants of the vicinity were armed, and massacred without pity all who strayed from the camp. During a whole fortnight, the innumerable cannon of Maximilian battered the ramparts, and already one of the bastions had been demolished. But the German and the Spanish infantry, commanded to attempt the assault, had met with such a reception, that they were disgusted with the siege, and refused to return to the breach. To renew their courage, Maximilian wrote to La Palice to dismount with his men-at-arms, and hold themselves ready, at noon, to attempt the breach by the side of his infantry. Astonished as they were in the first instance at this strange order, the gentlemen who followed La Palice prepared to obey it with a good grace, "for the nights were cold, and good wine began to be scarce." But Bayard recalled them to a sense of their own dignity. "Can the emperor think," exclaimed the chevalier, "that this is reasonable?—to put so many of the noblesse in peril with the pioneers—of whom one is a shoemaker, another a farrier, a third a baker;—mechanical people, who hold not their honours in such estimation as gentlemen. He has counts, lords, and gentlemen of Germany; let him put them by the side of the gendarmes of France. They will willingly lead the way; and his infantry can follow, if they should know that there is any good to be done." Maximilian endeavoured to persuade the Germans, but their surly, phlegmatic pride, was even more difficult to deal with, than the frivolous vanity of the French. Among them all, there were only the Prince of Anhalt and the Captain Jacob, who were willing to accede to the wishes of the emperor. Greatly irritated, Maximilian left the camp at night, and went at one stage forty leagues from it. Halting then, he wrote to the flower of the French and German nobility, at once to raise the siege, where they were so much afraid of compromising themselves.

This produced an important change in the aspect of affairs. The raising of the siege of Padua, restored the fortunes of the Venetians. Their former subjects now called for them from all sides, and everywhere rose against a ferocious soldiery, whose outrages left far behind everything that had been known in the former wars of the country. Between Vicenza and Padua, a French commander, named L'Heresson, one of the chiefs of the Gascon adventurers, a continuation of the skinners, filled with smoke an immense grotto, in which a considerable part of the population had concealed themselves. Nobles, peasants, women, children, and old men were there indiscriminately suffocated. More than six thousand corpses were found there when it was examined. Of the crowd that had been there concealed, one young man only, who had contrived to breathe through a crevice in the wall, escaped. The honourable indignation of Bayard, who caused two of the

soldiers of Heresson to be hung on the spot, could not stop the cries of horror which burst from the people on all sides, when the news of this barbarity transpired; and a thirst for vengeance, more than fidelity, gave back to Venice its former subjects. Vicenza, Monselice, Montagnana, all the Polesin, were conquered in a few days by Petigliano. The brother of the Duke of Ferrara, the Cardinal Hypolito d'Este, avenged himself for his losses at Polisetta. Angelo Trevisani, the Venetian admiral, was engaged with seventeen gallies on the Po, to besiege Ferrara. This was in the month of December. The waters of the river, swelled by the rains of autumn, were almost even with the level of the bank which protected the adjacent country. In the course of one night, the cardinal caused a battery to be established along the bank, in which his soldiers made embrasures. The roar of the waters prevented the people in the fleet from hearing the noise made by those engaged in the construction of the battery. Early in the morning the cannon opened on the gallies, which found themselves attacked by an invisible enemy, without knowing how to defend themselves. The Venetian admiral was then utterly bewildered, and, instead of attempting to drown the assailants by breaking down the bank, he threw himself into a little bark and fled, leaving his fleet exposed to the fire of the cardinal, who



completely destroyed it. A great portion of the soldiers gained the shore by swimming, but more than two thousand were made prisoners or slain. This partial disaster, however, did not arrest the progress of the reviving

fortunes of Venice. She renewed the attack on Julius, who at length gave way. On the 24th February, 1510, he made peace with Venice. She abandoned to him all Romagna, and sacrificed even the privileges of her clergy, which till then she had been so determined to uphold.

Julius once subdued, Venice had only to leave the furious pontiff to himself. His personal ambition set at rest, he became the champion of Italy, and Italy could not be liberated from those who had overran it without relieving Venice from enemies that had threatened to crush her. Julius then employed for her, all that active spirit of intrigue which had previously been at work against her. Of all the *barbarous* nations whose influence had pressed heavily on the Peninsula, the Swiss were the most easy to gain over. Julius had long before seen by what means these disinterested combatants could be drawn off. From the year 1505, it had been his care to put himself in communication with the cantons, by forming for himself a guard of honour, consisting of two hundred Swiss. Their compatriot, Mathew Scheiner, an ardent and ambitious man, who, from the professor's chair in a small college, had been raised to the episcopal dignity, was the instrument of which he availed himself to withdraw them from the interests of France. In order to give more importance to his envoy, Julius decorated him, before his departure, with the hat of a cardinal. Scheiner nourished a profound hatred against Louis XII., who had disdained to accept his services. He went all through Switzerland, preaching up hostility to France in the name of religion, and dazzling the eyes of the mountaineers, by telling them of the glory which would be theirs, if they made themselves the protectors of the holy see, and the support of the church. The money of the pope, which he distributed with no sparing hand, subdued the scruples of those whom other arguments could not have convinced. It ought, however, to be stated, that before coming to a final decision, the Swiss, with their natural rudeness and simplicity, thought it but right, before engaging with a new master, to ascertain if they could not do better by remaining faithful to their former engagements; and, accordingly, applied to the King of France for an increase of their pensions and their allowances. Louis, who, in the spirit of the age, was much inclined to favour economy, peremptorily refused to comply with their demand, and remarked, with some warmth, that they seemed to consider him their tributary or their cashier. All indecision was now at an end. They threw themselves into the arms of the pope, who had already settled on each canton a pension of a thousand German florins.

Julius had secured the fidelity of Ferdinand the Catholic, by granting him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. He believed himself strong enough to act on the offensive, and suddenly seized the estates of the Duke of Ferrara, who had remained true to Louis, while a Venetian fleet proceeded to Genoa, and twelve thousand Swiss marched against the Milanese. Contareno, the Venetian admiral, was encountered by a French cruiser,

Prégent de Bridoux, who came with his galleys into the port of Genoa, and pursued the Venetians almost to Civita Vecchia. The Swiss arrived in disorder, without artillery, without cavalry, without field equipage, conducted by Mathew Scheiner, the "shorn general," as he was called. The Marshal de Chaumont had caused all the barks to be seized on the Lake of Como, and waited for them at the defile of Bellinzona with a large body of light cavalry, whom he had intermixed in small companies; and these measures caused them to experience so much fatigue, that, arrived on the banks of the Adda, they refused to advance further, and compelled the cardinal to withdraw them to the valley of Lugara. The efforts of the pope were more fortunate. He seized on Modena and Reggio, and, supported by the galleys of Venice, which had again passed up the Po, he prepared to besiege Ferrara, in spite of the marches and counter marches of De Chaumont, who, forced to maintain at the same time his position on the banks of that river, on the descent of the Alps, on the side of Venice, and in Liguria, caused his troops to manœuvre as a flying camp, passing incessantly from one city to another, without being able, in any case, to strike a decisive blow.

Louis, however, began to grow weary on account of this war, which he heard in some quarters described as impious, while threats of excommunication from the pontifical court were already significantly murmured in his ears. It was the first time, since Philippe the Fair, that a King of France had thus been found in opposition to the acknowledged head of the Christian world. Anne of Britany, with that strict and timid devotion which had distinguished many of her race, made every effort in her power to withdraw the king from a struggle which, in her eyes, was nothing less than sacrilegious. With an inconsistency often remarked in the fair sex, Anne, who had been so gentle and respectful to the brutal stripling who had married her sword in hand, and who cared but little about her, had become capricious and haughty with a manly and affectionate husband, who regarded her as his first love, and who had remained attached and faithful. On this occasion, she pleaded the cause of the holy see with such earnestness, that all who witnessed it were astonished. Louis allowed her to go, and laughingly called her his Breton lady. "We must be content," he jocularly remarked, "to put up with something from a woman, who loves her honour and her husband." To set her scruples however at rest, and to put an end to these domestic tempests, he was desirous of strengthening himself with some great authority, and, in consequence, he convoked a national council at Tours. The prelates repaired thither, escorted by all the most celebrated jurists of the kingdom. In that assembly it was maintained, and their view of the case was supported by the ancient traditions of the Gallican church, that the king was on every point completely justified, and the council denied that the pope had a right to make war beyond the limits of his own dominions, and, under such circumstances, they resolved that any excommunication which he might issue should be declared null and void. They held that it was permitted to the

king to resist him in arms, and finished by granting him a subsidy of 100,000 crowns, to be raised on ecclesiastical goods, at the same time prohibiting the clergy from sending money thenceforth to Rome. Such was the state of things, when five discontented cardinals arrived at Milan from Rome, and there employed themselves in publishing manifestoes against the pope. Nothing less than a general council was contemplated, before which Julius II. should be called to give an account of conduct which they held to be anything but evangelical, and of his warlike proceedings. Those who met at Tours reminded the king of the famous councils of Bale and Constance, and the manner in which Pope John XXIII. had been dealt with by the latter, and Pisa was mentioned as the place at which it would be proper for that which they meditated calling, to assemble. At the moment when they were about to separate, the Bishop of Gurck, the envoy of Maximilian, arrived, to give, in the name of his master, his consent to the summoning of a general council, and announced that ten thousand German infantry, and three thousand horse, would pass the Alps in the ensuing spring, to carry on the war with new vigour against Venice. The German ambassador, before he took his departure, renewed the treaty of Cambray, which was immediately made public at Tours, and even in the presence of the council.

The news of this opposition to his will served but to inflame the indignation of Julius. Chaumont and Trivulce had just worsted his troops near Modena. His cardinals were weary of finding themselves constantly dragged in his suite, in the midst of cannons and men-at-arms, and incessantly plied him with complaints, and entreaties that he would make peace. But Julius made a firm stand, and braved all dangers. He seemed at once to defy fortune and public opinion; and for all answer to those who condemned the spectacle of a pope in arms, he boldly encamped, in the middle of winter, under the walls of Mirandola. Julius had sworn to effect the ruin of the Duke of Ferrara. Following in the steps of Cæsar Borgia, his model in politics, if not in morals, he was considered, by the part he acted in regard to this siege, to have decidedly abjured the character and the robe of a priest. Though he had numbered fourscore years, Julius was seen in the trenches, braving the snow and rain, a sword in his hand, a cuirass at his back, addressing his soldiers with all the animation and enthusiasm of a captain of the free companies. He was at first lodged in the house of a peasant, within the distance of two bowshots from the rampart. A bullet from the enemy struck the house, and killed two valets in the kitchen. On his second visit to the camp, he exposed himself to still greater danger, by establishing himself in a little church close to the batteries. In the course of these movements, the daring prelate had nearly fallen a victim to his martial propensities. It was known that he was to pass some days at the Château de San Felice, distant three leagues from the camp of Mirandola. Bayard, who commanded a small body of troops, posted within five leagues



Julius II. at the Camp of Mirandola.

of the place, determined to attempt the capture of the pope on his return ; and accordingly, the day before, prepared an ambuscade by the side of the road over which he was to travel. He seized the equipages when they passed ; but Julius was not with them. He had not advanced more than a cannon shot from San Felice, when he, and those who accompanied him, encountered the most rough and vehement storm of snow that had fallen (so it was said) for a century ; and his cardinals complained so bitterly, that he at length consented to turn back ; but scarcely had they approached the drawbridge, when the conductors of the equipages were seen returning in confusion, with Bayard close at their heels. Julius instantly sprang from his litter, and assisted in person to lift the drawbridge. Many were disgusted at seeing the pontiff lead the life of a man-at-arms ; but in Italy his partisans made a merit of it. There was circulated through the country a pamphlet, in which was exhibited this pope, aged and feeble, boldly following his soldiers to the breach ; while it showed, as a contrast, the King of France remaining at ease in his court, leaving all the toil of war to his generals. The siege was not rapidly advanced. Chaumont, jealous of Trivulce, the father of the princess of Mirandola, did not hasten to succour the place, being, moreover, detained by a lady for whom he had an attachment at Milan. The batteries of the pope had made a large breach in the rampart ; and the water of the ditch being frozen hard, opened a passage to the assailants. The place at length surrendered. Such was the eagerness of Julius to see himself master of it, that he could not wait till they had cleared the breach for him to pass through, but causing a ladder to be brought, he mounted on the rampart, clambering over the rubbish.

This triumph, however, was more dazzling than important. A short time after that, Trivulce, who, by the death of Chaumont, found himself charged with the task of carrying on the war, cut in pieces the pope's army near La Bastide, and delivered the Ferrarese on the 21st of May. The Bentivoglios raised Bologna against the legate, Alidosi, who commanded there for the pope ; and the French, passing with them into the city, threw themselves suddenly on the troops of the Duke d'Urbino, encamped at the foot of the ramparts. The rout of the duke was most complete. He lost his artillery, his baggage, and his standards ; and, in his rage, having met a few days afterwards Alidosi at Ravenna, he poniarded him to death in the midst of his guards. Julius soon learned that the general council with which he had been threatened was definitively convoked to meet at Pisa. In Modena, in Bologna, and on the doors of almost all the churches in Italy, they had fixed papers, which cited the pope to appear before the council on the 1st of September. Rome began to be disturbed, excited by the agents of Louis. The proud pontiff, who put in motion all christendom, found himself obliged to seek refuge in the Château St. Ange, to escape the fury of the populace. Louis, animated by the strife, no longer set bounds to his resentment. He caused a medal to be struck, which, it might be supposed, was anti-dated or

borrowed from Savonarole or from Luther: *Perdam Babylonis nomen*, (I will destroy the name of Babylon.) By Babylon the pope and cardinals were meant, who had then convoked at St. Latran a council intended to rival or oppose that of Pisa. The projects of the King of France were in fine keeping with this menacing legend. He wished to send an army to Rome to seize Julius, drag him before the council, and after having deposed him, to claim from his successor the investiture of the kingdom of Naples. To make head against so many dangers, Julius extended and drew closer the bonds of the league which he had formed with Venice and Ferdinand the Catholic. Long as the reign of Henry VII. of England had been, that country had but imperfectly recovered from the endless convulsions into which it had been thrown, by the protracted and terrible war of the two roses. Repose was still wanting to it; and in this unsettled state, France, Germany and Spain, were left by England to tear unhappy Italy to pieces at their pleasure. When Henry VIII., the son and successor of the victorious Richmond, ascended the throne, he found the nation at peace, and a well provided treasury. He hastened to throw into the balance the influence of that warlike people, who had furnished, in the latter part of the middle ages, so many brave soldiers and renowned commanders. Julius, who sought everywhere to raise up enemies to France, deemed the moment favourable for awakening the recollection of ancient rivalries. He had this year bestowed on Henry VIII. the golden rose, which the holy see sent every year to the monarch it was disposed to honour most. In the month of November, 1511, the English king solemnly joined the confederation formed by the pope, Venice, the Swiss, and Ferdinand the Catholic, which then took the name of "the holy league," or "the holy union." The soldiers of the powers who were parties to the league carried the ensigns of the church, to justify the epithet given to that political coalition; and there were seen Turkish knights enrolled, to bear aloft the keys of St. Peter, by the side of the Mussulman's crescent. Ferdinand discharged his Neapolitan bands, who instantly entered the service of the pope. He sent into the Milanese territory a powerful army, under the command of Raymond de Cardonne and of Peter Navarre. At the same time, sixteen thousand Swiss arrived from the north, having at their head their great standard, in the middle of which appeared a crucifix, which they had not displayed since the disastrous day of Nancy. The Venetians soon gave the signal for war. They took Crémé, Cremona, and almost all the places which they had lost after their defeat of Agnadel. The Spanish army having laid siege to Bologna, were already cantoned in the villages forming the environs of Milan, where the council of Pisa had taken refuge, not deeming itself safe in the neighbourhood of Julius. To meet so many enemies, the French had one general, who was then no more than twenty-two years of age. This was Gaston de Foix, Duke de Nemours, the nephew of Louis, who had but recently arrived in the Milanese lands, of which he had been named governor. Not troubling himself about the

dangers of such a warfare, carried on in a strange land, he marched at once against the Swiss, who were driven back to their mountains, without



performing any other exploit than burning a score of villages. Thence Gaston hastened to Bologna, the garrison of which defended itself bravely against the sixteen thousand infantry and eighteen hundred men-at-arms, who had pressed upon it for nearly a month. There were in Bologna but two thousand German foot soldiers, and two hundred gendarmes; but their courage was sustained by the valour and reputation of their commanders, Yves, D'Alegre, Lautrec, Lafayette, and a Captain Vincent, a species of giant, of proved intrepidity, whom the Italians had surnamed the "great devil." The enemy's artillery, however, directed by Peter Navarre, had already made a breach of two hundred fathoms in the wall. Peter, who was the first to employ gunpowder in the mines, filled the bravest hearts with terror by his formidable inventions. Wonderful things are described as the effects of the mines at the siege of Bologna. A little chapel which stood on the border of a ditch, was said to have been carried into the air at the moment of an explosion, and had fallen exactly on its foundation, having scarcely any rents made in its walls, so solid had been its construction. The people of Bologna were eager to make a miraculous chapel, and did not take

much trouble to ascertain whether it had really been moved from its place or not; but Peter, far from suffering himself to be discouraged by this unfortunate essay, resumed his labour; and the garrison was waiting for some unimaginable catastrophe, when Gaston arrived one morning in the city, his approach being favoured by a heavy fall of snow, bringing with him eleven thousand foot soldiers, and thirteen hundred lances. Informed of his arrival, Raymond de Cardonne caused his troops to defile that night with his baggage and artillery; and the next morning, the 3rd of February, 1512, at break of day, he evacuated the place. On the same day, Gaston received the news that Andrew Gritti had entered Brescia with eight thousand men. The family of Avogaro, the chief of which had been insulted by the Gambara, the friends of the French, had given up the place by removing the portcullis of the canal Gazetta, which passed under the rampart. De Lude, the governor, made a passage for himself, sword in hand, through the midst of the citizens; and, calling to his aid Gaston, traversed the Mantuan territory in a day, defeated on his road John Paul Baghoni, who, with five thousand men, scarcely detained him a quarter of an hour, and appeared most unexpectedly under the walls of Brescia, which he immediately attacked. On the 19th of February, Brescia was carried by assault, with a loss on the part of the Venetians of twenty thousand men, according to the French, though the Italians only confessed to a loss of eight thousand. In mounting the breach, Bayard received a wound in the thigh by a pike, which threw him into a ditch; and his fall was said to have caused the taking of the city. "Let us avenge, my lads, the good chevalier," cried De Nemours, springing on the entrenchments, which were instantly carried. The pillage of Brescia lasted many days; and the French obtained there a booty of 3,000 crowns. It is certain that the taking of the place was the ruin of the French in Italy; for they had gained so much in the city, that the greater portion of them returned home, and withdrew from the war. They also made a good profit on the day of Ravenna, as will hereafter be seen.

Raymond de Cardonne carefully avoided an action with the French. He expected news of the fleet which the King of England was preparing in the Thames, and the presence of which, on the shores of France, would force Louis to recall a portion of the army of Italy. On the other side, negotiations had been opened with Maximilian, who was no longer restrained by his hatred for Venice, for the good understanding between him and Louis had not been of long duration. It was whispered that the latter no longer spoke of the former but as his great devil from hell, and that it was only as a body guard that the emperor lent some of his foot soldiers to France. Various reasons made Gaston anxious for a decisive action; and in order to force Raymond to give him battle, he marched to Ravenna, which place he soon reduced to great extremity. The city was on the point of surrendering, when letters arrived from Maximilian, in which he directed the Germans to withdraw from the side which they had hitherto espoused. These letters fortunately

fell into the hands of a commander named Jacob, a brave and faithful ally of the French, who kept their contents a secret, but communicated on the subject with the Duke de Nemours. The Spanish army made its appearance while matters were in this state; and Gaston no longer hesitated, but, on the 11th of April, attacked them in their entrenchments. This battle presented a singular *melange* of ancient chivalrous usages, and of the new military tactics which the Spaniards had been taught by "the great captain." The Duke de Nemours exhorted all his gendarmerie, that, as they wished to maintain the honour of France, his, and their own, to act on that day, even for the love of their mistresses, a noble part. Navarre gave to the battle a more modern character. He ordered his foot soldiers to lie down flat on their faces by the side of the ditch, that they might be less exposed to the fire of the enemy; and as soon as the French had passed the Ronco, which separated their camp from his, they had to encounter the fire of his artillery. The cannonade was continued on both sides for three hours, without either party moving forward. The French treated the whole business with great indifference. Molard, and Jacob, who has already been mentioned, sat down



at the head of their troops, and enjoyed themselves drinking in sight of the army, while a shower of bullets was falling around them. Two thousand

infantry perished there; and of forty commanders, two only escaped. On witnessing this havoc, Gaston made the Duke of Ferrara advance with his culverines, which were pointed at the gendarmes of Fabricius Colonna. The right wing of the French army, extending beyond the line of Fabricius, received some of the bullets; but Gaston would make no pause. Fabricius had already lost three hundred men-at-arms, when he dashed across the ditch, and ran at the French. The combat then in a moment assumed an aspect which recalled the strife of ancient chivalry. After half an hour spent in successive charges, each rallying and resting to take breath in turn, Fabricius was repulsed by Gaston, Bayard, and D'Alegre, and obliged to repass the ditch in disorder. This check frightened Raymond, a doubtful warrior, whom the pope had surnamed Madame Cardonne. He immediately fled with all his cavalry, which he led to Ancona, thirty leagues distant from the battle-field. Peter Navarre, left alone to oppose the enemy, was exposed to the attacks of the French army. On a sudden he made all his Spaniards rise, who till then had been stretched on the ground, and presented in front of the enemy a thick mass of pikemen, which long prevented the enemy's advance. A furious struggle took place there, in which Jacob was killed by a shot from an arquebus, with Grammont, Maugiron, Bonnet, Bardassan, and many others. A German officer, named Fabien, who was one of the largest and most powerful men in Europe, rushed violently on all the pikemen of the opposite force that he could reach, and brought many to the ground. His daring was requited, and Fabien fell covered with wounds; but his companions succeeded in breaking through the Spanish lines; and a gap once made, the rout soon became universal. The ditch was passed, Navarre made prisoner, and the battle was won, when Gaston found himself at some distance from the main body of the army, accompanied by from twenty to thirty men-at-arms. At that moment he saw a column of two thousand Spanish soldiers, who were retiring on Ravenna, their pikes in their hands, and their colours flying. Moved by this spectacle, he called for his helmet, and without stopping to collect any of his men, who were scattered about the field, he blindly threw himself and his few attendants before the Spanish retreating column. They received Gaston on the points of their pikes. At the first shock he was unhorsed, and thrown from his saddle into a muddy ditch. His body was pierced with fourteen wounds, and he instantly expired [April 11th, 1512]. The enemy left twelve thousand men on the banks of the Ronco and the Lavio. Ravenna, and other places in Romania, surrendered almost without striking a blow. But with Gaston the fortunes of France seemed to have fallen at Ravenna. When Louis was congratulated on the victory which his arms had gained, "Wish my enemies such triumphs," he mournfully replied.

Reverses were soon deplored on all sides. Maximilian reiterated the orders which he had given before the battle; and the brother of Jacob withdrew with the German auxiliaries from the standard of La Palice, who had

succeeded Gaston in the command. On hearing of the danger which threatened the pope, "the shorn general" recalled the Swiss to battle. Julius asked for six thousand; eighteen thousand presented themselves at Coire, without claiming any pay in advance but a florin, (of the Rhine), for each man. As soon as they had joined the Venetians, the game was no longer doubtful. La Palice, compelled to retreat from forces so superior to his own, evacuated the Milanese territory, which again fell into the hands of the Sforzas. The Medicis re-entered Florence at the same moment. Genoa rose for the last time, and drove the French from her walls. Revolt favoured the views of the Swiss and the Venetians everywhere. The most profound hatred for foreigners animated the population of the several places. At Milan, the mob ran to the barracks and the hospitals the moment Trivulce had abandoned the place, and massacred, without mercy, the lame or sick soldiers that remained. They invented ingenious tortures, which they regarded as an amusement. Four officers from the citadel of Ravenna were buried in the earth all but their heads, and in that situation were stoned by the people. The last allies of France in their turn abandoned her. The Marquis of Mantua excused himself to La Palice for the insufficiency of his force, and opened his lands to the confederates. Alphonso de Ferrara, threatened to be despoiled by Julius, purchased peace of him by submitting to all those inflictions which the church, in ancient times, imposed on their repentant enemies. He came to solicit absolution, a rope round his neck, and presented his shoulders to the great preceptor, [July 14th]. By particular favour, the ceremony was allowed to take place with closed doors, in the consistory, instead of having for the scene of action the church porch, according to custom, with all the population of the place assembled as spectators. At the same time, the holy league extended its labours beyond Italy, and threatened France on the other side of the Pyrenees. The fleet so long expected from Henry VIII. had at length set sail, commanded by the Marquis of Dorset, who landed six thousand men upon the coast of Biscay, where his troops formed a junction with those of Ferdinand the Catholic, against Don Juan d'Albret, King of Navarre, the ally of Louis. Ferdinand had a fine game to play with an indolent prince, wholly occupied with pleasure, which was the case with Don Juan, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of his consort, Catherine de Foix. Juan allowed the Catholic quietly to approach, who, under pretence of an expedition to France, marched his troops to the frontiers. On the 20th of July, 1512, when the Spaniards saw him advance, they fell suddenly on the kingdom of Navarre. On the 25th, they were masters of Pampeluna, and soon there remained to the heedless monarch but the citadel of Tudelle, and a few chateaux buried in the mountains. In vain Louis made it a point of honour to repair a disaster, of which he could not but regard himself as the primary cause, and sent into Navarre eight or ten thousand men, with all the heroes of the Italian wars, La Palice, Bayard,

and Lautrec, cured, almost by a miracle, of twenty-two wounds which he received at Ravenna, by the side of the ill fated Gaston. Charles de Bourbon, who commanded the expedition, possessed himself at once of almost all the fortresses in Navarre, but he failed before Pampeluna; and being overtaken by winter, it was necessary for him to abandon the country, taking with him the despoiled monarch. It is stated that, on their passage over the Pyrenees, Catharine de Foix, turning her eyes towards Navarre, and giving a last glance at her lost kingdom, exclaimed, "Don Juan, my friend, if you had been born Catharine, and I Don Juan, we still should have been sovereigns of Navarre."

The death of Julius II., which took place on the 21st of February in the next year, created for a short time a diversion in favour of France. The ever active genius of the deceased pontiff, did not think it enough to have twice changed the fortunes of Italy, and though he was now eighty-two years of age, he made preparations for overthrowing the power of Spain, as he had done the authority of France and Venice. He was heard to exclaim one day, striking the earth with his stick, that "if God prolonged his life, he would free Naples from a foreign yoke." A fever, brief but obstinate, which became complicated with dysentrey, removed him from the scene, just in time to suit the views of Ferdinand, who, perhaps, might otherwise have seen his surname compromised. Faithful to the last to his plan for extending the influence of papacy, Julius died signing a bull, which was intended to deprive Louis XII. of his kingdom, and give the sovereignty of France to any one who might wish to possess it.

Unfortunately, the course of events dealt with the "holy league," as they had done with that of Cambray. Success loosened the bonds which held it together. The French expelled from the Milanese territory, Venice found herself again open to the pretensions of the pontiff, and at the same time pursued by the resentment of Maximilian. She therefore withdrew herself from the union, and threw herself into the arms of France, [March 4th, 1513]. The new pope, John de Medici, who received the name of Leo X., was a man of mild and elegant manners, without any real passion but a love of letters, and a fervent admiration for the fine arts, and for pompous ceremonies. He spent 100,000 florins in fêtes on the occasion of his coronation. Thus pre-occupied, he could not seriously take to that inheritance of hatred and political intrigue which Julius had bequeathed to him. He, however, found himself committed to them by what had previously occurred. At the battle of Ravenna, he had come forward with a cross of silver in his hand to exhort the soldiers of Peter Navarre; and while giving them absolution, "he wept from joy," writes Giodo, at seeing them press round him to touch his sacred garments. On the 15th of April, he renewed the alliance between the holy see, the empire, and England and Spain, by the treaty of Malines; and the war was renewed with augmented fury in Italy. Louis endeavoured to regain the Swiss; but the latter raised their demands in proportion as they

felt their importance increase. "You must bring 50,000 crowns," they said to La Tremouille, "as the annual pension of the cantons, and you must



furnish pay to fifteen thousand Swiss, in time of peace as well as in war. Do you promise that?" La Tremouille having protested against these demands, and stated that he had no power to comply with them, they coolly replied, "Well, then, you may put on your boots and march."

All, for some time, went favourably for France. Leaving foreigners to effect revolutions within its limits, Italy could only change its yoke, and the last was always complained of as the worst. The Swiss, who had conducted Maximilian Sforza to Milan, were now the real masters of Lombardy, and their greedy and brutal domination soon caused the levity and insolence of the French to be regretted. At the opening of the campaign, Genoa and Milan revolted. La Tremouille, with the aid of the German infantry, whose aid had been purchased by the French without the consent of Maximilian, recovered in a short time all the possessions which had been lost in the preceding year. There remained to Sforza only Como and Novarro; and La Tremouille besieged him in the latter place. The recollection of the siege of 1500 seemed a favourable augury for the latter. But the Swiss defended the son better than they had defended the father. The French artillery having made in the rampart a breach, through which fifty men could advance abreast, those who maintained the fortress proposed to throw up behind it a new entrenchment. The Swiss were opposed to it. By a sort

of arrogant flourish, they contented themselves with hanging some bed clothes along the breach, merely to conceal their movements from the enemy. A strong body of mountaineers came to their assistance by the valley of Aost. La Tremouille wished to advance to meet them, and established himself at a distance of two miles from Novarro, on the banks of the canal of Vigevano, in marshy land, everywhere intersected with broad ditches, in the midst of which his cavalry could scarcely manœuvre. The expected reinforcement having entered the place, the Commander Mottino advised that an attack should be made on the French, in the disadvantageous position they had chosen. At midnight, on the 6th of June, seventeen thousand Swiss marched out in close order, having at their head the two famous horns which had so often led them to battle, the "bull of Uri" and the "cow of Underwalden." At break of day they fell on the German infantry, which were posted with the artillery at the entrance of the camp. The latter were prepared to receive them, and their twenty-two culverins made dreadful havoc in the dense columns of the assailants. But the Swiss still intrepidly advanced, filling up the ranks as fast as vacancies were made by the bullets which poured upon them, and at length they reached the Germans. For two hours they fought hand to hand, with a bitterness which was aggravated by a spirit of rivalry in trade. The Swiss were furious against the Germans, who had taken from them the benefits of a lucrative service, by engaging to fight on the side of the French. In the end they were victors, and succeeded in exterminating their rivals.



The cavalry of Tremouille, entangled in the ditches and marshes, could not advance to succour the Germans. Robert de la Marck, the father of

Fleuranges, their general, making a desperate effort, forced the ranks of the pikemen which flanked the Swiss column, and sought for his son on the field of battle. Fleuranges had fallen, having received forty-six wounds. Robert threw him across his horse, and, with his brother Jamets, galloped off the ground with his bleeding burden.

The battle of Novarro drove the French again from Italy. More important cares now demanded their attention, Henry VIII. prepared to make his appearance at Calais with thirty thousand men, and Maximilian was already in Flanders ready to assist the English. The struggle had commenced off the coast of Britany, between the sailors of France and England. Prégent Bridoux, whom Louis had taken from his galleys in the Mediterranean, defeated the English in Brest harbour, and revenged the affront by making a descent on the English shores, and burning several villages. On St. Lawrence's day, August 10th, twenty large ships of war, Normans and Bretons, were attacked off St. Mahé by a fleet of eighty sail. The Cordelier, commanded by the Breton, Primauguet, defended himself alone against ten or twelve ships. This was the largest ship in the French navy, and carried twelve hundred combatants besides her crew. Primauguet was about to come off victorious, when the English fired his vessel. Finding his fate inevitable, he rushed on the ship called the Regent, which bore the admiral's flag, and grappled with her. In a few moments she also caught fire; and the powder magazine of the Cordelier having received a spark, the ship was instantly blown up, with that of the English admiral. Those engaged in the other vessels looked on with awe at this desperate struggle, while listening to the cries of fury and despair which burst from both vessels. At the terrible spectacle presented by the expected result, the battle ceased on both sides, and no further trial of naval strength occurred during the war.

Henry, however, arrived at Calais, where he was immediately joined by the emperor. But the alliance of Maximilian had in it something strange, not to say farcical. From the time of the treaty of Cambray, he had been paid twice or thrice the hire of the troops which he led against Venice. Henry did as much by the Swiss and Germans that came to join him from Flanders. He even, in a manner, engaged the emperor himself, for Maximilian, finding that Henry was liberal in his disbursements, became his soldier, and received 100 crowns a day "for his table." The King of England marched without delay to Terouanne; and while he besieged it, a body of eight thousand men coming to succour the place, found themselves unexpectedly, on the banks of the Lys, opposed to ten thousand English archers, and from four to five thousand German infantry. This occurred on the 17th of August. The heat of the weather was so great, that the gendarmes had thrown aside their helmets, and quitted their horses to bathe in the river. Surprised as they were, they had neither presence of mind nor opportunity to form in order of battle, and, notwithstanding the efforts of

the Duke de Longueville, of La Palice and Bayard, who fought desperately, the rout was complete after the first shock. The affair was called the "battle of spurs," because it was sarcastically told that the French gendarmes made, on this occasion, more use of their spurs than of their swords. For the Germans in the service of France, their rivals, the Swiss, surnamed them, for the part they had acted, "the armed hares." The misfortune of Guinegate was soon followed by the taking of Terouanne, which was totally ruined, and afterwards by that of Tournay, which Maximilian claimed as an imperial city, and which the English monarch consented to hold for him. Misunderstandings arose among the parties to the league of Malines; Ferdinand the Catholic, in return for the aid which he had received from the English to conquer Navarre, had promised to assist them to re-conquer Guienne, but now he refused to co-operate in such an enterprise. At this moment La Tremouille had just delivered France from an attack, from which much had been expected in the English camp. At the commencement of September, twenty-five thousand Swiss, flanked by two thousand horse, and the heavy artillery of Maximilian, had thrown themselves suddenly on Burgundy, and laid siege to Dijon. The alarm throughout the kingdom was great, at being suddenly assailed from all sides. At the same time they, had the affliction to hear of the misfortunes which had befallen the Venetians and the Scotch, the only remaining allies of France. The Alviana had been defeated at La Molta by the Spaniards, and James IV., King of Scotland, by the Duke of Norfolk at Flodden, where the Scottish monarch, and the flower of his nobility were left dead on the field. Many citizens of Paris began already to remove their effects to the further side of the Loire, and strong reminiscences of the King of Bourges were now revived in the court of Louis XII. La Tremouille, who had long commanded the Swiss in Italy, turned the storm aside in gaining them over. Profiting from the weariness growing on the duration of the siege, and the negligence of Henry VIII. in regard to their pay, he consented to give them all they claimed, and sent them back to their mountains. The Swiss, who declared themselves at once protectors of the holy see, of the emperor, and of the Sforzas, changed masters, settling at once all questions that had been in dispute for forty years; the succession of Burgundy, that of the Milanese, and the quarrel of the Gallican church with the papal authority, were all arranged on condition that they should receive 400,000 ducats. Louis loudly complained when he was informed of the arrangement. "By my faith, sire," said Tremouille, "I have been compelled to subscribe to these conditions from the bad provision made for the defence of your kingdom, and I have extricated you from as difficult a situation as any from which you could require to be extricated." In satisfaction of all these conditions, so ambitiously dictated by the Swiss, they received 20,000 ducats, which Tremouille drew from his own purse, and from the purses of his companions, and paid on the spot. For the rest they were content to receive six hostages,

two lords and six citizens of Dijon. The last are said to have been persons in humble circumstances, though put forth as substantial citizens.

While these matters were in progress, Anne of Britany died at Blois, on the 9th of January, 1514. Her daughter, Claude, who inherited Britany, was immediately married to Francis, Duke of Angoulême, on whose head the crown was to descend; and notwithstanding the tears of Louis for the loss he had sustained, the place of his deceased queen was soon occupied. English, French, Germans and Spaniards, were all weary of the war. Leo X., who had kept in a great degree aloof from the strife, which always tended to his aggrandisement, was easily induced to forget the past, when Louis renounced the schismatic decisions of the council of Pisa. Ferdinand and Maximilian made their peace one after the other; and at length, on the 7th of August, 1514, the treaty of London completed the provisional pacification of Europe. Louis took for his new consort Mary, the sister of Henry VIII., whom he married on the 9th of October, 1514, at Abbeville, and engaged to pay his brother-in-law 1,000,000 of ducats within ten years. The union of Louis with Mary, the sister of the King of England, was celebrated as a most auspicious event. Louis had not become so "full of days" as to be insensible to the charms of a princess, whose attractions were by all admitted to be extraordinary. She came in great state, superbly attired, and seated in a magnificent car. The king, on hearing of her approach, went out on pretence of hawking, but really to meet her. On seeing her, being on horseback, he rode up to her and kissed her, and "paid her," says Monstrelet, "many fair compliments, which he well knew how to do."

It was the Duke of Longueville, who was made prisoner at the battle of Guinegate, and who had since remained in England, that negotiated this marriage. He suggested to Henry that, by such a match, the peace of the world might be restored, and though the princess was but seventeen and Louis fifty-three years of age, he argued that, in consideration of the vast good that was likely to result from the family alliance contemplated, such disparity might be overlooked. His representations were listened to, and the marriage brought about; but Henry, in consideration of this, did not abate in favour of the negotiator the price which he had fixed on as his ransom, which was 50,000 crowns. Longueville, however, who was constantly the companion of Henry, was said to have won almost that sum from the English monarch at tennis.

The union thus brought about afforded Louis great satisfaction, but is believed to have accelerated his death. He was at that period, as already stated, fifty-three years of age, and afflicted with the gout. He was, however, anxious to have an heir; and, according to Brantome, he took upon himself to play the lover and the young man with his blooming bride, who was considered to be one of the most beautiful women in Europe. To please her, he engaged in a round of pleasures ill suited to his time of life, and his

established habits. The change of his hours, as mentioned by the author just quoted, was not a little remarkable. Instead of dining at eight o'clock, as he had been accustomed to do, he did not take his dinner till noon; and instead of going to bed at six, he did not retire till midnight. This was too much for his constitution; and, at the end of six weeks of fêtes and rejoicings, he fell sick of a dysentery, and died at Paris on January 1st, 1515, at the very hour when the new year commenced, in his palace of Tournelles. As a boy, he was wild and violent; subsequently, a brilliant chevalier; and as a king, moderate and gracious. After his marriage, betrayed into festive excesses, he closed his reign almost as a ridiculous old man. The pacific disposition and unalterable mildness of his second nature, had given a striking contradiction to the reflection of his grandfather, that he had reared a porcupine, who had embodied the idea in a curious device, with this legend, *Cominus et erminus* (near and far off), and rendered him dear to his subjects. At Paris, they long preserved the recollection of his little mule, on which he was accustomed to enter Paris familiarly, and without attendants, to seat himself among the judges, or promenade in the midst of his people in the gardens of the palace, behind the grand hall, on the spot where the place



Dauphiny is now found. With this kindly dispositon, and much cordial tranquillity, Louis XII. left with pain his well beloved people, to pass under the rule of Francis d'Angoulême, a man fond of pomp and *éclat*, who, at a subsequent period, was pronounced to be the first gentleman of his

kingdom, but who was little disposed to value the favourite maxim of "the father of his people," "that a good shepherd will not indulge his sheep too much." "Alas!" exclaimed Louis to his confidants, "our labours are in vain. This great boy will spoil all."

Francis, Count d'Angouleme, sprang like Louis XII. from the unfortunate Duke of Orleans, who was assassinated in the rue Barbette. John of Orleans, his father, was the third son of Louis. Notwithstanding his Orleans descent, the house of John of Orleans, setting aside the impotent demonstration made at the time of "the mad war," had not taken a conspicuous part in or out of the kingdom, till the moment arrived when the order of succession called upon him at once to pass from a situation of profound obscurity to the splendour of a crown. The first of the five kings which that house was to give to France, was, at the time of his accession, twenty-one years of age, tall, well made, accustomed to all athletic exercises, with all the good qualities and all the defects of the gentleman. The transition was most abrupt, from "the good king" to this brilliant and impetuous youth; and as if resolved not to falsify what had been predicted of him by Louis, the first thoughts of the new monarch turned towards Italy. Going back, in the gaiety of his heart, to that dangerous struggle from which Louis had with so much difficulty withdrawn himself, on the day of his coronation, Francis I. caused himself to be proclaimed at the same time King of France and Duke of Milan. Nor was it merely the title that he had resolved to assume. He immediately applied himself to make good, by force of arms, the proclamation which had been made by the herald at Rheims, and which was certainly rather gratuitous, as, at that period, France had no possessions remaining to her in the Milanese territory. Without loss of time, he caused the deficiencies in the treasury to be made good by his friend Duprat, whom he had appointed his chancellor, by putting up for sale certain offices connected with the judicature of the country; and with the money obtained by this odious expedient, subsidised two thousand German, and six thousand Basque and Gascon infantry. At the approach of the storm, which was to burst on Maximilian Sforza, the emperor, the King of Spain and the pope, united with the Swiss and the Florentines to protect that feeble prince against his formidable rival. Francis opposed to the hostile league his alliances with Henry VIII., with Charles of Spain, who was soon to become Charles V., with the Genoese, the Venetians, the Marquis of Saluces, and the Duke of Ferrara. He proceeded to Lyons, where he soon assembled the most imposing army that had ever yet crossed the Alps. To the German infantry and the Gascons, two thousand five hundred lances, (fifteen thousand knights) were added, without reckoning the household troops, the king's guards, all the volunteers raised by the noblesse, eight companies of French militia, and three thousand pioneers. An immense supply of munitions and artillery were provided. The conquest of the Milanese was well known to be the object in view; but Francis paused before passing the Alps, where twenty

thousand Swiss, posted in the mountains, closed all the passages. Notwithstanding their avowed resolution, the King of France and his men-at-arms were disposed to shrink from attacking those terrible soldiers, in the midst of rocks and precipices, on ground with which they were familiar, and in positions which might be called impregnable. An old mountaineer, who was brought to the camp by his lord, the Count de Morette, relieved the French from this embarrassment. He conducted them through a road, which in truth was but a hunter's track; but Peter Navarre applied himself to render it practicable even for heavy artillery. Abandoned after the battle of Ravenna by the ungrateful Ferdinand, who refused to pay his ransom, Navarre had passed into the service of France, and now commanded the Basques and the Gascons. All his art as a skilful engineer was brought into play on this occasion, and admirably seconded by his pioneers and soldiers; he completed his arduous undertaking before the Swiss had been apprised of its commencement. Above these frightful mountains, over which it was necessary to climb, in continual danger of death, by passages horrible not only to traverse, but to look upon, the French lifted their artillery and their carriages by main force, with pulleys, dragging them from rock to rock with incredible pain and incessant labour. The soldiers toiled with the pioneers, and the officers did not scruple to use the pickaxe and the hatchet, to push the wheels, and to draw the ropes. They soon formed esplanades, and shattered huge rocks; sometimes they made use of those which they broke as capstans to move their enormous loads. In other places they covered precipices with great trees, which they threw over intervening spaces, and by such means, in four or five days, Mezeray reports, the whole army was safely conducted with its materiel to the valley of Argentières.

After this, everything seemed easy. The French fell suddenly on Italy, descending from la Roche-Sparaière, and at first they encountered no obstacle. Prospero Colonna, who commanded the gendarmerie of the pope, was carried to Villa Franche by La Palice and Bayard, at the moment when he was sitting down to table. "Madame de Cardonne" dared not to make a movement in the presence of that formidable army. Maximilian was at a great distance. Leo X. and the Florentines hesitated to compromise themselves by an ill-timed attack. There remained to Sforza but the Swiss; and these mercenary warriors seeing no enemy forthcoming from the Spaniards or the pope, were content to receive pay from France, and to retire to their mountains. The 700,000 crowns promised to the Swiss were already collected. Albert de Berne was marching with ten thousand men of his canton. The army advanced peaceably towards the Milanese, and Milan sent to make her submission. The Duke de Gueldres, the general of the German foot soldiers, seeing the war at an end, gave up the command to his nephew, the Count of Guise, and set off post to return to his estates, which were menaced by the Imperialists. Meanwhile, the cardinal of Sion arrived at the Swiss camp, and, by his furious preaching, re-kindled in their hearts

all the hatred of the holy league. Resch, the burgomaster of Zurich, sent to his aid by the cantons, brought a reinforcement of twenty thousand men. Notwithstanding their fame for political probity, the Swiss allowed themselves, in this instance, to be carried away by avarice. Scheiner soon delivered the sum due to them from Spain, but at the same time exhorted them to lay hands on that which Lautrec had brought to them. The pupil of Julius II. called that avenging himself for the treaty of Dijon. It was the good fortune of Lautrec to be warned in time of what had taken place, and he hastened to retrace his steps. At length, on Thursday, the 13th of September, "the shorn general" assembled his Swiss in the market-place of Milan, and in a discourse, half sermon, half harangue, ordered them to march to battle. He concluded by granting them, in the name of the pope, a general absolution and plenary indulgences.

The French were so near, that on that same morning their out-posts had killed nine or ten men in the streets of the faubourg. After a march of two hours and a half, the Swiss appeared between three and four in the afternoon before the French camp, which had been fortified by Peter Navarre with palisades and a broad ditch, in advance of which the German foot soldiers were ranged. At this moment L'Alviana arrived in great haste from Lodi, where the Venetians then were. He immediately took leave of the king, and mounted his horse in order to seek his army. Without a moment's pause, the Swiss fell on the German infantry, to the hoarse and lugubrious sounds of their famous battle horns. Notwithstanding the terrible discharges of artillery, which carried off whole ranks at once, they forced the Germans beyond the ditch, passed with them, and had already captured four pieces of cannon, when Francis I. came with Fleuranges and the "black bands." The German infantry had to claim vengeance for the surname of "armed hares," which had been bestowed upon them by the Swiss after the battle of Guinegate, and now dashed among them like furies. The Constable of Bourbon had found a pike on the field of battle, and with this he charged at their head. In a short time the four pieces of cannon were retaken, the Swiss compelled to give way, and the strife was prolonged in the field in strange confusion, and with the utmost animosity. Night came, and involved in a cloud of dust the combatants, who, mixed together, could with difficulty distinguish friends from enemies, for both parties wore as a rallying mark the white cross. It was not till they were in a manner close to each other, that the white keys which the Swiss bore on the shoulder and the stomach, could be recognised. The increasing darkness of the night interrupted the battle; but each party not knowing whither to direct their steps, bivouacked on the spot where they then rested. Francis passed the night a hundred paces from the Swiss battalion. The men kept their helmets on their heads, and remained seated on their saddles, as he wrote to his mother the next day. He took but a few moments' repose, resting on the breech of a cannon. At break of day, he

caused his trumpet to sound, which was known to all the army, and the black bands speedily rallied round him. The combat immediately recommenced with the same rancour which had distinguished the strife of the evening before. The Swiss rushed desperately on the artillery, which crushed great numbers of them, but in vain; they still went forward, and compelled the German infantry again to draw back; but the gendarmerie ran to their assistance, and arrested the retrograde movement. A Swiss soldier, who had already laid his hands on a cannon in order to spike it, fell covered with wounds. Dead bodies were heaped on each other without producing any result. Gallot de Genouillac, the grand master of the artillery, who directed through the battle, pointed admirably his seventy-two cannons, and made dreadful havoc in the ranks of the Swiss. But the latter, imperturbable in the midst of the slaughter, pressed closely to each other, and their squares of pikes presented an impenetrable front to all the attacks of the gendarmerie. At length, towards nine in the evening, wearied by these murderous attempts, the Swiss detached their rear guard, which descended into a hollow in order to turn the French camp. This led to their total rout. The detachment so dispatched, met in its road the Duke d'Alençon, and Peter Navarre with his Gascons, who cut them all to pieces. The body of their army then retrograded on the side of Milan; and, in its retreat, dispersed some French troops, who had just placed themselves in front of the Venetian cavalry. The latter had marched all night, and now came forward with loud cries of "Marco! Marco!" "Courage, my lads," cried L'Alviana to the fugitives, "return with me; if the battle is lost, I will regain it." He then attacked a body of three thousand Swiss, who were massacred in the marshes, and on the banks of the Lambro. More than five hundred dead bodies were seen to pass under the arches of the bridge of Marignano. These were the last victims of the day. Francis, seeing that the battle was gained, forbade his men to interrupt the retreat of the enemy. Fifteen thousand Swiss and six thousand French had already lost their lives in this sanguinary struggle. Trivulce, who had been present at numerous battles in the Italian wars, declared that all he had previously seen was merely child's play, but this was a battle of giants. The only son of La Tremouille, who died some few days afterwards, had received in it sixty wounds. The Count de Guise deported himself worthy of the great name which he bore. He fought for the first time on that great day. After the battle was over, he was drawn from beneath a heap of the dead and wounded, his body being pierced with innumerable wounds, of which he was happily cured. His uncle, the Duke de Gueldres, fell ill from grief when the news of the battle was brought to him, and died at Lyons, where he then was. As to Alviana, he received no wound in this engagement; but he remained on horseback four-and-twenty hours, notwithstanding he was in a bad state of health from a fever, which, in the course of a few days, put an end to his life.

Francis, full of joy at the result of this day, in which, according to the language of the heroic times, he had loyally gained his spurs, wished instantly to be made a knight on the field of battle. In chivalry, all difference of rank was effaced by personal merit. It was to the knight "*sans peur et sans reproche*," (a stranger to fear and to reproach) that the King of France addressed himself. Bayard, the poor captain, long refused to accept of this distinguished honour. At last, drawing his sword, he struck with the flat of



it Francis on the neck, according to the ancient usage, and thus addressed him : "As valiant as Roland, or Olivier, or Godfrey Baudouin, his brother, certainly, you are the first prince that was ever thus admitted to the honours of knighthood. God grant that in war you may never be seen to fly !" Looking afterwards at his sword, he thus addressed it : "You are most happy, my sword, to have this day given to so powerful and virtuous a king the order of chivalry. Assuredly, my good weapon, you shall be preserved as a treasured relic, and honoured above all others, nor shall you ever be drawn but against Saracens, Turks, or Moors." He then gave two exulting leaps, and returned his blade to its sheath.

The first moments of victory given to ancient national reminiscences, Francis soon returned to the pre-occupying politics of the day. From that time the conquest of the Milanese was little more than sport. It was completed in twenty days. Maximilian Sforza had not inherited the active ambition of his father Ludovico. While the Swiss destroyed each other in his cause, he remained indifferent and at his ease in the château of Milan, solely occupied with his pleasures ; and he exchanged without regret for a pension of 60,000 ducats, that precarious and burlesque sovereignty, of which his more powerful protectors, the pope, the Spaniards, and the Swiss, disposed more than he could. At the same time, Francis re-conquered all the dependencies

of the Milanese, on which each of the three powers had seized, in the time of Louis XII. He sent troops to the Venetians, to restore to Maximilian that which had been given him by the treaty of Cambray, and to drive back the Spanish army into Naples. But he was not carried away by his first successes. Victorious as he found himself, he had learned what the Swiss were at Marignano, and the Milanese territory was scarcely recovered, when he shewed himself anxious to renew the bonds of amity which had formerly united France to the cantons. The latter estimated the value of their alliance at a million of crowns in gold. He promised them an auxiliary force of fifteen thousand horse in case of invasion, and obtained from them, in return, a right to raise troops in their country. The treaty was concluded by the intervention of the Duke of Savoy, and was called "the perpetual peace." With the Swiss, Francis also aimed at gaining the aid of the pope, their political chief. After lengthened negotiations, conducted by Duprat, Leo and Francis met at Bologna in the month of December, and the former, without difficulty, gave up the glorious but powerful part left him as a legacy by Julius to the interests of his house. The authority of Julian de Medicis was upheld in Florence, and he became the husband of a French princess. Madelaine de Vendome was to give birth to Catherine de Medicis. Laurent de Medicis received the duchy of Urbino. His family provided for, Leo occupied himself with the affairs of the holy see, and again brought on the tapis the long disputed question on the pragmatic sanction of Bourges, which subtracted the Gallican church from the influence of the holy see, by re-establishing canonical elections. He abolished a multitude of imposts, by which the popes had drawn to themselves a portion of the revenue of the benefices, and admitted the principle of the superiority of a general council, over the occupant of St. Peter's chair. Francis pressed the matter to a conclusion. He made a good bargain with regard to the principle; but unwilling to allow certain large sums in dispute to swell the pontifical treasury, made a compromise, and agreed to share them with the pope. He left to him the annual profits, that is to say, the profits for one year of all benefices that might fall vacant, and claimed for himself the right of nominating to the benefices. Such was the act which was called the Concordat, from the mutual concord with which it had been agreed upon by the pope and the king; but this, of such vast importance in the history of the Gallican church, was not made public till the following year, when it met with but a bad reception in France.

After having put in order the affairs of Italy, Francis repassed the Alps with his army, leaving at Milan the Constable de Bourbon, with seven hundred men-at-arms, six thousand German soldiers, and four thousand of the French militia. Scarcely had the king returned to France, when Maximilian, who had not dared to move till then, marched on a sudden to the Milanese, with an army of thirty thousand men, and besieged the French in Milan. Fond of vain boasting at the commencement of all his wars,

Maximilian indulged at first in menaces against the inhabitants of Milan, and announced that, if they did not hasten to surrender, his vengeance, and he confirmed it with an oath, should be even more terrible than that of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa, who had caused the plough to pass over their walls, and strewed salt on the ruins of their city. At the end of a few days, fourteen thousand Swiss, conducted by Albert Petro, arrived to succour the French; and Maximilian began to abate this furious extravagance. It is true that the aid thus afforded was little more than a matter of form. Eight cantons only had accepted the French alliance. The other five were retained by the Cardinal de Sion, and half of the imperial army was composed of Swiss soldiers. When the constable spoke of battle to the followers of Albert Petro, they flatly refused to come to blows with their compatriots. Letters soon arrived from the grand council, which ordered the Swiss in the two camps to return to their mountains. Nothing could induce them to remain; but the Milanese were not the less saved through them. Maximilian could not make good the engagements into which he had entered with those he had enrolled; and fearing the malcontents would seize his person, he betook himself to flight, like a dishonourable debtor, in the night, with an escort of two hundred men, and concealed himself in the heart of Germany, leaving the retiring Swiss to ravage Lodi, St. Ange, and all the countries of the Adda. Francis, who, thanks to the care of Duprat, never wanted money, was enabled from this last miscalculation of the partisans of Mathew Scheiner, to induce the five cantons to subscribe to the "perpetual peace," which had differed from the others when it was negotiated. This act was signed 23rd of November, 1516, at Fribourgh; and, in consideration of new pecuniary sacrifices on the part of France, the cantons bound themselves not only to assist him with a powerful force, but also not to suffer their subjects to enter into the service of his enemies.

The Constable de Bourbon soon returned to France, leaving Lautrec with the army at Milan. Ferdinand the Catholic had died at the commencement of this year [1516]; and Charles of Luxembourg, his grandson, called already heir to Maximilian, by his father Philip the Fair, found himself master of the Low Countries, Spain, and the kingdom of Naples, and in addition to these, the expected death of the old emperor would cause all the estates of the house of Austria to fall into his hands. The pompous conquests made by the Spanish adventurers, at that period at little expence, in America, which had been newly discovered, and the fame of the mines of gold and silver of the new world, added still to the high ideas formed of this immense empire, from the supposed extent and mysterious wealth of its newly acquired dependencies, more imposing perhaps than all the rest. The European equilibrium, maintained with such difficulty since the time of Charles VIII. by so many marches and counter-marches of diplomacy, seemed about to be violently disturbed, and, as if all this display of power and greatness had not been sufficient, Charles V. had the address to add the title

of emperor to it, and to engage the King of England to range himself on his side.

At his accession, feeling himself insecure in his Spanish dominions, which were discontented under the yoke of a prince who belonged to Germany rather than to Spain, and which would have revolted but for Ximenes, Charles occupied himself in repressing a serious rising in the Low Countries, and in some degree humbled himself before Francis, who was able to stifle in its birth this menacing domination. "I have nothing more at heart than to please you, as every good son ought to please his father," he wrote to the King of France. By the treaty of Noyon, concluded in August, 1516, he engaged to restore Navarre to D'Albret in eight months, and to take part with the Venetians against Maximilian, who was at length obliged to give up Verona to them, the only remnant of their former conquests. Francis himself seemed carried away by the spirit of Henry VIII. A pension of 12,000 livres, granted to Wolsey, the favourite of the English king, procured for him the restitution of Tournay, and almost that of Calais. The dauphin of France, and Mary of England, were affianced to each other, though they were still in their cradles, with the stipulation of a grant of 15,000,000 *sous tournois*. Maximilian died in 1519; during the latter part



of his life he had made unavailing efforts to induce the electors to name his grandson King of the Romans; and the succession to the imperial crown remained equally open to the rivals. Francis I. and Charles V. entered the lists with a sort of apparent indifference, and a struggle who should act with

most generosity, which could not last long. "We both pay our court to the same mistress, Honour," the chevalier king wrote to Charles, "Let us in the strife conduct ourselves as gentlemen and good friends." Nevertheless, every hostile means was used on either side, and in this struggle, which was so frankly commenced, money was not spared. There exists still at Augsburg a curious promissory note of the Fuggers, bankers to Charles, who advanced all the funds distributed to the electors. Henry VIII., solicited by both parties, could neither make up his mind to remain neutral, nor decide boldly for one of them. He sent Richard Pace to Frankfort, with orders to conduct himself in such a manner that he might take credit for the result of the election, whoever might succeed. The question was much debated in the sacristy of St. Bartholomew, where the diet was held. The suffrages were almost equally divided, and to say truth, neither of the rivals was very agreeable to the electors. Both were too powerful for the liberties of Germany, and they were apprehensive that great troubles were impending. Two years before, Luther had commenced his war against the papal power. Erasmus, who held the bishopric of Liege, one of the agents of Francis, on this occasion, tells that, weary of strife, the electors in the end declared by a majority in favour of Frederick of Saxony, a prince whose weakness was such, that it left the field open to future efforts for independence in politics or religion. But the latter declined the perilous honour of carrying it away from the two most powerful kings in Christendom, and offered the imperial crown to Charles of Spain. Dread of the Turks, who, from Constantinople, threatened every moment to fall upon Austria and Hungary, ultimately decided the electors, and they gave themselves up to the last named prince, who could best defend them. While these deliberations were in progress, Charles advanced his troops on Frankfort; and already the diet was almost besieged. On the 28th of June, by unanimous consent, they at length proclaimed Charles emperor, the fifth of that name, and he was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 22nd of October following. This honour came, coquettishly it may be said, to crown the edifice of the Spanish monarch's grandeur; but it was, after all, but one additional title, which flattered his vanity more than it increased his power, and of which all the miseries of Maximilian's life had served but to prove the emptiness.

Such was not the case with regard to the second triumph gained by Charles over Francis. Notwithstanding all the courteous self-denial of the gentleman, the latter could not see himself defeated without feeling violently incensed. Charles spoke no more of giving up Navarre; and the disturbances of Italy were not so perfectly set at rest, but they might be rekindled on any pretext. In expectation of an explosion, which could not long be delayed, the two rivals disputed with each other for foreign alliances, and, above all, for the friendship of Henry VIII. Francis sought a meeting with Henry; and it was agreed that an interview should take place between Guisnes and Ardres. They met, and Henry and Francis greeted each other most

cordially. In reference to the question agitated between Francis and the emperor, Henry shewed that he was sensible of his own importance. He had taken with him from London a house made of wood and canvass, so framed, that it could be set up at pleasure, and on this being erected, he had placed on it the figure of an English archer, with this motto beneath, "*Cui adhæro præest*," (he for whom I declare prevails). The French king believed that he had attached Henry to him irrevocably by the famous interview at the field of Cloth of Gold [June, 1520]; but that, however, proved only a brilliant party of pleasure, in which the accessaries caused the principal to be forgotten. "Many," writes Martin de Bellay, "carried there their mills, their forests, and their meadows on their shoulders." In the midst of the tournaments, feasting, and splendid spectacles got up on this occasion, little time was given to these important questions, which were the real objects of the interview. Henry re-embarked on his return, even before his ministers had adjusted all the differences which had grown out of the treaty of 1518. Charles V. acted a more politic part. On the 22nd of May, at the moment when the preparations were making for the interview above described, he embarked from Corunna, leaving the administration of Spain in the hands of his former preceptor, Adrian of Utrecht, and sailed for England. There he arrived, was joined by Henry, and they treated on the affairs between them peaceably, but without any parade. To him it did not appear that the large pension which he had settled on Wolsey would sufficiently bind that prelate to his interest, and he endeavoured to secure him by other means, holding out to him, in perspective, the pontifical see, which, from the growing infirmities of Leo X., was likely soon to fall vacant. To flatter the self-love of Henry, Charles affected to accept of his mediation. He made him arbiter of the differences between him and the King of France, on condition that he should take up arms against him who might refuse to abide by his award. Such an offer could safely be made, for it was not to be doubted that the proud and haughty French king would spurn at such a proposition.

War was, however, about to break out. By the conditions of the treaty of Noyon, Charles was to restore Navarre to its former masters. To recall to his memory a promise which he had forgotten, Francis sent an army across the Pyrenees. The moment was favourable for attacking Charles V., even in the centre of his power. While he was away on his visit to the King of England, and pompously grasping the imperial crown at Aix-la-Chapelle, Spain, imperfectly restrained by the feeble Adrian of Utrecht, revolted against a prince who trampled on her privileges, and went to canvass elsewhere for another sceptre and other subjects. The French faction of Grammont subsisted still in Navarre; it opened the way to the sieur De l'Esparre, the general of Francis. In the course of a month, all was subjugated with the exception of the fort D'Annaya; but L'Esparre wished to go further, and, advancing into Castille, he laid siege to Logrono. This

sudden invasion brought upon him a large army, which drove back the French under the walls of Pampeluna, where they were cut to pieces. The kingdom of Juan d'Albret was as speedily lost as it had been conquered. L'Esparre, forced to re-enter France with precipitation, could scarcely preserve St. Jean-Pied-de-Port [July, 1521]. A second expedition, commanded by Bonnivet, towards the end of the same year, had no other result than the taking of Fontarabia; and Francis, soon attacked in his own dominions, found himself compelled to direct his attention elsewhere. Robert de la Marck, Lord of Boullon, one of the petty German princes, had put himself under the protection of France, being involved in a quarrel with the imperial officers on the subject of a town, which they wished to take from the children of the Prince de Chimay, who were under his care, suddenly entered Luxembourg with three thousand infantry, and five hundred horse, sent a herald to Worms to declare in his name war against Charles V. Astonished at this audacity, Charles soon saw from what quarter the blow came; and, passing through the little principality of Robert, he hastened to besiege Mouzon, which he took in the course of a few days, and afterward Mézières, into which Bayard had scarcely time to throw himself, with Anne de Montmorency, who, at a future day, was to be Constable of France. The fortifications of Mézières were dilapidated, and Bayard had but a handful of soldiers to oppose to thirty five thousand men of the imperial army. But the chevalier "*sans peur*" proved himself, on this occasion, worthy of the high reputation which he had gained in the wars of Italy. Summoned to surrender by the Count of Nassau, he replied, that he would not leave the fortress till he had made a bridge from it of the bodies of the enemy; and he defended himself so vigorously, that he gave the king time to come to his succour with an army. Francis had not yet reached Mézières, when he wrote to his mother to announce that he had certain information of the raising of the siege. He added, the enemy was believed to be in great distress from the shameful retreat they had made, and that the French must be governed by circumstances, and become the avengers if the others played the fugitives. This letter, of which the original is preserved by Baluze, is deemed a curiosity. It is therefore given verbatim. Some of the expressions are unknown to modern French, and the reader would seek them in Boyer and Richelet in vain.

"A Madame.

"Madame, tout aseteure, ynsi que je me vouloys mettre o lyt, est aryvé Laval, le quel m'a aporté la serteneté deu levamant deu syège de Mézyères. Je crois que nos anemys sont en grant pene, veu la honteuse retrete qu'yl ont fet. Pour tout le jour de demayn, je soré le chemin qu'yl prandront. Et selon sela, il nous fodra gouverner. Et s'yl ont joué la pasyon, nous jouerons la vanyance. Vous suplyant, Madame, vouloyr mander par-tout

pour fère remercyer Dieu. Car, sans point de fote, il a montre se coup qu'yl est bon François. Et fesant fyn à ma lettre, remetant le tout seur le porteur pry à Dieu qu'l vous doint très bonne vie et longue.

“Votre très humble et très obèyssant fyls, François.”

Mouzon was retaken on his march; and, carrying the war into the enemies country, Francis advanced into the Low Countries, where Charles V. was encamped near Valenciennes. To approach him it was necessary to pass the Scheldt, and to traverse the marshes in the midst of which it runs. The emperor sent the Count of Nassau, with twenty thousand men, to defend the passage; but, on his reaching the banks of the river, he found the French had already crossed it, and were then encamped in the marshes. Happily for the count, a great fog arose, which enabled him to retreat without loss. The Constable of Bourbon, with Chabanne, La Tremouille, and the other Swiss commanders, were of opinion that they ought to pursue. Francis, jealous of Charles de Bourbon, who took to himself all the glory of the victory of Marignano, refused to listen to this recommendation; and to take from De Bourbon every chance of coming up with the enemy, he deprived him of the command of the advanced guard, which of right belonged to him, as Constable of France. It is said the queen mother was at the bottom of this sort of personal quarrel, which caused the failure of the campaign. Notwithstanding her age, many believed that Louisa of Savoy nourished a tender passion for De Bourbon, who, being young and handsome, took little notice of it; and in resentment of this, she availed herself of the ascendancy she had over the king to enjoy the luxury of vengeance, for which the nation was dearly to pay. Charles V. himself proved, by his precipitate retreat, that the council of the constable was good. On the very day of his receiving the news that Francis had passed the Scheldt, he gave orders to retrograde, and in the night he decamped.

Till then the two royal rivals had, in a manner, only skirmished; but now the war was to become serious. Charles offered to submit the questions in dispute to the judgment of the King of England, and, in the conferences which were opened at Calais, he demanded nothing less than the cession of Burgundy to him, as the heir of the rights of Maximilian over the succession of Charles the Rash. Francis refused to lend an ear to these extravagant claims. Henry VIII., whose intervention was disdained, decided to conclude a league offensive and defensive with the emperor, and brought, at the same time, the pope to espouse their cause. Francis had a right to expect the support of Leo X. The publication of the Concordat had just caused violent disturbances in his kingdom. The clergy, the university, the parliament, the nobility even, who controlled at pleasure the elections in the provinces, all protested sternly against the abolition of the pragmatic sanction, and the king put forth his best energies to sustain that act, which was his in common with the pope. In contempt of formal engagements which

he had entered into with France, Leo suffered himself to be gained over by John Manuel, the Spanish ambassador, who offered him Parma, Placentia, and the states of the Duke of Ferrara. It was agreed that they should seize the first opportunity for expelling the French from Italy. The occasion soon presented itself.



Trivulce had just died, wounded to the heart by the cold indifference of Francis, who seeing him brought to him in his chair, broken in constitution, and afflicted with the gout, had turned his head another way, without deigning to look or to speak to the veteran. The presumed author of his disgrace was Lautrec, the brother of the king's mistress, who had been appointed to succeed the Constable de Bourbon in the Milanese command, which was anything but agreeable to the compatriots of Trivulce. Lautrec, a man harsh and brutal, returned hatred for hatred; and the irritation increasing on both sides, things reached such a point, that scarce half of its former inhabitants remained in Milan. Leo offered to the banished an asylum in his dominions. In a short time their number was so great, that the pope thought himself sufficiently strong with such support to commence war, and sent Prospero Colonna, his general, into the duchy of Parma, where he was joined some days afterwards by the German infantry, the soldiers of Florence, and the Spaniards from Naples. A double influence then prevailed in the court of Francis. His mother and his mistress Louisa of Savoy, and the Countess de Chateaubriand, disputed for the heart of the king, and the management of affairs, and sought, by all means, to supplant each other. When

war broke out in the Milanese territory, the queen mother could imagine no better scheme to employ against the favourite, than to put her brother in such a state, that he could not defend the provinces ; in order that the blame, of which Lautrec was the object, might be reflected on the party through whom he was employed. Louisa, in consequence, almost by force, caused the superintendent, Semblançay, to return to her the 400,000 crowns, destined by the king for the pay of the Swiss under Lautrec. The latter not seeing the money arrive, deserted their general, at the moment of his greatest peril ; and the French, incapable of resisting single-handed so many enemies combined, retired into the Venetian country, abandoning to the pope Parma, Placentia, and all the places which the holy see had long coveted to possess. Leo did not long enjoy his triumph. A fever which had attacked him while these events were in progress, carried him off on the 1st of December, 1521, on the very day which brought him the news of the taking of Parma. It was asserted by some that he died of joy, while others said his end was accelerated by poison. The probability is, that life, through natural causes, suddenly failed, from the wretched state of the voluptuous prelate. It was even irreverently reported that he had died of a new malady—the French disease. Whatever might be the cause of his dissolution, the event did not prejudice his party. An Augustine monk, Andrew de Ferrara, a great preacher, writes Du Bellay, who was in the habit of bringing to the pulpit national questions, preached a sort of crusade against the French ; and still full of the recollections of their struggle against Lautrec, the citizens suffered themselves to be so inflamed by his words, that such of them as had but two crowns in the world, were willing to sacrifice one of them in the cause. Far from injuring Charles V., it happened that the death of Leo served admirably, at least for the moment, that skilful politician. Charles had promised Wolsey the succession to the holy see ; but the proud cardinal would have been too formidable a pope. The intrigues of the Spanish ambassador caused the tiara to be placed on the head of Adrian of Utrecht, a weak man, and without dignity, blindly attached to his royal pupil. Adrian was a German ; he had never been in Italy, and great hisses were heard on the bridge of St. Ange, when the cardinals passed over it, returning from the election. The Cardinal de Gonzague, turning towards the people upon this, said, “it was very indulgent in them to punish with hootings conduct which merited stones.” Wolsey, to all appearances, remained unmoved by the course which things had taken ; but Charles was one day to pay dearly for his deception.

Fortune seemed to declare for the emperor. In March, 1522, Lautrec, having obtained ten thousand men from the cantons, wished to attempt repairing the disasters of the preceding year ; and entering into the Milanese territory with the Venetians, he advanced resolutely to the walls of Milan. To combat more effectually the French, the confederates called to their aid Francis Sforza, the last heir of the ancient dukes ; and the same people who

had so feebly sustained their former princes, defended their new choice with unspeakable fury. At the siege of Novara by the French, the besieged



tore out the hearts of some of their prisoners, and devoured them. They ripped up the stomachs of others, filled them with barley, and made their horses eat it from the bodies of the unfortunate sufferers, while they still breathed. Novara carried by assault, Anne of Montmorency caused the governor to be hanged, and some of the citizens. Notwithstanding this bitter hostility, Lautrec gained ground, and was on the point of recovering the Milanese lands, when the Swiss came once more to throw themselves across his path. Money was always wanting in the French camp, and for a long time the men from the cantons had received no pay. At the news that a convoy of money, the arrival of which was impatiently expected, had been cut off by the enemy on the borders of the Tesino, they came tumultuously to the general's tent, to whom they made known their determination in few words: "Monsieur, money—a holiday—or a battle." On returning to their quarters, they announced that they would withdraw in two days, if they were not led to action on the following morning. Prospero Colonna was then at the Château de la Bicoque, between Milan and La Monza, and had his troops well sheltered in the park of the château, behind broad ditches and high walls, on which he had mounted his artillery, which commanded all the neighbouring country. To attempt to force such a position was folly; but the Swiss would not listen to reason. Anne de

Montmorency having placed himself at their head, they compelled him instantly to march to the attack, without even waiting for the artillery to come up, or the corps which was to attack the enemy on the other side. They rushed forward, and threw themselves before the Italian batteries, which killed more than a thousand of them at the first discharge. Arrived at the margin of the ditch, the whole column dashed into it, and there remained, as taken in a snare. The trench was deep, and the wall so high, that they could scarcely reach the top of it with the end of their pikes. A frightful carnage was the consequence. The balls and bullets of the enemy were at leisure thrown among the mass thus heaped together. Twenty-two Swiss commanders, with their chief, Albert de la Pierre, were killed on the spot. Montmorency was knocked down by an arquebus shot, which striking on one of the plates of his armour, stunned, without wounding him; but it was with great difficulty that they removed him from the ditch, having drawn him, half smothered, from beneath a heap of dead bodies. This reception deadened so much the warlike ardour of the Swiss, that it was impossible to prevail upon them to renew the assault. The advantage had been on the side of the French: a mournful consternation succeeded to the impetuosity of the unmanageable and boastful bravery which had so lately been manifested. But for Pontdormi, who protected their retreat with his gendarmes, they would have been cut to pieces by Antony de Leyve; and two days afterwards they withdrew from the camp. Lautrec, compelled to evacuate the Milanese lands, and returning to France, received with indignation the reproaches of the king, and haughtily complained of the destitute condition in which he had been left. It then became necessary that Semblançay should give some account of the 400,000 crowns which had been in his hands; but when he sent to the queen mother, reminding him that it was to her the money had passed, she coolly replied "that what he stated was false." It is reported that Louisa had contrived to steal from him the acknowledgment given for the cash, through the assistance of Gentel, the lover of one of her maids, and Semblançay's chief clerk. The business was left in the hands of the chancellor Duprat, the enemy of the superintendent. Five years afterwards, Semblançay was hanged at Mont-faucon, for his bad administration of the finances of the kingdom.

Female intrigue had not yet performed its part. The Duchess of Savoy had not been satisfied for the affront offered to her by the constable in the Low Countries. It will be recollected that Louis XII., forgetful of past severity, had generously secured to the daughter of Monsieur and Madame Beaujeu the succession to the Bourbon estates. At the death of the sieur de Beaujeu, the Montpensier branch having protested, in the name of the Salic law, against the gratuitous generosity of the late king, Francis terminated the differences which existed by a marriage between Charles and Susannah de Bourbon, the heirs of the two families of Montpensier and De Beaujeu [1505.] By one clause of the contract, both parties mutually

renounced their right to the duchy ; and Louis XII. had solemnly abandoned, as well for himself as for his successors, all pretensions on the part of the crown to those great possessions, which comprehended the Bourbonnais, l'Auvergne, La Marches, Le Beaujolais, Le Forez, and the principality of Douches. On the death of Susannah, it was said, Louisa of Savoy returned to the charge, and offered her hand to the constable. His refusal of the honour was an unpardonable offence. Charles was impeached, and the officers of the king provisionally sequestered his goods [August, 1522.] Half of them were claimed for Louisa, and the remainder for her son. The affair was submitted to Duprat, and notwithstanding the evident right of the constable, seemed likely to be decided against him. Francis, who, at a later period of his life, boasted that he had made kings out of pages, could not at this time behold with satisfaction, immediately in the centre of his kingdom, the last wreck of the great feudal fortunes ; and Louisa had little difficulty in moving him to give half of his property to her vengeance, where he himself had so much to gain. Charles well understood what was likely to be the issue of his trial ; and, in his grief, the unfortunate prince listened to the



overtures made to him by Charles V., who, seeing the French re-appear on the confines of Italy, where they preserved still the castles of Cremona, Navaro and of Milan, had now organised against them the most formidable league which had been seen in all the wars of the coalitions. The pope, the emperor, the archduke of Austria, England, Spain, Milan, Florence, Genoa, Venice, almost all civilised Europe was combined against France, which was reduced to depend upon the Swiss alone for support ; those imperious and fantastic allies, by whom she had been so many times compromised. To make Wolsey forget the disappointment of his ambition, Charles V. secured to him, by the treaty of Windsor, a pension of 80,000

crowns; that of the king himself was but 30,000. It was to this league that the constable became a party. He was promised one of the great posts under the Spanish crown, estates giving 100,000 crowns of rent, and the hand of Eleonora, the sister of Charles V., the widow of the King of Portugal, Emanuel the Great. Bourbon, misled by the remembrances of ancient feudality, treated as an equal with his new allies. He engaged to raise in his domains three hundred men-at-arms, and five thousand infantry, who should be found in the field within ten days after the imperial army had passed the frontiers. Felix and William of Furstemberg were to enter Burgundy with twelve thousand men, and join him, while the English attacked Picardy, the Germans Champagne, and the Spaniards Guienne. Bourbon had already claimed his share of the spoils of the son of Louisa; he added to his domains Provence and Dauphiny. Charles V. was to have Champagne, Burgundy, Picardy, and Languedoc; the rest was abandoned to England [August, 1523].

The imaginary conquerors were, however, soon awoke from this beautiful dream. Bourbon had wished to re-enact Charles the Rash, but he was scarcely equal to the part of Robert d'Artois. Already the king had commenced his march to Lyons, there to join the army of Italy. At St. Pierre-le-Moutier, in Nivernais, two Norman gentlemen, of the household of the constable, Matignon and Angouges, gave him the first information of the plot in which their master had engaged. He waited some time for his German infantry; and at length went forward well accompanied to Moulins, where Charles, in order to deceive him, kept his bed, announcing that, in a few days, he would put himself in a litter on the road to Lyons. Francis passed through; but on his way the reports of the treason were confirmed. It was made known that Bourbon had retired to one of the fortresses at Chantelles; and Francis received a letter from him, in which he required, as the price of his fidelity, the restitution of his property. Immediately Chabannes and the bastard of Savoy were sent off to detain the constable, and detachments of cavalry were despatched in all directions to bar his passage. Reduced to commit himself to the chances of a dangerous flight, Charles escaped by night from Chantelles, followed only by one gentleman, whose name was Pompérant, for whose valet he everywhere passed. After six weeks of fatigue and danger, he found himself in safety at Trent, whence he repaired to Genoa, there to wait for orders from the Emperor. His position was much changed: the king's officers had instantly seized on his estates everywhere, and Charles V. could no longer see an ally in this fugitive gentleman, who, according to the expression of Bourbon himself, had no longer anything but his "coat and sword." He, however, made him one of his lieutenants, and sent him to command, with Prospero Colonna and Pescara, the armies of the Milanese.

The failure of the plot of Bourbon, however, did not abate the danger to which France was exposed from the league of August. Francis was

apprehensive of the consequences of this treason, and unwilling to leave the kingdom. He knew well that the constable, whose tenets had long been a rallying point for the discontented, had numerous partisans among the noblesse; and the three invasions which menaced his dominions, rendered it expedient that he should leave to others the work of making foreign conquests. Nevertheless, it was his self-love that was engaged in these wars in Italy. Bonnivet, whom he had sent beyond the Alps, had taken with him the best troops of the kingdom; and the enemy, now entering it from all parts, found it almost unguarded. Charles V. had repaired to Navarre, to superintend in person the invasion from the side of the Pyrenees. His army failed before Bayonne; but it recaptured Fontarabia, the only fruit of Bonnivet's expedition of the preceding year. In the east, William of Furstemberg commenced by seizing on several places in Franche-Comté, and on the banks of the Meuse. The Count de Guise arrested his progress with a handfull of men-at-arms, behind the walls of Chaumont and Bassigni; and want of provisions having reduced the German infantry to beat a retreat on the side of Lorraine, Guise, notwithstanding his numerical inferiority, resumed the offensive immediately. He came up with them again at Neufchatel, when they were passing the Meuse, and in that city, and in the view of the ladies of the court of Lorraine, who applauded from the windows, he cut their rear-guard to pieces. The defence was more difficult in the north: there the English, combined with the Flemings, formed an army of twenty-five or thirty thousand infantry, and six thousand horse. La Tremouille, to whom the care of Picardy had been confided, was too weak to maintain his position; he had not even sufficient troops to put garrisons where they were required, and, while the expedition lasted, detachments of his men were obliged to be moved from one point to another, as the enemy advanced or retired. Crequi de Pontdormi, one of the bravest of the Milanese, took upon himself alone all the care of this ever moving defence. The English and Flemings encountered him at Dowlens, and afterwards at Brai. Montdidier being menaced in its turn, Crequi passed through their battalion by night, and succeeded in throwing succour into the place, and returned immediately, at the head of a hundred and sixty gendarmes, with which he defended himself against two thousand cavaliers, and rejoined La Tremouille. But the heroic efforts of a few warriors, who seemed to multiply themselves, were impotent to oppose the march of that great corps d'armée, which passed the fortresses, and steadily advanced towards the interior of the kingdom. Roye and Montdidier were taken and burnt; already, the Anglo-Flemish army approached the Oise, and were distant but eleven leagues from Paris. All the inhabitants of l'Isle-de-France were thrown into inexpressible consternation. On every side, bands of peasants were seen conducting into the town, in great haste, their corn, their goods, and their cattle. There was no army then to protect the capital. Want, and the rains of autumn, constrained the invaders at length to retreat. The

torrent was turned aside without any loss to France, other than the ravages made in its passage; but it was a hard lesson for Francis I. to find his kingdom lay defenceless before invading hosts, while his armies were in a distant land; and news soon arrived from Italy which rendered the lesson more severe.

Bonnivet, to whom the costly charge of conquering the Milanese had been confided, was not a warrior capable of making head against three such generals as the French had then to meet, Prospero Colonna, Pescara, and the Constable de Bourbon. Light, arrogant, deficient in foresight, William Gouffier (such was his first name) had no other military merit than that of being a favourite with the king. While the defenders of the country were reduced to give battle with a hundred and sixty gendarmes, Bonnivet arrived upon the Tesino, with six thousand German, six thousand French, fifteen thousand Swiss infantry, and fifteen thousand men-at-arms, followed by their archers on horseback. Immediately on his arrival, he might have marched upon Milan, the fortifications of which, half destroyed in the midst of the various changes of domination which had occurred, were not yet repaired. Prospero Colonna, who commanded in the town, had it in contemplation to abandon the place; but Bonnivet suffered himself to be amused with an appearance of negotiation, and gave the inhabitants time to repair their walls; and the blockade, which he afterwards attempted, was spun out to such a length, that on the approach of the bad season he retired to the Tesino, without having effected anything, and went to take up his winter quarters at Biagrassa, where, as if he had been in a friendly country, he disbanded, with a view to economy, many thousands of his Swiss followers, and allowed half of his gendarmes to return to France. Prospero Colonna died at this period, having maintained his ground to the last, notwithstanding he was eighty years of age; but the army of the confederates hardly felt this loss, having still with them Pescara and Bourbon. These resumed hostilities in the month of March, 1524, and commenced by taking Rebecq, a little village two leagues from Biagrassa, open on all sides to the enemy, and in which, notwithstanding his representations, Bayard had been posted. Bonnivet, surrounded in his camp, moved on Sesia, to meet six thousand men, who were announced as approaching by Yvrée. Great was his surprise, when news came from those he had sent towards them, that they were only advancing to seek their compatriots; and the Swiss of his army disbanded themselves immediately, and escaped by every outlet they could find. It was necessary then to retreat. Bonnivet, attacked by the Constable de Bourbon, at the moment when his rear-guard defiled over the bridge of Romania, was wounded by an arquebus shot in the arm, and obliged to be carried to the other side of the bridge. He left the command of the army to Bayard, who perished there with Vandenesse, the brother of La Palice. Bayard, the last type of that lost race of the knights of the middle ages, could never refrain from indignant murmurs



Death of Bayard.

against that novelty in war, the use of arquebusses, which had put down for ever the system of fighting hand to hand, so dear to chivalry. In this fatal retreat from Biagrassa, the good chevalier received in his reins a bullet from an arquebus, which broke his vertebrae. Feeling that he was dying, he placed his back against a tree, his face turned towards the enemy, and having the hilt of his sword raised before his eyes as a crucifix. Bourbon happened to pass him, being then in pursuit of the French. "Ah Bayard!" exclaimed he, "I feel sincere pity for you, seeing you in this hopeless state."—"Sir," replied the dying man, "it is not for me to be pitied, who die like a good man; it is you who are to be pitied, a Frenchman and a prince of France, who wear upon your shoulders the livery of Spain, and have arms in your hands stained with the blood of your countrymen."

The death of Bayard seemed to take all courage from the army of Bonnivet. The Count de St. Pol, who, by dint of bravery, had gained the ruins of Yvrée, found there a reinforcement which enabled him to return to the charge; but the French would undertake nothing. They re-crossed the Alps, and were followed by the soldiers of Charles V., who, to the number of twenty thousand, advanced to lay siege to Marseilles. Bourbon had been of opinion that an attack should be made on the Lyoneses, where he almost approached his own domains. The constable, believing always the old feudal traditions, persuaded himself that his vassals and his friends would rise *en masse* the moment he showed himself among them. The severe language of Bayard had not sufficed to disenchant him; the reality was soon to open his eyes. No body moved to take up arms for him in his own duchy or elsewhere. Even in the imperial camp, every one seemed disposed to avoid him. Pescara, appointed by Charles V. to serve as his lieutenant, met him with a sort of sneering opposition, and taught him bitterly to feel that a deserter is despised even by those who make use of him. Full of the idea that his name would be proved to possess a magic influence in France, on their march to Marseilles, he had boasted that, by the time three shots had been fired, the good citizens would come with ropes round their necks to bring him the keys. The appearance of the inhabitants strongly contradicted this bravado. Their numerous artillery, served with admirable skill by the two Marseillais, Gabriel Vivant and John de Caux, replied triumphantly to the enemy's fire. They demolished the batteries of the imperialists, and carried death and destruction into their camp. One day a bullet killed, in the tent of Pescara, two gentlemen and a priest. The noise which this occasioned caused the constable to run to the spot, to enquire what had happened. "It is the consuls of Marseilles," replied Pescara, "who have come to bring us the keys of the city." A breach was at length made in the wall, of the width of twenty-five fathoms; but the besieged had raised behind the rampart a strong entrenchment, defended by a ditch, which they had filled with gunpowder and fireworks of a most formidable character. Bourbon was, however, so badly obeyed by the soldiers of the emperor, that he could

not lead them to the assault. In vain he promised 500 crowns, and a company of five hundred soldiers, to the man who should first show himself in the breach: in vain he took off the head of one of the most mutinous of his officers: all was of no avail. Pescara himself joined the malcontents. "You see gentlemen," said he to the principal commanders in Bourbon's tent, "that the people of Marseilles have already spread a table well covered for our entertainment, in order to receive as they ought those who go to visit them. If you are desirous of supping in the other world, move forward with all expedition. For my own part, I do not care to go there quite so soon. Let those who think as I do return with me to Italy." He then left the place, without addressing one word to the constable. Whether he would or not, it now became necessary for Bourbon to follow the advice of Pescara, however maliciously it might have been given. Sickness was in the camp; Francis had just arrived; and Salon de Craux was between Avignon and Marseilles, with an army of thirty-five thousand men. Bourbon, reduced to make a precipitate retreat, embarked his large cannon in the fleet which had blockaded Marseilles by sea. He divided his field pieces into several parts, and carried them off on the backs of mules; and on the 17th September, 1524, forty days after the opening of the siege, he hastily crossed the Var, pursued by Chabannes and Montmorency, who came up with his vanguard, and cut off a portion of his baggage. His soldiers threw away their cuirasses and their heavy arquebusses, that they might retreat with greater speed. More than one third of the whole number were disarmed when they assembled in the environs of Genoa, where Bourbon rallied his troops. Moncarde, the Spanish admiral, was not more fortunate in his retreat. Attacked near Nice by the vice-admiral, La Fayette, and the Genoese, Andrew Doria, who sunk three of his galleys, he was obliged to run the remainder on shore; where, to save them from falling into the enemy's hands, he set fire to them himself.

These successes gave the French new courage. Following the fugitives, they entered Italy almost at the same time with them, and advanced immediately to Milan, which at once opened its gates to receive them. Here a fatal error was committed. Instead of going forward to Lodi, where the imperial army then was, imperfectly recovered from its late discomfiture, Francis, following the unwise counsel of Bonnivet, sat down before Pavia; the place of all others perhaps in the Milanese territory which was capable of offering the most vigorous resistance. Anthony de Leyve, who was shut up there with five thousand German infantry, and three hundred men-at-arms, caused the King of France to lose more than eight months before it; and during that period the generals of Charles V. raised a new army. The viceroy of Naples pledged the revenues of the kingdom. Bourbon sold his jewels, and went to raise twelve thousand infantry in Germany. The pope endeavoured to interpose. Adrian no longer occupied the pontifical seat. The preceptor of Charles V. had died at the latter end of 1522; and, on the

day of his funeral, the people had suspended garlands over the door of every physician, with this inscription : "To the liberator of his country."



Julian de Medicis, who had succeeded him under the name of Clement VII., did not show the blind devotion of Adrian to the imperial cause; and, at the siege of Pavia, he treated on his own part with the King of France. His quality of common father to all, he told the agents of Charles V., forbade him to act otherwise. The emperor did not wish to hear of an accommodation. Francis demanded, as a preliminary, that Genoa and the Milanese should be given up to him. The fate of arms at length decided the quarrel. In the month of February, 1526, Lannoy, Pescara, and Bourbon, marched from Lodi with seven thousand infantry, and seven hundred men-at-arms; and took up a position on the bank of the Vermicule, a small but deep river, within cannon shot of the French camp. They cannonaded each other fourteen days, without coming to close fighting, but engaged in skirmishes of outposts, in which the advantage was for the most part with the imperialists, seconded by the fire from the fortress, and the sorties of Antony de Levye. They resolved at length on a grand attack on the 24th, which was St. Matthew's day, the anniversary of their master's birth.

In the night of the 23rd, a corps of pioneers advanced under the walls of the park of the Château de Mirabel, where the Duke of Alençon was encamped with the rear-guard. The firing of the arquebusses and the cannon prevented their movements from being remarked, till they had

made a breach of from forty to fifty fathoms wide. At day-break, De Gasto, the nephew of Pescara, entered by the breach with three thousand Spanish arquebusiers. His uncle followed close behind, at the head of the German infantry. The two wings of gendarmes were conducted by Lannoy and Bourbon. The garrison of the château was instantly put to the sword; but James Gallot de Genouillac, the grand master of the artillery, had admirably disposed his guns in the park, and his bullets enfiladed all the avenues, and soon made such ravages in the ranks of the arquebusiers of Du Gasto, that, unable to sustain the fire from the French batteries, they endeavoured to shelter themselves from it in the hollow of a road, where they ran in great disorder. At this moment the king arrived with the gentlemen of his household. Finding it impossible to contain himself at the sight of the enemy, Francis went forward in pursuit, and placed himself immediately before the batteries. In vain Genouillac, who did not dare to fire for fear of hitting him, sent to request him to retire, feeling himself sufficiently strong to combat the enemy alone. To the royal chevalier a battle was a point of honour, and he did not wish it to be gained without him, and he therefore remained where he was. The French artillery was in consequence silenced, and the imperialists, at that, gaining new courage, returned to the charge. Bourbon routed the corps of Chabanne. The Duke d'Alençon lost his presence of mind in the *melée*, and sounded a retreat, without having been engaged. The Swiss, who at first had compelled the gendarmes of Lannoy to give way, fell back in their turn; when Pescara, being at the head of the German and French infantry, and the king remaining alone with his gentlemen and the black bands, could no longer dispute the victory. The German infantry were annihilated, and Suffolk, their general, who was called the white rose, was left on the field with Francis de Lorraine, Louis D'Ars, La Tremouille, the Marshal de Foix, St. Severin and Marafin. Almost all the officers of the household fell at the feet of the king. He himself had his horse killed under him, and was wounded in the forehead, and in the leg, but still fought almost alone in the midst of heaps of dead. He had brought down seven men with his own hand, and among others Ferdinand de Castriot, the descendant of the former kings of Albania. These efforts, and loss of blood from the wounds he had received, had exhausted his strength; and his armour being damaged, scarcely protected him from the blows aimed at him from all sides. Pomperant, perceiving the king in this extreme danger, rushed through the crowd which strove against him, and threw himself on his knees, entreating him to surrender to his master, who fought hard by. Francis declared that he would rather die. He, however, subsequently called for the viceroy of Naples, and tendered to him his sword, which Lannoy received, at the same time kissing his hand. Bonnivet, the author of all this disaster, for it was he who had brought the king to Pavia, and who, before the battle, had shown himself most enthusiastic and sanguine, dared not to survive such unlooked for mischance, and the

wide spreading destruction around him. He raised his vizor, and rushing wildly into the thickest of the fight, soon fell, covered with wounds. Bourbon,



who regarded him as the author of his disgrace, had promised a reward to whoever should bring him to him alive. "Ah, unhappy man," he exclaimed, when he saw his corpse extended on the ground, "thou art the wretched author of the downfall of France, and also of mine."

This melancholy result was announced to his mother by Francis, in a letter which he wrote from the tent of Lannoy, which contained only these words :

"Madam, All is lost except our honour."

All, however, was not lost. There was, it is true, when the news of this defeat reached France, a moment of astonishment and general consternation. Henry VIII. was off the coast, with a numerous army, ready to enter Calais. In Alsatia, fourteen or fifteen thousand peasants embodied, menaced the kingdom with invasion, an invasion so much the more formidable, as the rustics came in the name of the emperor, and were animated by one of those mad excitements to which the inequalities of society give birth, à kind of biblical Jacquerie, which aimed at applying, on a great scale, theological principles of reform. In the south, alarm was felt, at the same time, for the frontiers of Spain and Italy. The unpopularity of the regent, (Louisa had been raised to that high office) rendered this complicated position still

more difficult. In the eyes of the people, Louisa was the sole cause of this defection of Bourbon, which the national pride was pleased to regard as the source of so many misfortunes; and all the odium of the faults of Bonnivet fell on his protectress. The parliament, which had not forgotten the charges of venality, nor the affairs of the Concordat, wished to revenge itself on royalty by an ill-timed resentment at this critical moment. Supported by the Parisian municipality, which made common cause with it, an offer was made to the Duke of Vendome of the regency, which he might claim as a prince of the blood. He refused to lend himself to their vengeance at a moment so ill chosen. He waited on the regent at Lyons, who named him the chief of her council; and Louisa, established in her authority, soon caused the unfavourable passages of her past life to be forgotten, by the wisdom and promptitude of her measures. Andrew Doria proceeded immediately towards Civita Vecchia, to recall to France the troops sent to the frontier of Naples. The prisoners made at Pavia were ransomed, and marched towards Champagne, with the remnant of the army of Italy, to repel the invasion of the German peasants. The uneasiness caused by the English army was not of long duration. Charles V. had, in appearance, coldly received the news of the battle of Pavia, and had declared to the inhabitants of Madrid, that he did not think it fitting that any illuminations or public rejoicings should take place for a victory gained over a "most christian king." But beneath this affected calmness and moderation, he concealed the immense joy of gratified ambition. Charles felt his heart swell with pride, considering himself thenceforward sole master of Europe. He, notwithstanding, expressed no intemperate exultation, but, retiring to his chapel, spent an hour in offering up thanks to Heaven, and then met the ambassadors, and others assembled to congratulate him on his triumph, with the most humble carriage. He deplored the misfortunes of the captured king, as an instance of the awful vicissitudes of fortune, and affected for himself only to rejoice in the great event, as it would be the means of enabling him to give peace to the world.

He soon began to treat those allies with indifference whom it had cost him most to gain. The accession of Clement VII. had renewed the grief and the resentment of Wolsey, who now felt that he should never be pope through the friendship of Charles. Before the battle of Pavia, the emperor had written to him letters with his own hand, signed "your son and cousin Charles." Now he wrote to him by his secretary, and only signed them with his name. Henry the more readily espoused the cause of his minister, as he himself had to complain of Charles, who seemed disposed to refuse to him the hand of his sister Mary, whose dowry was already absorbed by the subsidies sent from England to Spain, Germany, and Italy. On the representations of John de Brisson and Joachim Passano, the envoys of Louisa, Henry eventually detached himself from the alliance with the emperor, and concluded a defensive league with France by the treaty of

Moore, which secured to him a sum of 1,800,736 crowns of 36 *sous tournois*. Charles, reduced to impotence by want of money, consented to a truce for six months, which had been proposed by the regent. The German peasants were soon put down by the Count de Guise, who sought them in Alsatia, and defeated six thousand of them at Luffestein, and followed the remainder to Saverne, where they were forced to give up their arms, and retrace their steps to the Rhine. While they defiled through the French camp, they were rash enough to insult the conquerors, it has been supposed, by their declamatory enthusiasm. The consequences proved fatal; for the soldiers rushed on the unhappy men and massacred them.

In Italy the fear of oppression, and the just alarm inspired by a power which would henceforth have no counterpoise, had awakened sympathy for France. The embarrassment of Pescara and Lannoy, immediately after their victory, was not a little singular. Scarcely masters of their own soldiers, whom they could not pay, they knew not to whom they could with safety confide their royal prisoner. Bourbon was shaken, they said, and suspected after this great disaster. He had not thought matters would be carried so far; and they were fearful of a *coup de main* from his German infantry, who were devotedly attached to him. Francis Sforza and Clement VII. did not care to conceal their estrangement from the imperial cause. Already some of the French gentlemen, who had been dispersed by the late defeat in the woods, had rallied and joined to them some Italian bands, and made preparations for rescuing the king from the Château de Pizzighitone, to which he had been carried by the viceroy of Naples. The latter, to put his captive in safety, wished to conduct him into his province; but Francis, unwilling to be carried into the heart of Italy, preferred to that a prison in Spain. Recalling the time when Charles and himself were two gentlemen, neighbours and good friends, the "king chevalier" persuaded himself that all difficulties would vanish in the moment when he clasped the emperor's hand. Under this illusion, he himself gave orders tending to strengthen his present guardians. Doria, who cruised in the Mediterranean to take him on his passage, was countermanded. More than that, as the Spaniards did not wish the fleet to be withdrawn, which sustained them in Italy, Francis caused some gallies to be brought from Toulon, to transport him with his escort to Spain.

Great was the disappointment of the king when he found himself in the hands of his rival at Madrid. Francis had expected, at least, a captivity hospitable and joyous, such as that of King John had been in England. He, however, was closely confined in the château, and not permitted to go out, but surrounded by guards, and humbly mounted on a mule. Moreover, Charles V. obstinately refused to see him. His ministers only submitted to the prisoner shameful conditions: the cession of his rights to the kingdom of Naples, to the Milanese, and, above all, to Burgundy; the abandonment of his ally, the King of Navarre, and the restitution of the property

of the constable, whose treason was in his eyes the more odious, as it had been crowned with victory. Ill prepared by his ideas and his habits for adversity, Francis sunk into utter despondency. The news which reached him from France consoled him for the fate of his kingdom, but not for his personal misfortunes. Grief, listlessness, and doubtless the burning climate of Castile, in a short time undermined his health; and the physicians announced that the emperor might lose his prisoner by death, if the rigour of his captivity were not abated. That Francis should die was not exactly the game of Charles; and his calculation suggested to him a more humane course than had hitherto been pursued. Francis complained of the severity with which he had been treated, and declared that the emperor would soon have the satisfaction of beholding his prisoner perish in his hands, whom he had not once allowed to see him. Moved by the dangerous situation in which the French king lay, Charles at length determined on paying him a visit, and for that purpose repaired to Madrid. He went to the chamber of the king. Francis accosted him in bitterness; but the emperor spoke to him with kindness, called him his brother and his friend, and solemnly



promised to restore him to liberty. This language soothed the royal captive, who eagerly caught at the soothing speeches of Charles, and his health

immediately began to mend. In a short time he completely recovered ; but his position, as he continued to resist the demands made on him, remained the same. He firmly refused to cede Burgundy, which was made the *sine quâ non* of enlargement. Weary of this exacting perseverance, he solemnly declared that he would never yield what was required of him, though the refusal should cost him his crown ; and he transmitted an act of abdication, in favour of his eldest son, to his sister, the famous Margaret of Navarre, who had arrived in the Spanish capital during his illness, and claimed from the emperor a suitable residence, in which she might pass the remainder of her days. Unfortunately, this generous magnanimity did not last ; and Francis, yielding at length to the pressure of circumstances, signed the treaty of Madrid [January 14, 1526], in doing which he somewhat compromised what he had saved at Pavia, his honour ; for three hours before giving it his signature, he caused to be registered in secret, but before notaries, a judicial protest against the violence done to him, which rendered null all pacts, conventions, renunciations, acquittances and oaths, which he might be compelled to make against his *honour*, and the interests of his kingdom."

It will be easily believed that, with this convenient mode of setting his conscience at rest, it cost "the chevalier king" little to make every concession that might be insisted upon. Besides the relinquishment of his pretensions to Italy, and the necessary abandonment of Burgundy, the sovereignty of which he transferred to the emperor, and his heirs of both sexes, with its dependencies of Noyers, Du Charolais, and Château Chinon, he, in a manner, engaged himself in the service of the emperor, by undertaking to furnish, for an expedition which he meditated against the Milanese, five hundred men-at-arms, a body of infantry, fourteen galleys, and 200,000 crowns *au soleil*, for which rich and substantial merchants were to give security. Charles also threw on him a debt which he had contracted with Henry VIII., and made the king bind himself to reimburse the money which had been disbursed in making war upon him. Three payments were to be forthcoming, each of 103,305 crowns. Besides these, 300,000 ducats were to be granted as an indemnity, and for interest to the states of Castile, and to the Spanish provinces, which had suffered most from the French. Bourbon was re-established in his domains ; and all who had followed his fortunes were to be pardoned, and allowed to return to their native land. Finally, the king withdrew his protection from the house of Albret, from the Duke of Gueldres and the Count de la Marck, and all the noblesse who, since the time of Louis XII., had so bravely combatted for France. In all this there was much degradation ; but liberty, a crown, and a return to that splendid and voluptuous life which he had enjoyed at St. Germain and at Fontainebleau, were worth a stroke of the pen, which Francis did not refuse to give. Charles added a condition to the treaty, that if, in four months its stipulations were not executed, the King of France should return

to Madrid, and again put himself in the power of the emperor. For greater security, he demanded as hostages the dauphin, and the second son of the king, or the eldest only, with twelve gentlemen to be named by the emperor. Making this latter proposition, in electing the hostages, Charles named the best generals of Francis; and the king, to parting from them, preferred giving his sons into the keeping of his rival. The mind of the artful monarch, however, was not yet perfectly at ease; and conducting in person his captive out of the capital, he repeatedly demanded of him, "if, on the honour of a gentleman, he was resolved to make good his promises." Francis was enabled to answer boldly, provided as he was, beforehand, with a protest against every compromising oath or condition. At length, on the 18th of March, 1527, this great affair was settled by the liberation of the king. Lannoy attended him to the Bidassoa with an escort of fifty horse, and found Lautrec waiting on the opposite shore, with the two princes who were to be left as hostages, and a like escort. In the middle of the river a large empty bark had been moored, where the exchange was to take place. The attendants drew up on the two opposite banks. Lannoy, with eight gentlemen, put off from the Spanish shore; and Lautrec, with an equal number, advanced from the French side. Lautrec had scarcely put into the hands of Lannoy the two hostages, when Francis, after hastily embracing the dauphin, then eight years of age, and the Duke of Orleans, jumped into the French boat. On reaching the shore, he mounted a Turkish horse, which waited for him, and galloped off at full speed to St. Jean de Luz, and thence to Bayonne, joyfully exclaiming several times, "I am still a king!" but scarcely daring to believe that he was at liberty, while he remained in sight of the Spanish soil, on which he had expected to end his days.

After a captivity of two years, Francis was more eager to lead the life of a grand seignior, than to attend to the affairs of his kingdom. His first care was to resume those pleasures from which he had been severed so long. It was at Bordeaux, while he rejoined his court, that he formed his liason with Anne de Pisseline, the Duchess of Etampes, who was to renew the part of Agnes Sorel, so well known in French history. At Cognac, the place of his birth, Francis fell from his horse, while engaged in the chase, and was detained there some time. It was, however, necessary that more serious affairs should have their turn. All Europe had its eyes fixed upon him, and looked for great results from the treaty of Madrid. During his absence, a league had been formed by the pope, the Duke of Milan, Venice, and Florence, to rescue the Peninsula from the imperial yoke; and Pescara had been offered the sovereignty of Naples as the price of his assistance; but he, though a soldier of fortune, remained faithful to his master. Feigning to favour the plot, he disclosed it to the emperor, and drew into a snare Jerome Morone, the chancellor of Francis Sforza, the real chief of the national party, and caused him to be thrown into prison. Afterwards, he led an army into the Milanese territory, which was speedily conquered, as it had



Return of Francis I. to France.

been so many times before. Sforza defended himself for a long time in the Château of Milan, but, on the 24th July, 1526, he was obliged to surrender, and the Milanese passed into the hands of the house of Austria, which resolved to hold what it had thus gained in perpetuity. While affairs were in this state, Pescara died, and Bourbon took the command of the imperial troops, which powerfully sustained the struggle with the several populations excited against them. At this period, Georges Frondsberg came to take a part in the war, at the head of fourteen thousand German infantry, raised at his expence, all Lutherans like himself, brought over to the faith in Italy, combining the instinctive love of pillage of the adventurer, and the religious hatred of the sectarian. These bands, called "the saints of God," committed frightful ravages in the mother country of popery, on that "land of prostitution," as they termed it, and which they had so well learned to curse in the pamphlets Luther is reported to have composed, while drinking his beer with Melancthon. Bourbon, thrown into this coarse and turbulent crowd, played his part with courage and address, and allowed himself, with a good grace, to forget the great lord he had been in other times. His soldiers had composed a song, which they were in the habit of singing, part of which ran thus :

"A poor cavalier, I am not worth a sous ;
No money have I more than any of you."

But devoted as they were to this popular general, swearing as they did that they were ready to follow him wherever he might go, "even to the devil," they wanted money ; and Charles V., ruined by his former wars, had none to give them. From day to day new disorders broke out in his camp. His equipages had been repeatedly plundered ; and he himself, it may be said, was constantly in danger of death in the midst of this army of faithful soldiers, the sole support of his fortunes. To satisfy at once these wants, which were incessantly returning, he was anxious to give them a great booty ; and directing his steps all at once towards the centre of Italy, he announced that it was his intention to lead them to Rome. Mezeray assures us that he did not mean to stop there. It was, however, too much for the Constable of France to be no more than a poor cavalier. He thought of paving the way for his return to France, and opened a correspondence with his former master. "Naples," he wrote to him in one letter, "will assure you of my gratitude." But fortune, persecuting him to the end, did not permit this scheme to be realised. On the 5th of May, 1527, Bourbon arrived under the walls of Rome, and gave the signal for the assault by the faubourg of the Vatican, near the mount of the Holy Ghost. To encourage his troops, who faltered, he measured with his pike a former breach, which had been badly repaired, and boldly placed a ladder against it. A shot from an arquebus struck him in the loins while he was ascending it, and he fell into the ditch. Feeling that he had received his mortal wound, he

called to Jonas, a Gascon officer, one of those military cosmopolites who engaged their swords in any cause, to order that he should be removed, covered with a mantle, to conceal from his men the sight of his dead body.



He scarcely had reached his tent when he breathed his last. Rome was nevertheless carried by assault, and the pope made prisoner; but this posthumous victory served but to render the memory of the constable more odious. To him must be ascribed the senseless violence continued for more than two months, by the conquerors of the capital of the christian world. By order of parliament, his name was erased from the genealogical tree of his family, as having notoriously degenerated from the manners and the fidelity of his predecessors; and a functionary was sent into the domains which had belonged to him, to obliterate his arms wherever they might be found.

Charles V. endeavoured, but in vain, to throw off from himself all responsibility for what his soldiers had done. He put on mourning, and suspended the fêtes which were to have been given on the birth of his son Philip, and sent circulars in all directions, formally disavowing the enterprise of De Bourbon. It is but truth to state, that it was done without his sanction, nay, even in opposition to his expressed will; for when De Bourbon was on his march, Lannoy had sent despatch after despatch addressed to him, praying him to respect the pope and his city. But, at that period, the

emperor's policy inspired generally too much hatred and fear, for any one to attend to his justification. It must be added, while he laboured to throw on his soldiers all the impiety of the attack, he did not scruple to take to himself the profit growing on the sacrilege. Expiatory processions had been commanded at Madrid; but in the meantime Clement VII. was treated as Francis had been; and a degrading treaty was tendered to him as the price of his ransom, which he refused to sign. Henry VIII., influenced by Wolsey, drew closer the bonds which he had formed with the King of France. Alone, Italy could not resist the twenty-four thousand men which composed the imperial army, and loudly invoked the French to come to their assistance. In the preceding year, Florence, Venice and the pope, had formed a league with the rival of Charles V.; but Francis, solely occupied with the means of getting released from the treaty of Madrid, had not taken an active part in the war, and contented himself with sending some thousands of Swiss to the confederates. Lautrec this year passed the Alps, at the head of thirty thousand men; Doria left the port of Marseilles with fourteen gallies. All went well at first. Lautrec, on entering Italy, seized on Genoa, with the aid of Doria, who blockaded the port. Alexandria, Vigevano, Biagrassa, and all the Lommeline fell successively into his hands; and Pavia, carried by assault, in four days mournfully expiated the sad remembrance attached to its name. Thence the French advanced to Placentia, where their arrival determined the imperialists to restore Clement VII. to liberty; on condition, however, that he paid 350,000 ducats down. Lautrec, encouraged by his first success, had resolved to advance to Naples. The approach of winter interrupted the operations of the campaign. Fearing to venture during the bad season of the year into the midst of the Appenines, the French hastened to establish themselves at Bologna, while the indefatigable Doria continued to keep the sea, notwithstanding the storms which prevailed, and carried to Sardinia an Italian fleet, which dispersed by the rough weather, could not approach Sarsari, and again set sail, after a glorious engagement, in which five thousand Spaniards were cut to pieces by five thousand men. Francis, however, always groaned under the weight of the intolerable treaty of Madrid. Immediately on resuming the reins of government, he had assembled the notables at Cognac, and there he caused it to be declared that he had no authority to dismember his kingdom, and that he would be disobeyed if he attempted to make good his promise. The states of Burgundy went still farther. They swore that they would take up arms in their province, if the king obstinately persisted in ceding it to its enemies. The imperious monarch resisted, but with great tenderness, these rebellious threats; and suffered himself to be forced to do what they wished, without manifesting any serious resentment. He sent word to Charles V. that he was not sole master of his country, and that the states would not permit him to return to Madrid. In lieu of what he had promised, Francis offered two millions of crowns, on condition that his

children should be restored. Charles was very far from accepting this proposition; but the King of France had with him England and the Italian states; and the German Princes had listened favourably to his justification at the diet of Spires. He therefore was content to leave his rival to exclaim "Treason!" while he adhered to the conditions which he had just framed. All these communications had taken place when the war recommenced in Italy. Early in 1528, after the campaign of Lautrec, Charles, soured by the reverses that he had just experienced in the Milanese territory, lost all temper with his disloyal adversary. Guyenne and Clarence, the heralds of arms of France and England, came, on the 22nd of January, to Burgos, to declare war, in the name of the two kings, if he did not yield his consent to the new conditions. Five days afterwards, he returned to Francis and Henry their declaration of war, and despatched ambassadors, with orders to say, on his part, to the King of France, that he had broken his faith, and that when he should be willing, he would meet him hand to hand, alone, and make good this accusation. Francis I. was not a man to suffer such an affront to remain unanswered, which touched his personal honour more nearly than anything he could have expected from such a quarter. Taking up the words of his adversary, he sent him immediately a cartel, which concluded in these words: "We wish you to understand, that if you have wished, or wish to charge, that we have done anything that a gentleman careful of his honour ought not to do, we say that you have lied in the throat, and that so often as you may say it, you will lie, being fixed to defend our honour to the last moment of our life. Therefore since, against truth, you have thought fit to make such a charge, do not henceforth write anything to us, but we bid you to the field, and will meet you in arms, protesting that if, after this declaration, you in other places write or utter words against our honour, the shame of delaying the combat will be with you, seeing that coming to the combat is the proper sequel to all such writings. Given in our good town and city of Paris, March 18th, 1527 [1528] before the Passover,—FRANCIS.

Charles V. put on a cheerful countenance when this cartel was received, which, from the style, might be supposed to have been written for some prince of the ancient houses of Burgundy or Anjou; but he took care not to regard it too seriously. Francis himself had, perhaps, on this occasion, sacrificed rather to ostentation than to a real sense of offended honour. Everything indicated that this duel, announced with so much parade, would not take place; and it was soon carefully arranged that the French should lay the fault on Charles V., and the Spaniards on Francis I. All thoughts of a personal combat were abandoned; and it was reserved for the armies of the two kings to decide the quarrel between them. After some weeks repose, Lautrec put himself in motion at the beginning of the year; and, taking his course along the Adriatic, he invaded Naples by the Abruzzi, which instantly submitted. Afterwards, he passed into the

capitanate, where he forced the officer of the customs to give up 100,000 ducats, the product of the duty on the passage of the beasts. The Neapolitan population, weary of the Spanish yoke, was eager for a change. The



progress of Lautrec was so rapid, that there remained in the possession of the Spanish generals but Naples and Gaeta. He wished to follow up his advantage, and, instead of waiting for those reinforcements which the Count de St. Pol was bringing to succour him, sat down before Naples, where total failure awaited him. The city, defended by a whole army, he could not hope to take at once, and therefore had recourse to a blockade. He assured Francis that it must soon capitulate. The imperial fleet, commanded by Moncada, the viceroy, attacked Philipino, Doria's nephew, but was defeated. Moncada was killed, and the Marquis de Guasto, who had acted under him, was made prisoner, and sent by Philipino as a trophy to his uncle. The service performed by his nephew, under the directions of Doria, was the last rendered to France by that skilful mariner. Andrew, a frank blunt sailor, had conducted himself too independently to stand well with the French ministers. They caused the king to view him with suspicion, and he was subjected to various indignities. Even in naval affairs his advice was treated with disrespect. The government took from his country its trade in salt, which wounded his national pride, and they injured his personal interests, at the same time, by superseding him, and naming to the command which he had held, Barberieux, the admiral from the Levant, and in refusing to reimburse him for the ransom of the Prince of Orange, who had been captured by him before the battle of Pavia. It had even been debated in the council whether it would not be expedient to seize his

gallies and decapitate him, as a man whose fidelity was suspected. The Marquis de Guasto, who remained his prisoner, adroitly excited the resentment of the Genoese commander, and applied himself to gain him over to the service of his master, promising, that if he would forsake a monarch who evinced so little gratitude, he should receive an annual allowance of 60,000 ducats. At this offer Doria gave way, and speedily passed over to the Spaniards. He sent his commission, together with the collar of St. Michael, to Francis; and, immediately hoisting the imperial colours, sailed to Naples in sight of the French, not to blockade the city, but to carry supplies and all needful relief. The siege was long protracted, and sickness raged in the French camp. Few escaped the infection. Lautrec himself did not. After striving long and anxiously against the difficulties opposed to him, he died on the 15th of August, lamenting the negligence of his sovereign, which had been the cause of so dreadful a calamity. He was succeeded in the command by the Marquis de Saluces, who was by no means equal to the important charge. Not daring to remain in the open country, he threw himself into Aversa, where he was besieged, and eventually made prisoner, with Peter Navarre. The latter was doubly odious to the Spaniards, who recollected with grief that he was the pupil of "the great captain." They threw him into the cells of the Château de l'Œuf, and smothered him there. The remnant of the conquered army, forced to surrender at discretion, were sent into France, without arms and without standard, thus ignominiously leaving that murderous land, in which so many men and so much treasure had been sacrificed in vain. The King of France, however, sent a new army into Italy, under the orders of Francis de Bourbon, the Count de St. Pol. The general of the imperialists, Antonio de Leyva, defended the Milanese territory most skilfully with a handful of men. The French, being joined by the Venetians, under the orders of Rovera, Duke of Urbino, seized on Pavia. On hearing this, Leyva, though suffering extremely from the gout, made a rapid march, being carried in a litter, and surprised St. Pol at Landriano, and defeated him June 21st, 1529. The count himself was made prisoner, and his artillery and baggage were taken. The remainder of the army fled through the passages of the Alps.

Both parties exhausted their strength equally in this struggle, which exhibited no grandeur, and led to no important result. Charles no longer hoped to impose on Francis the treaty of Madrid; and beaten on all points he at length began to feel that he must concede something to his more fortunate rival. The various interests connected by the league of 1526, greatly increased the difficulty of effecting an accommodation. Charles and Francis, however, understood each other, and caused the subject of their differences to be discussed with closed doors. The former sent his aunt, Margaret of Austria, to act for him; the latter his mother. They met at Cambray, where they entered upon conferences, which had for their object the establishment of a general peace. The other members of the confederacy

had sent ambassadors to Cambray, who endeavoured, but in vain, to penetrate the mystery of the negotiation which was then in progress. The princesses were lodged in two adjoining houses, which communicated by a door made for the purpose. For three weeks they met every day, and passed



many hours by themselves, without its being known to any one without what had taken place. It was not till the 5th of August that the treaty was published, and the conditions of the peace, about to be concluded, made known. Francis was to keep the provinces in dispute, at least for a time, for the emperor reserved to himself the right of making good his claim to them at a future period. The latter accepted 2,000,000 crowns in gold for the ransom of the dauphin and his brother; but he made the king pay sufficiently dear for this condescension, so lucrative already to himself. Notwithstanding his high-sounding pretensions to chivalry, Francis abandoned without shame all his allies, the Florentines, the Venetians, the Duke of Ferrara, the Neapolitan barons who had declared for France, and the King of Navarre himself, though he had become his brother-in-law by marrying the Duchess of Alençon. He renounced Italy, and gave up his rights as suzerain in Flanders and Artois. Finally, he consented to furnish twenty ships to the King of Spain, for the voyage which he proposed to make to Italy, and to pay to him 100,000 crowns of gold, in lieu of the troops engaged to be furnished under the treaty of Madrid. Such was the celebrated treaty of Cambray, which was called, in reference to those by whom it had been negotiated, "The ladies' treaty." Five months afterwards, Italy was

pacified, in its turn, by the treaty of Bologna, [January, 1529], which re-established the Medicis of Florence and Sforza of Milan, but upon hard conditions, and immediately dependent upon the emperor, and it restored to Venice the maritime cities of Naples, which had been taken in the expedition of Lautrec.

After the peace of Cambray, hostilities were suspended for seven years between France and Spain. During that period Francis laboured actively, by contracting alliances, and by making warlike preparations, not only to prevent Charles from extending his power, but to diminish that which he already possessed, and to regain for France what she had lost.

Henry VIII. thought of obtaining a divorce from Catherine, the aunt of Charles V. She was six years older than himself, and her beauty was much impaired, which made him personally anxious for separation; though religious scruples were the pretence on which he moved. The Protestant princes leagued together at Smalkalden, to protect their persons, their religion, and Germanic liberty. Solyman disputed for Hungary with Ferdinand, and carrying his arms into Austria besieged Vienna. From one end of Europe to the other, Francis exerted himself to raise up enemies to Charles V., and his brother Ferdinand. He closely united himself to Henry VIII.; and used his influence with the universities of France and Italy, to procure sentences favourable to the divorce coveted by the English king [1533.] He had formed with the Lutheran princes the league of Smalkalden, and kept it secret for a time; but at length he publicly allied himself with them in 1532. He profited by the sale of Comté de Montbelliard, to send them 120,000 crowns, for the purpose of enabling them to take the Duchy of Wurtemberg from Ferdinand, and to give it to Ulric, one of the confederates. The punishment of certain reformers at Paris cooled, however, in a moment the Lutherans of Germany, in the cause of Francis I. Believing that his character had suffered with the pope, on one occasion when some of the new opinions had been posted on the church doors, he determined, in order to vindicate his fame as a christian king, to punish the offenders with severity. Six of them were arrested. A solemn procession, expiatory of the sin which they had committed, was ordered. The holy sacrament was carried through the city, Francis headed the train with a lighted torch in his hand; and the princes of the blood held a canopy over it. The nobles followed in great form, and in the presence of this body, the king, who was fond of declamatory flourish, declared such was his abhorrence of heresy, that if one of his hands were infected with it, he would use the other to cut it off; nor would he spare even his own children, if they were convicted of such an offence against heaven. This ceremony was concluded by the public burning of the six prisoners. The Lutherans were naturally shocked at this horrible cruelty; but eventually he made his peace with them, and received the league of Smalkalden. After 1525, he had formed relations clandestinely with Solyman; which in 1534 ripened into a defensive league, and a treaty of commerce.



Martin Luther.

Provoking resistance against Charles in the bosom of Germany, Francis destroyed the unity of that impulse, which the emperor had been able to direct against France; and exciting dissensions, he employed one portion of his force against the great body of his power. If France were pressed between Spain in the south, and the Low Countries and Austria on the north and east, by means of his alliance with Solyman, the king placed in his turn, the Austrian possessions between the double attack of France in the west, and of the Turks in the east. The Italians having proved in the last war, how little dependence was to be placed on their support, in putting them last, the king did not neglect them. He secured Clement VII. by proposing a marriage between his son, the Duke of Orleans, and Catherine, the daughter of the pope's cousin, Laurent de Medicis. Charles, when he first heard of this proposed union, would not believe that the royal blood of France could form an alliance with one, whose recent ancestors were private citizens and merchants. To break off the match, he, however, offered his own niece, the King of Denmark's daughter. This was of no avail, and the second son of Francis became the husband of Catherine. Francis also applied himself with equal care, to detach the Duke of Milan from the emperor's interest.

Within the limits of his kingdom, Francis increased, by different measures, the power and resources of the state. The death of his mother, and that of Duprat, in 1531 and 1533, enabled him to replenish his treasury. He exacted 100,000 crowns from the heirs of Duprat. His mother, as avaricious as she was ambitious, had left behind her the enormous sum of 1,500,000 crowns of gold. Of this, he employed one-third, to ransom the estates of the house of Vendôme, situate in the Low Countries, to regain what he had ceded in exchange for others. At the same time he issued an ordinance to restore to the crown, all the alienated domains, with the exception of those set apart for the younger branches of the royal family. He abolished the stipulations of Queen Anne, in favour of her collateral relations; and annexed Britany definitively to France. He gained the affections of the people, worn out by a long war, by a progress through the kingdom; superintending the administration of justice, and repressing everywhere such abuses as had become the subject of complaint. In 1533, when the legions were established, he raised the number of the national infantry to forty-two thousand. So many warlike preparations, announced with sufficient distinctness, that the peace of Cambray could not long endure. Germany torn by the reform on the Elbe and on the Rhine; menaced every moment with invasion from the Danube; Italy trembling under the haughty protectorate of the emperor; England carried at length into the rugged path of reform by the lover of Anne Boleyn; Spain and France, themselves, still imperfectly recovered from so many efforts; all these nations exhausted or suffering, borne away as it were in spite of themselves, with the movement; waited with anxiety the moment of the inevitable

shock. It was towards Italy, the usual theatre of all the great struggles of that period, that every observant eye was naturally turned. Desirous of withdrawing himself from that state of subjection in which he was held by Charles V., Sforza had received with joy the overtures made to him by the King of France; but their negotiation was not one that could be openly carried on. It was necessary to set at rest the terrors of the timid Sforza, to send in secret an ambassador, to treat with him, who had no apparent mission. The choice fell upon a gentleman of the country named Maraviglia or Merveilles; uncle to the chancellor of Milan, Francesque Taverne. Maraviglia had established himself in France, under Louis XII; attracted by the king's favour who had made him rich in a short time. He pretended to make a journey on business to Milan, but was provided with credentials which he was only to show to the duke. But whatever the mystery with which he was surrounded, the report of his errand reached Charles V. The storm already was on the point of bursting on the duke; fear seized him, and thinking only of the present danger, he thought but how to relieve himself from the inconvenient guest, whose presence gave umbrage to the all potent emperor. The affair was managed in the Italian manner. One Castiglione, offered the most outrageous insult to Maraviglia; passing before his hotel with some gendarmes, insulted his servants. All the domestics of the hotel immediately took up arms, and in the contest which ensued Castiglione was killed. Since Clodius and Milon, Italy had witnessed many such scenes; but ducal justice made only moderate exertions to punish the guilty. In this case, it manifested a sort of taste for unaccustomed severity. Maraviglia was thrown into prison, tried, condemned, and executed all within a few days; and his dead body appeared in the market place of Milan, before even the court of France had had advice of the proceedings. Sforza thus regained the good graces of Charles, but he had only escaped from Charybdis to rush on Scylla. Francis, furious at hearing of the death of his envoy, after having vainly demanded reparation from the duke and the emperor, assembled his cavalry and his legions, and ordered Count William de Furstemberg, to raise a large body of German infantry, and repair to Lyons; whence he would send to demand a passage for the Duke of Savoy. On this being refused, the Admiral Chabot invaded La Bresse and Bregey; and handled the duke so roughly, that there soon remained to him on this side of Mount Cenis no more than a few towns in La Tarentaise. About this period, Sforza died, [October 24th, 1535], without heirs. Francis now proclaimed more loudly than ever, his right to the Milanese; and had he acted with promptitude, nothing would have been more easy than to seize on the territory in question at that moment. The emperor had returned from his glorious, but useless expedition, to Tunis. He had forced Barbarossa to sue for forgiveness; but at the same time he had completely exhausted his treasury. He had no longer any army in Spain; in Italy, the force of Antony de Leyva, was reduced to a handful of men; and

could oppose no serious resistance to the French. Instead of using boldly the right of the stronger, Francis, who had not always been so timorous, wished on this occasion to make a parade of generosity and equity ; which was somewhat out of place. He withdrew his troops, even from the towns of Savoy, of which he retained only three, Turin, Fossano and Coni ; and sent formally to the emperor to ask for the investiture of the Milanese : which came, he contended, legitimately into his possession, under the treaty of Cambray : by the extinction of the Sforza family. Charles was too artful to refuse at that moment ; he seemed to consent to the investiture, but, in order to gain time, he first destined it for the second son of the king, the Duke of Orleans ; and then for the third, the Duke of Angoulême. Francis suffered himself to be amused with these insidious propositions, and lost much time ; but the negociation, entered upon by Granvelle, was spun out in the end to a great length : but he, eventually, made his army enter Savoy at the commencement of 1536 ; and already, with the assistance of the Swiss, he had possessed himself of almost all the country, when suddenly the scene changed. Charles, taken advantage of the delay, had been able to raise both men and money. Naples and Sicily had granted him large loans ; several bands of infantry had arrived from Germany. Antony de Leyva had already twelve thousand infantry, and six hundred horse in his camp ; and expected to be joined by a corps of five thousand Savoyards. When Charles believed himself sufficiently strong, he came to Rome ; where the pope received him with great pomp. Till now, he had veiled his real intentions ; but the ambassadors of Francis having claimed, in the name of their master, a definitive reply to the propositions which they had submitted on the subject of the investiture of Milan ; the emperor engaged to give it on the following day, before the cardinals and the pope in full consistory. That grave body accordingly met, and all the foreign ambassadors attended on the occasion. Charles, then at once, threw off the mask ; and standing before them, spoke of his own unceasing anxiety for the peace of Christendom, and declared war to be his abhorrence ; but lamented that all his efforts to avert that scourge from Europe were rendered abortive, by the injustice of the French king. Unfriendly to him in his minority, he had subsequently met him in open hostility ; and when the chances of war made him a prisoner, he had regained his freedom by concluding a treaty, every article of which he had since deliberately violated. He was disposed to give the investiture of Milan to one of the French princes, provided such conditions could be obtained from Francis, as would secure the peace of the world : but of this, he added, there was little hope ; looking at the course which his rival had hitherto pursued. " Such being the case," he proceeded, " let us not continue to shed the blood of our poor subjects ; but rather decide the quarrel man to man. Let the meeting be on such conditions as he may prefer, in our shirts, on an island, or a bridge, or on board a galley moored in the river. Let us fight, with sword or poniard, till the death of

one gives victory to the other. I am content that the Duchy of Burgundy shall be staked on his part, and that of Milan on mine, both to be the prize of the conqueror. Let him swear to observe these conditions, and this question once decided, let the united forces of Germany, Spain and France, be employed to humble the power of the Turk, to drive heresy out of Christendom." He afterwards declared, if this challenge were not accepted, he would prosecute the war against the King of France, till he reduced his condition to that of "the poorest gentleman in his kingdom." Then affecting to pity the French commanders and soldiers, the emperor added, that if his hopes of victory were no better founded than those of the French king, if his army consisted of such unfortunate objects, he would go immediately with his hands bound, and a rope round his neck, with folded arms, to implore mercy from his enemy. So many bravados in the mouth of one so circumspect, announced a project of desperate war. Francis, made prudent by adversity, chose himself the ground for his future manœuvres in his own kingdom. He made Admiral Chabot cross the Alps, with six hundred men; disposed the troops in Provence and Dauphiny, in the mountains; and established himself at Valencia, with all the noblesse of France, and the "ban and l'arriere-ban;" while the Marshal Anne de Montmorency took up a position near Avignon, between the Rhone and Durance, and prepared to receive the enemy, by transforming the country into a desert, which it was intended to invade. They made great breaches in the walls of the towns, which they abandoned; they burnt all the forage, and all the corn, which individuals had neglected to place in safety. They destroyed the ovens and the mills, broke the machinery of them, and removed all the iron that might have been used to repair them. They carried into the camp at Avignon all the artisans, of whose aid the enemy might have availed himself. They staved all the casks of wine; they threw the corn into the wells, and drugs which might poison the water; but they did not destroy trees or vines, which were already bending with fruit, and of which the abundance was likely to cause sickness to rage in the camp of the invaders. Bonneval, to whom it was left to carry these severe orders into execution, acquitted himself of his charge with the firmness and unrelenting severity of an old partisan. Whole villages disappeared from the fires which he kindled. Two small towns having dared to close their gates, he carried them by assault, and sacked them as if he had been engaged in a foreign war. Among civilised nations, such a measure of defence had never been resorted to, with like severity. Marseilles and Arles, were the only towns he thought it necessary to defend; the former in order to retain the command of the sea; the latter as the barrier of the province of Languedoc. In both these he placed strong garrisons.

Charles V. prepared to make good the threats which he had breathed. He took the field at the head of an army of from fifty to sixty thousand men, favoured by the treason of the Marquis de Saluces, who took on his way the

places which remained to the French of their conquests in Savoy. The day after his haughty and insulting conduct at Rome, the emperor seemed to have repented it; and when the French ambassadors approached him to claim an explanation, he said they were not to regard what had fallen from him as an actual challenge to their master, but simply an expedient for preventing the effusion of christian blood. Some of the harsh terms which he had employed he explained away, and he spoke with respect of Francis. At the head of his army, he seemed disposed to renew the threats and the bravados in which he had indulged before the pope and his cardinals, and he now only talked of Provence as "his comté." He caused to be made a register, beforehand, of the names of the captains on whom he proposed to bestow the estates of the Provençal lords, which he was about to conquer. When passing his army in review before the Lord de la Roche, then a hostage in the Spanish camp, he asked tauntingly how many days it would cost him to get to Paris. "If by days," replied La Roche, "your majesty means battles, you may expect more than twelve, unless, indeed, the aggressor should be beaten in the first." At the commencement, however, the future conqueror of Provence and France had nearly perished in the Alps. The mountaineers in the interest of France posted themselves behind the rocks, and picked out the imperialists by continual discharges. Fifty hunters, concealed in a tower, swore to attempt the life of the emperor on his passage, whatever might be the consequence; and perceiving some grand personage, magnificently attended and treated with every respect, they supposed him to be king, and laid him dead on the spot. They had, however, mistaken their man. It was not the emperor whom they assailed, and their daring attempt cost them all their lives, as, being captured, the whole fifty were hanged. As the imperialists advanced upon Provence, the young dauphin, Francis, died suddenly at Lyons, in the eighteenth year of his age. His cup-bearer, the Italian, Montecuculli, being put to the rack, confessed that he had poisoned him, but not without throwing on Charles V. and his generals the moral responsibility for the crime, which, he added, was not to stop there, but was to extend to the king, and moreover to all his children. True or false, this report added to the hatred inspired by the invaders. Solicited by the Lord of Langey, the German infantry, raised by the King of the Romans, disbanded themselves when they were on their march to Champagne. Eight thousand Swiss soon arrived in the camp at Avignon, and the cantons promised to furnish as many more. Charles, passing into *his comté*, found himself wholly destitute. He had calculated upon a war; he found but a country abandoned, devastated lands, and cities deserted and dismantled. Antony de Leyva proposed at first to force the camp at Avignon; but those who were sent to reconnoitre decided that to make the attempt would be folly. After a fatal sojourn under the walls of Aix, the imperial army, already exhausted by famine, was compelled to seek the coast, where the fleet of Andrew Doria could at least bring them supplies.

They besieged Marseilles, but were repulsed; afterwards they skirmished under the walls of Arles, and at length they seriously turned their attention to the camp at Avignon. The noblesse hastened from all parts of the kingdom. Henry, the new dauphin, and the king himself, joined Montmorency. "It shall not be said," exclaimed Francis, in giving up the command of the army of reserve, "that the emperor comes in arms to attack my camp, and that I content myself with taking charge of the commissary at Valencia." The army demanded, with loud shouts, that Montmorency should lead them to battle; but the marshal would not give up the certainty of success to hazard all on the chance of an engagement. He sent out numerous detachments, which attacked the enemy's foragers and ruined their prospects. Reduced to live on the fruit which wilful and crafty negligence had left in their way, they were soon decimated by disease; and when Charles at length resolved upon retreat, his army was reduced to, from twenty-five, to thirty thousand men. His retreat was even more disastrous than that of Bourbon had been. The peasants in crowds seized the arms left behind, and put all stragglers to death. The calamity was increased when the French cavalry arrived from Avignon. The imperialists, surrounded by enemies, dared not to move in any considerable numbers to seek forage or provisions. Many perished from hunger between Aix and Frejus. The roads and fields were covered with dead bodies, with dying men, with arms, with horses, and with baggage. Langey, the historian of this war, writes, that nothing in his life had ever so forcibly recalled the desolation of Jerusalem by the Romans, in the time of the Emperor Vespasian.

The invasion had not been more fortunate in the north, where Peronne had been suddenly arrested in his career. The alarm was great, the kingdom being attacked on both sides. Paris, which had been reduced to act a very subordinate part while all the strength of the kingdom was carried out of it, at this moment resumed her ancient energy. The prévôt and aldermen offered immediately ten thousand men, and fifty thousand pioneers to fortify the faubourgs, besides munitions of war and a train of artillery. In few days they collected sufficient provisions to subsist the city for a year, and a garrison of thirty thousand men. An effort so powerful made such an impression on the Count of Narbonne, that he decamped in the night, and put himself on the road to the Low Countries. Scarcely had the enemy left the kingdom, than the French resumed the offensive in their turn. He in vain attempted to seize the Milanese territory in revenge. Montmorency drove Du Guasto from Piedmont, and reduced the greater part of Savoy.

At the commencement of the following year, Francis caused a revival of the ancient feudal ceremonies. He cited Charles V. before the court of Paris; and, on the requisition of Master Capelle, the advocate-general, "Charles of Austria, Emperor, attainted of rebellion and felony," was despoiled of the comtés of Flanders, Artois, and Charolais, for which he

was a vassal to the crown of France. Charles, somewhat disturbed by this solemn order, which was another species of insult, akin to his famous harangue at Rome, sent an army of thirty-five thousand men to defend "his comptés." Francis attended himself to superintend the execution of the sentence of the parliament, and commenced by seizing on St. Pol St. Venant, Hesdin, and a great number of places in Flanders and Artois. The Count de Barres, who commanded the imperial army, retook St. Pol, and Montreuil, and came to besiege Terouanne. The dauphin, Henry, hastened with the Marshal Montmorency, and a great battle was expected; when a trumpet arrived, sent by Mary, the sister of Charles, and governante of the Low Countries, who brought news of a suspension of arms between herself and her sister Eleonora, whom the treaties of Madrid and Cambray had given to be the consort of Francis. After some conferences, a truce for ten years was concluded, on the 20th of July, but on that point only, and the war was continued in Piedmont with more fury than ever. The king, to inspire his troops with greater courage, resolved to command himself. In a few hours he forced the pass of Suze, which Cæsar of Naples defended with ten thousand men, and caused the dauphin to pursue, beyond the Po, the Marquis du Guasto, who soon abandoned his camp of Montcalier, where they found such a prodigious mass of corn, that, after providing for the subsistence of the army, enough remained to victual Turin for a year. Meanwhile, Solyman, the ally of Francis, sent Barbarossa to make a descent on the kingdom of Naples, or on Tarentum. At Brindes all was given to fire and the sword. A Turkish army entered, at the same moment, into Hungary, and gained a great victory at Elseck, on the banks of the Drave. Instead of profiting from his good fortune to drive his enemy to extremity, Francis listened to proposals for peace from Charles V., by the intervention of the pope and his sister Eleonora, and consented to the treaty of Nice, which established for ten years the *statu quo* between them. Francis again renounced the Milanese dominions, but he retained Savoy and Piedmont. The two sovereigns agreed to send envoys to Rome, there to arrange the basis of a general and definitive peace.

The emperor and the king still remained in that official state of hatred, which dated from Madrid and Pavia. At Nice, Charles and Francis had refused to see each other, though they were but four leagues apart. The former, at length, decided on making conciliatory advances. To the many cares by which he had so long been agitated, a new embarrassment came to be added. His subjects in the Low Countries, excited in an underhanded way by the people of Ghent, began to grow impatient of the Spanish yoke. The Protestant opposition seemed to increase from day to day, and the Turks returned to the charge with desperate resolution. Never was the want of money so felt by the imperial armies. Rumours of revolt reached the court from all parts. Spain herself was discontented, and that vast dominion seemed likely to sink beneath its own enormous weight. Charles V.

felt in a manner obliged to gain the good graces of his former prisoner. With that object in view, he came to the island of St. Margaret, and sent one of his gentlemen to Avignon, where the king then was, to intimate that he desired to see him, and, if it would be agreeable to him, would land at Aigues-Mortes. This was sufficient to win over Francis, who would not lose so fine an opportunity for displaying royal chivalrous courtesy. He returned an answer, which induced the emperor to cast anchor off the place he had named. The king was no sooner apprised of this, than, without waiting to arrange any point of ceremony, but relying wholly on the emperor's honour, he visited him on board his ship, where he was received with the warmest demonstrations of friendship and esteem. They embraced each other, and seemed to forget all past differences. At night the king withdrew; and, on the following day, the emperor returned the compliment, by landing at Aigues-Mortes with as little ceremony, and met with a like honourable reception. Their conduct towards each other wore the aspect of sincere and ardent friendship; a singular spectacle, when it is borne in mind that, for twenty years, they had been bitter enemies; that they had given the lie, and challenged each other to single combat, that the emperor had denounced Francis as a stranger to honour, and Francis had accused the emperor of being accessory to the murder of the dauphin, his son.

It was at this moment that the affairs of Charles came to a crisis. The people of Ghent took arms in 1539, and sent to the King of France a deputation to offer him the sovereignty of that province. The Milanese soldiers seized on the arrears of their pay, by ravaging the country confided to their care. The bands encamped in Sicily went still further; they drove the emperor's officers away, and elected new ones, and defeated a corps d'armée sent against them by the viceroy of Naples. In Africa the garrison of Goletta threatened to give up the fortress to Barbarossa. At the same moment, the cortes of Castile caused language the most seditious to resound in the ears of the emperor, and demanded, with threats, the re-establishment of the franchises and the privileges of the noblesse. Charles would have been lost if Francis had decided to give to this insurrection the support of his arms and his name. The fraternal embrace at Aigues-Mortes protected the emperor from this evil. Francis left him to collect at leisure the sums necessary to meet the demands of his revolted soldiers. He sent back the deputies from Ghent, and exhibited the letters which they had brought to the emperor. Still more, he opened for him a passage across France, in order that he might subdue the rebels, and thus saved him from the German Protestants and the English cruisers, who cut off, at the same time, his passage by land and by sea. In gratitude for a service so important, Charles promised to grant to the Duke of Orleans the investiture of Milan, and the council of Francis suggested that he should begin by giving up the duchy to the soldiers of the king. Montmorency, however, contended, that to use such a precaution was unworthy of the magnanimity of the king, and this

argument prevailed with Francis. Perceiving such to be the case, Charles V. piqued himself on acting with like generosity in his turn. On sending away the Flemish deputation, Francis had exclaimed, doubtless through a lapse of memory, that he preferred keeping his word inviolate to the empire of the universe. Charles adopted a similar tone; and when on the frontier, the dauphin and the Duke of Orleans offered themselves as hostages for his safety, till he should have reached the Low Countries; he replied, that "the word of the king, his brother, should be his only security." The confidence, however, which he affected, was far from being sincere. There were not wanting persons about the king who advised that he should not permit his rival to go free, without first avenging himself for the affronts of Madrid. Charles was aware of this; and in the midst of magnificent feasts, which everywhere awaited him on his advance, and which cost France more than four millions, he felt himself devoured with insufferable uneasiness. One day the Duke of Orleans, who was but a child, getting upon the crupper of his horse, threw his arms round the emperor, and playfully exclaimed, "I make you my prisoner." This little incident caused the



emperor to turn pale, and it was some time before he recovered his composure. Triboulet, the jester of the court, kept a register, which he called the journal of fools. In this he had written the name of the emperor on his entrance into France, which, so inscribed, he exhibited to every one. "But how will this entry be justified," asked the king, "if I allow the

emperor to pass?"—"In that case," replied Triboulet, "I will erase his name, and insert that of your majesty in its place." Notwithstanding his apprehensions, Charles carefully avoided compromising himself. Montmorency, who wished, at a fête given at Chantilly, to obtain from him a written undertaking relative to the promised investiture of the Milanese, could only draw from him a few equivocal expressions. Scarcely had he arrived at Valenciennes, when he ingenuously confessed that he slept soundly for the first time since he quitted Spain. He replied to the people of the king, who reminded him of his promise, that he would speak on the subject to his council, when peace should be restored in the Low Countries. He flatly denied that he had promised anything; and to those who asserted the contrary to be the fact, he coolly answered, that if such were the case, they must shew it to him in writing.

Thenceforth war might be regarded as inevitable, and Charles took his measures accordingly. By an ill-timed confidence, Francis had given himself up with Charles to some freedom of speech at Aigues-Mortes, respecting the King of England and the Protestants of Germany. Charles, without scruple, took advantage of these, to wrest from the imprudent Francis these two important alliances, which were very imperfectly supplied by similar relations entered into with the Kings of Sweden and Denmark. The successful efforts of James V. to renew the ancient bonds of friendship between Scotland and France decided Henry VIII.; and the late repugnance to the league of Smalkalden disappeared before the treaty of Ratisbon, which granted to the Protestants the free exercise of their religion, and left to the princes the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical properties which they had seized. At the same time, Charles tried to gain over the Venetians, and laboured, by his agents, with Solyman, who no longer comprehended these abrupt changes in the policy of the French king. Francis, warned in time, hastened to parry the blow, and dispatched to Constantinople two of his trusty agents, the Genoese, Cæsar Frégose, and the Spaniard, Antony Rincon, who had orders to pass to Venice, and there to put themselves in communication with the nobility. The secret of their mission had been penetrated by Charles; and, as they descended the Po in a bark well equipped by Langey, the governor of Piedmont, the garrison of Pavia, by the orders of Du Guasto, fell suddenly upon them near the mouth of the Tesino, and in the conflict which took place, they were both killed. Du Guasto had authorised this crime, in order to possess himself of their dispatches, which, however, were not found. The agents had sent them to Langey, when passing near Piedmont, and the Bardou de la Garde, carried them himself to Venice, when he embarked for Constantinople [1541].

This new violence was still more outrageous than the execution of Maraviglia. Francis immediately called for vengeance, and declared that he would take it by force of arms, if it were not rendered to him within four months. The emperor remained immovable. Pressed by the pope to

disavow his general, he boldly justified himself; and as if to mock the impotence of the King of France, he withdrew under this threat of war to go and attack the pirates of Algiers, taking with him all his fleet and his best troops. There would have been something great in this mode of replying to the demands of the King of France, had the expedition been successful, but Charles, having arrived before Algiers at the end of October, was there overtaken by dreadful storms. The camp and the works which he had commenced were all destroyed by the rains; the tempest damaged some of the vessels, and famine and sickness supplied the climax to disaster. Forced to retreat, and to put to sea with the remnant of his troops, Charles then encountered hurricanes still more furious, which threw him back on the coast of Africa. Doria declared that, during fifty years which he had passed at sea, he had never witnessed anything equal to them. The emperor at length succeeded in regaining the Spanish coast, having scarcely seen an enemy, and having lost a hundred and thirty ships, fifteen gallees, the greater part of his guns, his baggage, and two thirds of his troops. The gratuitous calamities of this inglorious struggle with the elements were most favourable to the views of Francis. Two armies entered Luxembourg and Rosillon. One commanded by the Duke of Orleans, who had with him the Duke of Guise and his son, Francis, the Count d'Enghien, and the lords of La Marck, seized at once on all the duchy, with the exception of Thionville. At the same time, Antony de Bourbon had possessed himself of Artois, and the Marshal de Gueldres, Brabant. The Prince of Orange, too weak to resist so many enemies, shut himself up in the strong places; and in a short time the frontier of the kingdom might have been extended to the Rhine, but the Duke of Orleans, on a false report that his brother was about to give battle at Perpignan, suddenly abandoned his post, with part of his troops; and while he advanced to the Pyrenees, the enemy regained all the ground that he had lost. Rosillon had been rapidly conquered, but when the French reached Perpignan, they there found the Duke of Alba with the old Spanish bands, and all the guns saved from the expedition to Algiers. Alvares detained them three months, and the winter being at hand, the fear of seeing their camp inundated by the torrents, which came from the mountains in that season of the year, compelled the dauphin to retire. Three days after his departure, the whole country presented the aspect of a wide sea, and a part of the rear-guard was carried away by the waters.

Complaints were now heard from all parts of the kingdom, against a sovereign whose whole reign had been but a continual war. The army had scarcely returned from Rosillon, when Francis led it into the western provinces; which had risen in opposition to a new impost. L'Aunis, Le Poitou, La Saintonge, Bordeaux, La Rochelle, all the cities of La Garonne, and of Dordogne, formed already a powerful coalition against the royal authority. But the king had accustomed his people to obedience, their unsubstantial energy was soon overawed; and without giving himself further

concern about the discontents in the interior of the kingdom, he turned his whole attention to the new struggle in which he was engaged with the emperor.

The whole of the winter of 1543 was employed by the rivals in circulating angry manifestos, in which they reciprocally accused each other of having betrayed the cause of Christianity : Francis, by his alliance with the Turks ; Charles, for having favoured the Protestants of Germany. Notwithstanding the reform and the march of political science, it was still of importance to each to have the holy see on his side. Charles and Francis were severally anxious to gain over the pope, and submitted in a manner their respective pleadings to him ; but Paul III., less interested in the quarrel, since the actual theatre of war was no longer to be Italy, refused to compromise himself with either, and repelled all their advances. The alliance of Henry VIII. amply indemnified the emperor for this check, which, besides, was shared with his enemy. James V. of Scotland died in 1543 ; and the English king hoped to unite Scotland to his dominions, by effecting a marriage between his son Edward and the daughter of the deceased king—the famous Mary Stuart. Francis interposed. The troops which he sent to Mary of Lorraine, the widow of James, restrained so effectually the English faction, at the head of which was the Earl of Arran, James Hamilton, that the projected union was set aside ; and in resentment of this, Henry immediately concluded a league offensive and defensive with the emperor. A few days afterwards, ten thousand English were landed in the Low Countries.

It was in that direction that the war now raged. Charles repaired to Bonn, where he received his army, consisting of forty-four thousand men ; and commenced by attacking William, Duke of Cleves and Juliers, one of the most zealous partisans of France. William attempted resistance in vain ; his cities, one after the other, fell into the hands of the emperor. The German princes, who at first had seemed disposed to take up arms in his favour, left him to carry on the contest alone. He was obliged to sue for mercy from Charles. On this occasion the emperor did not spare his feelings. When he approached Charles, he was admitted with eight of his attendants, who were compelled to kneel and solicit pardon. Charles was in no haste to bid him rise, but allowed him to remain some time in that humiliating posture, regarding him with an air of ruffianly disdain ; and at length he scornfully withdrew, without uttering a word. The conditions subsequently granted were moderate. He, however, took from him Gueldres, and his best general, Martin Rossem ; and compelled him to renounce his alliance with the King of France. In the meantime, the dauphin had entered the Low Countries, and had possessed himself of Landrecies de Mauberge, and de Barlemont. Reinforced by ten thousand English, sent to him by Henry VIII., Charles advanced to Landrecies, of which the Count de Rœux had already commenced the siege. La Lande and D'Essé, who commanded the place, sustained bravely the attack of the imperialists, and gave time for the

king to approach with a large army, which established itself at Cateau Cambrésis, on the left bank of the Sombre, immediately in front of the enemy's camp. The two armies, posted on opposite heights, were only separated by a valley, in the midst of which a small rivulet ran, deeply embedded in a ravine. A battle was expected, and the emperor, who was at Quesnoi, hastened to the camp at Landrecies to take part in it. It was necessary for one army or the other, in order to engage, to pass into the valley, and ascend the opposite steep, to attack the enemy. Neither side chose to incur such risk. On the day of La Toussaint, Francis caused his soldiers to appear under arms, and sent parties to skirmish on the margin of the rivulet, as if he had resolved to pass it. The imperialists, imposed upon by this manœuvre, put themselves in battle array on the opposite side. But the movement of Francis was only a feint. While both parties cannonaded each other in the valley, Martin de Bellay traversed the plain at the head of a convoy, and conducted it to Landrecies; which, by this means, was re-victualled for a fortnight. The rainy season had now set in, and Charles could scarcely maintain his position for another week. Francis leisurely retired on Guise; and the emperor, who, on leaving Juliers, had promised to lead his troops straight to Paris, esteemed himself too happy in being able to retreat on Cambray, a free and imperial city, which he seized, on pretence of its being in communication with the agents of the French king. In revenge for that outrage, the Duke of Orleans again overran Luxembourg, which in this instance he retained. In Italy, Francis had resumed the offensive, but without honour or profit. Till then, the Turks had only been his allies at a distance, but nevertheless the ancient prejudices of the middle ages were sufficiently shocked by so anti-christian a pact. It was infinitely worse this year. Barbarossa left the Dardanelles with a hundred and fifty sail, and advanced to the gulph of Lyons, ravaging on his way the coasts of Naples, the lands of the church and Tuscany, and proceeded to Toulon, there to join the Count D'Enghien, who had become Governor of Piedmont, since the retreat of William de Bellay, who died of the gout on the 9th of January. Barbarossa and D'Enghien, continuing their course, forced an entrance into the port of Nice, took possession of that city on the 22nd of August, and compelled the garrison to retreat into the fort. Nice was the only safe place which remained to the Duke of Savoy. He burst out in bitter exclamations on seeing the crescent displayed from its walls, side by side with the standard of France. Du Guasto and Doria prepared immediately to succour the Governor of Nice, Andrew de Montfort, who bravely defended the place against the combined army of the besiegers. The fort was built upon a rock which was proof against undermining, and not to be affected by cannon. They had carried into it provisions, munitions of war, and even church bells. D'Enghien, whose fleet was laden with flour, and eatables, and wine, wanted arms and gunpowder. He was obliged to borrow them from the people of

Barbarossa, who were in this respect well provided. This demand upon him displeased the old pirate. He treated with much hauteur the gentlemen



who were with him ; and an intercepted letter having apprised him of the approach of Du Guasto and Doria, he indignantly sailed away [Sept. 8th], and returned to Toulon with his "fresh water fleet," as he called it. Afterwards he returned to Constantinople, pillaging on his way the shores of Catalonia, Valencia and Calabria. The Duke of Savoy coined, on this occasion, silver money, bearing the arms of Savoy on one side, and on the other the following inscription : "*Nicea à Turcis et Gallis obsessa*," (Nice besieged by the Turks and the French.) The loss of Mont Devis and of Carignan was more sensibly felt by Francis, than this inoffensive vengeance ; but at Mont Devis, the Spaniards having, in contempt of the capitulation, massacred a part of the garrison, the cantons indignantly sent a reinforcement of eight thousand men to the French ; and the war was prosecuted in the depth of winter.

It was fortunate for Charles that the odious spectacle afforded by his rival under the walls of Nice to all Europe had been witnessed. He failed not to take advantage of it in the diet which was held at Spire, in the month of February in the following year. The Cardinal de Bellay in vain appeared to defend his master ; and attempted to justify him in a long discourse, alleging in his favour the examples of Abraham, David, and the Maccabees, in the Old Testament ; and those of Constantine the Great, Theodosius, and Honorius, at subsequent periods. The diet would not listen to him. It was decided that war should be declared against France in the name of the Germanic empire, and that the princes should furnish the emperor

with twenty-four thousand infantry, and four thousand horse. Henry VIII. decided to take an active part in the war. It was agreed that he should come in person to Calais, and invade France on the side of Picardy; while the emperor would enter into Champagne. The general rendezvous was appointed under the walls of Paris; and, as often happens, when great invasions have been resolved upon, the two monarchs proceeded to make prospectively a division of the provinces they were to conquer. The sad issue of many other expeditions might have taught Charles that nothing was less certain than the success of such an enterprise; and when he assembled his troops and reached Piedmont, the news which there awaited was well calculated at least to abate his confidence.

The Duke d'Enghien, sent beyond the Alps in the middle of winter, had besieged Carignan, which cut off the communication with Turin, and not being able to open the trenches in the severe weather, he cantoned his troops in the surrounding villages, and converted the siege into a blockade; when, at the moment the city was about to yield, the Marquis de Guasto arrived with an army, and a large convoy of provisions and munitions of war. It was necessary to raise the siege, or to relieve himself by a victory from the Spanish army. The latter course was that which D'Enghien was disposed to take, but it was contrary to his instructions. In the presence of so many armies ready to pass the frontier, Francis did not wish that his soldiers should run the risk of a battle, commanded as they were by a general then but five-and-twenty years of age. D'Enghien sent to him, however, one Blaise de Montluc, a cadet of Gascony, who had sought to make his fortune by the wars in Italy, where he had commenced his career as a private soldier. Though forty years of age, he preserved all that youthful vivacity which had long deserted the king. Francis received him surrounded by his old counsellors, who long deliberated on the chances of a battle, and finished by deciding against it. Montluc, who had scarcely been able to contain himself, at their coming to that conclusion, was asked by the king, who had remarked his excitement, what he could say in answer to the arguments which had been urged by the members of the council? Montluc, upon this, delivered himself with great energy. He spoke of the excellent state of the army, and of their eagerness to give battle, which promised certain victory. Then he spoke of the disgrace which must fall upon France, if, under such circumstances, they retired before the enemy. While thus speaking, he is described to have commanded attention by throwing on all sides menacing looks, stamping with his feet, and addressing himself right and left to the members of the council. The Gascon, in the end, prevailed over the old soldier of Marignano and Pavia. Francis placed his hat on the table, clasped his hands, and turned up his eyes to Heaven; then, after a short prayer to the father of all mercies, "Let them combat! let them combat! in the name of God!" he at length exclaimed. Montluc instantly darted from the chamber, bounding with joy, and calling out, "Battle! battle! Let those

who wish to take a part in it make haste." More than a thousand gentlemen followed him to the camp at Carignan. Du Guasto had at least ten thousand men more than D'Enghien; but on that account the latter did not hesitate. On Monday, the 11th of April, he decamped an hour after midnight, and marched to the plain of Cerisoles, where the enemy's army was drawn up, defended by twenty pieces of cannon, which were placed on the heights of Carmagnole. At sight of the Spanish batteries, the duke checked his march, and waited for the foe to come to him. The two armies remained in each other's presence till noon, endeavouring, by skirmishing, to bring on a general engagement, which neither party chose to begin. Already more than five thousand stragglers had engaged, when the ten thousand German infantry, which formed the *corps de bataille* of the imperialists, were at length moved to attack the four thousand Swiss under the Duke d'Enghien. A colonel named Tais hastened to support them with four thousand men of the old legions; but at that moment the Prince of Salerno advanced with ten thousand Italian foot soldiers and Florentine cavalry to sustain the German infantry; and D'Enghien and Tais were nearly overwhelmed by numbers, when De Thermes, at the head of the French gendarmerie, broke through the Florentines, and forced them to fall back in confusion on the Prince of Salerno, who was unable to rejoin the *corps de bataille*. The combat was maintained on both sides with unexampled fury and determination. Behind the first rank of pikemen, a row of soldiers, armed with arquebusses, had been put on the side of the French; one armed with pistols had been placed in a like position by the imperialists. The fire of the French, in the end, became most destructive; and Boutieres having charged, at the head of his gendarmes, the German infantry, they had from that moment only to put the vanquished to the sword. But in the mean time, the Grisons and the Italians, who fought in the left wing of the French, gave way before the old Spanish and German companies. D'Enghien, who had left the *corps de bataille* in order to encourage his allies, whose valour he rather suspected, found himself in a moment surrounded by the enemy. A small height concealed from his view the then state of the battle; and believing all to be lost, he now had no thought but to die bravely at the head of a hundred cavaliers, who accompanied him, when at the news of the rout of the German foot soldiers, the Spaniards on a sudden dispersed, and retreated to Asti, carrying with them the Marquis du Guasto, who had received a wound from an arquebus in the thigh. The Swiss ran like furies over the field of battle, crying aloud, "Mont Devis! Mont Devis!" to animate themselves to avenge their compatriots, by putting to death without mercy the fugitives. The imperialists left from ten to twelve thousand men on the plains of Cerisoles; and that which rendered their defeat still more humiliating, was, that in their camp four thousand chains and as many hand-bolts were found, which had been destined by Du Guasto for the French prisoners he expected to make. From day to

day the new tactics gained ground. Almost all the brunt of that battle was borne by the infantry. There, however, still remained some portion of the



ancient military customs. Montluc, who commanded at Cerisoles the forlorn hope, and who had been the cause of the battle, by his energetic pantomime in the royal council, was knighted on the field by the hand of the Duke d'Enghien.

Nothing could have been more happily timed than this victory to dismiss the apprehensions of the court. Nevertheless, it was but a glorious episode in the war, without real importance. D'Enghien was not permitted to follow up his success. The emperor and the King of England were preparing to break in upon the opposite frontier of France, and to oppose them, twelve thousand of D'Enghien's best troops were required by Francis. Charles V. had collected an army of fifty thousand infantry; and Henry VIII. was at the head of one of thirty thousand men. They had besides, between them, nearly twenty thousand cavalry, and the most numerous artillery that had yet been seen. Henry first arrived, and immediately perceived that the frontier of Picardy was unprovided with troops, the greater portion of the soldiers of Francis having been sent with the dauphin into Champagne, to meet Charles V. But instead of marching direct to Paris, as he had engaged with the emperor to do, the English king thought it right to enter into calculations for his own personal interest, and wished in the first instance to secure the fortresses of Picardy, which were eventually to come into his possession, as his share of the meditated conquest. While he unwisely lost time under the walls of Montreuil and Boulogne, Charles V. at length

advanced. He recaptured Luxembourg, and seized, as he proceeded, Lorraine, Commercy and Ligny, in Barrois, and entered into Champagne, July, 1544, where he laid siege to St. Dizier, which was then in a very unprovided state, and seemed likely to fall an easy prey. M. de la Laude, and the Count de Sancerre, who had become celebrated for their defence of Landrecies, passed into the town, and defended it so well, that it detained the emperor five weeks. De la Laude was killed by a cannon ball; but Sancerre still defended the place; when Granville, who had intercepted the key to the cypher used by the Duke of Guise, sent a letter into the fortress, written in the name of the duke, authorising Sancerre to capitulate, as the king, while he much applauded the efforts he had made, judged it inexpedient to risk a battle for his relief. He obtained honourable terms, but agreed to surrender if the place were not relieved in eight days. At the end of that period he went forth at the head of his garrison, drums beating and colours flying, retaining their arms, baggage, and four pieces of artillery. The time consumed in this siege had given Francis leisure to collect his forces, of which he did not fail to avail himself. While he was thus occupied, the army of the dauphin continued to increase, and soon amounted to fifty thousand men. Again the emperor suffered for his temerity in entering France. His hopes were disappointed, and sickness and desertion had reduced his soldiers by one third. Henry, to whom he had written to repair to the place of rendezvous, replied, that his honour was engaged not to advance till Montreuil and Boulogne should have been taken, and refused compliance with the anxious wish of the emperor. Weakened, discouraged, wanting food and ammunition, Charles feared, if he marched farther into the kingdom he should find his retreat cut off. He opened conferences at La Chaussée, between Chalons and Vitry, but he had already advanced too far. Many declared that he ought then to be compelled to expiate the wars and invasions he had led against France. Treason came to the assistance of his enemies. He had proposed, in the conferences of La Chaussée, to give his daughter to the Duke of Orleans, and with her, by way of dowry, either the Milanese territory or the Low Countries. Francis began to grow old, and felt the end of his reign was approaching; and the Duchess d'Etampes in open hostility with the dauphin, who was already under the empire of another woman; Diana of Poitiers wished to secure for herself a secure retreat in the expected new reign. She made the Duke of Orleans her protégé then, that in turn she might claim protection from him; and as under the circumstances the emperor's proposition could not be accepted, she rendered the king's officers more yielding than they might otherwise have been, and Eperney and Château Thierry, which contained large magazines, fell into his hands. The Lord of Bassu, who was devoted to her, gained over the officers charged to break down the bridge of Eperney, and that duty was not performed. Charles, apprised of what had been arranged by the duchess, arrived suddenly and seized on the two cities. His army being

refreshed, he pushed forward to the gates of Meaux. When it was known to the inhabitants of Paris, that Charles was within two days march of their city, they abandoned themselves to despondency. Some sent their wives and children by the Seine to Rouen, others to Orleans, and the towns on the Loire. All was confusion. The whole country was crowded with vehicles of various descriptions, in which the citizens removed their best furniture. The peasants drove the cattle from the vicinity of the capital, and the river was covered with boats engaged for like purposes. The heap



of moveables placed in them was so great, that many of them sunk. All the roads were strewn with different articles, which had been accidentally dropped by those who fled, or thrown away by thieves, men who had been dismissed from the camp, and who now assailed these poor dispirited fugitives, and examined all their goods in search of money.

Francis was deeply affected by the distress of his capital, and shared in the general dismay. In the fierce emotion of his sorrow, he exclaimed, "O my God! my God! how dearly do I pay for the crown which I wear, and which I thought it had been thy pleasure to grant me a free gift!" He, however, recovering from his agitation, immediately added, with courage and resignation, "But thy will be done," and immediately proceeded, with his accustomed activity and presence of mind, to give those orders which were necessary to prevent the advance of the enemy.

During these proceedings, it became known that Boulogne must soon surrender; and the interrupted negotiations were resumed with eagerness.

"Peace could not fail to be concluded between the emperor and the king," writes the Florentine, Louis Alamanni, "because the one had a great wish for, and the other had a great want of it." On the 18th September, a treaty was concluded at Crespy, in Valois. The emperor retired without being incommoded, and obtained the renunciation of the rights of France to the kingdom of Naples, provided that he restored the cities of Champagne and gave his daughter to the Duke of Orleans, with the dowry promised at La Chaussée. The favourite had at length accomplished her object, but the triumph was of short duration. It happened with this treaty, as with many others, to prove of little effect. The Duke of Orleans died in the month of September, in the following year, before having completed the marriage, and the emperor kept the dowry of his daughter. Summoned by the King of France to offer him some indemnity, he contented himself by giving the French envoy this reply: "If your master will leave me in peace, I will leave him in peace."

Henry VIII. had not adhered to the treaty of Crespy. Four days after the signing of it, Boulogne opened its gates, and his troops continued to press Montreuil. At the news of the dauphin's near approach, who, free at length on the side of Champagne, now hastened to defend Picardy, the English monarch retired precipitately to Calais, and thence passed over to England. He had been deeply offended by the separate peace made between Francis and the Emperor, and when overtures for an accommodation were made to him, on the part of France, he had demanded not only the payment of all former debts, but claimed to be re-imbursed for the sums which he had expended in the present invasion. Though anxious for peace Francis disdained to treat on such terms, and the two nations continued in a state of hostility.

The following year, Francis undertook the siege of Boulogne. To prevent its being re-victualled by the English fleet, Francis equipped above two hundred sail, besides galleys, commanded by Admiral d'Annebaut, with which a descent on England was projected. D'Annebaut sailed to the Isle of Wight, where the English fleet was lying at anchor in St. Helens. It consisted of less than a hundred sail, and the admiral thought it wise to remain in that road, in order to draw the French into the narrow channels and among the rocks, with which they were but imperfectly acquainted. For two days the two fleets fired on each other, but the damage done was inconsiderable. One of the largest English ships, the *Mary Rose*, went down, but whether from the enemy's fire, or from accident, was a matter of some doubt. To prevent the English from succouring Boulogne, the king ordered a fort to be built, by which he proposed to block up the army. When finished, at a great expense, it was found to be so ill constructed, that he was soon obliged to abandon it; and though he had an army in that vicinity of nearly forty thousand men, he effected nothing of importance. A sort of petty warfare was carried on in the country between Calais and Boulogne;

but at length, at the beginning of June, conferences for an accommodation were opened between Guines and Ardres. On the 7th of that month a treaty was signed. Under this, Boulogne was to remain for eight years in the hands of the English; and, during that period, Francis engaged to pay 800,000 crowns of gold, to indemnify Henry for the expences of the war, and the fortifications made by the English in Boulogne, and the small neighbouring fortresses. On the payment of the sum stipulated being completed, Francis was to resume possession of Boulogne. Besides, Henry exacted an annual pension of 1,000,000 of crowns. Scotland, as an ally of France, was comprehended in this pacification.

The treaties of Crespy and Ardres had only been concluded in consequence of mutual exhaustion. That generation of kings which had occupied the scene during five-and-twenty years, now found themselves worn out, and about to quit it for ever. Charles V. had become gouty. "You see," said he to the Admiral Annebaut, when the latter waited on him at Brussels to obtain the ratification of the treaty of Crespy, "you may see that I am likely to keep these articles; for," he added, alluding to the great difficulty which he had had to write his name, "he who cannot hold a pen can hardly grasp a lance." At the commencement of 1547, seven months after the treaty of Crespy, news was brought to Francis that Henry VIII. was no more, having died on the 28th of January. "My brother then is gone," he mournfully exclaimed; "my turn to depart will not long be delayed." During six or seven years, Francis had suffered severely from an ulcer; but this did not induce him to live a more temperate life. It was much aggravated in the month of February this year, by a slow complicated fever, which he in vain endeavoured to shake off, by courting the pleasures of the chase at La Muette, at Zimours, at Rochefort, at St. Germain, and at Rambouillet, where at length it became necessary for him to keep his bed.

It was there that the *roi chevalier* breathed his last, on the 31st of March, recommending his soul to God, and his people to his son, two cares which had previously occupied but little of his thoughts. Peter Castelan, who made his funeral oration, declared from the pulpit that the king's pious death was (such at least was his conviction) an indication that, in his case, purgatory would be dispensed with, and that the monarch had passed at once into Paradise or Heaven. The university, who, since the affair of the Concordat, had never forgiven "the father of letters," deemed the assertion heretical, and sent a commission of doctors to complain of the court panegyrist. "Gentlemen," said the Spaniard, John Mendoza, Maitre d'Hotel to the deceased, "you come to M. le Grand Aumonier to enquire about the place in which, perhaps, the soul of the late king, our good master, now resides. If you wish to obtain any information on the subject from me, who have known him better than any other man in the world, I can assure you that he was not of a disposition to remain long in any place whatever, even when he was most at his ease; and therefore, if he have been in purgatory,

he would only rest there for a short time, and perhaps do no more than taste the wine as he passed through, according to his custom." At the bottom, however, of a sensual and capricious nature, there lay concealed, when he was not engaged in scenes of parade, something generous and noble, which renders Francis I. a distinguished object in the gallery of French kings: he was the perfect type of the gentleman, with a greatness disdainful of forms, and a sensitive honour, less severe, however, in its observances, on some occasions, than citizen probity would require. Francis had entered the thirty-third year of his reign when he died. He was fifty-two years and six months old. His son, Henry II., who succeeded him, had just attained his twenty-ninth year, on the day when he ascended the throne.

Henry continued the external policy of his father, with the same alternations of reverses and successes. He, however, did not know, like his father, how to treat the subordinate influences which prevailed in his court. Francis I. had been weak but with his mother and his mistress; it is difficult to say what distrustful instinct withdrew him from the great lords of his kingdom, those even who were most useful to him. Montmorency, after having saved his country at Avignon, passed in disgrace the last years of the reign which had just closed. In his will Francis recommended it to his son to view the Guises with distrust, who, since the battle of Marignano, had acted so noble a part at the head of his armies. Henry, brought up it may be said in the camp of his father, had been the companion of these illustrious but suspected personages, and had contracted with them habits of amicable familiarity, which followed him to the throne. Montmorency, whom he called his compeer, was immediately recalled from Chantilly, where he had lived in a kind of exile, and took the direction of affairs, which Francis had left to the Admiral d'Annebaut. Francis de Lorraine, Duke d'Aumale, the companion of the dauphin's infancy, was introduced by the King of France into the council, where he replaced the Cardinal de Tournon, one of the old and faithful servants of the deceased king. The change was effected so quickly, that the third day after the death of Francis, Montmorency was at St. Germain-en-Laye, and received the deputies of Paris sent to compliment the new king. The Duchess of Etampes, sent back in disgrace to her husband, gave up the post of honour which she had held at court to the Duchess of Valentinois, the beautiful Diana de Poitiers, and went to live in obscurity in one of her own estates. Cruelly eclipsed by the favourite, the wife of Henry II., Catherine de Medicis, took from her without false shame her part; and exerted and exercised herself beforehand in the artifices of her national policy, flattering, in order to manage all influences that were rivals to hers, however odious they might appear in her eyes. Four factions combined; those of the Princes of Lorraine, of Montmorency, of Diana, and of Catherine, surrounded the king. "Nothing," says a writer of that period, "could escape them any more than flies could



Francis the First.

escape swallows; all was gorged, and in such a way, that it was as impossible for this gracious prince to extend to others his liberality, for the four devoured him as a lion would his prey."

The first use Francis de Lorraine made of his new authority, was in favour of his niece, Mary Stuart. The ambition of his family was to see the crown of France on the head of the young Queen of Scotland. On his side the Duke of Somerset, who governed England under the name of protector, wished Mary to be united to his young charge, Edward VI. Calling arms in aid of his negotiations, he had just gained at Pim-Kinceluht a great victory over the Scotch; and he proposed to the council of Scotland to unite the two kingdoms, and to arrange that Edward should abandon the title of King of England, to assume that of King of Great Britain. The interest of France, as well as of Lorraine, opposed such a project. D'Essé, sent into Scotland with six thousand men, repulsed the English, and took Mary Stuart to France, to be educated in that court till the time should arrive for uniting her to the dauphin. This energetic movement placed France on warlike footing with England. The revolt which broke out at that period in the provinces of Aquitaine, furnished Somerset with an opportunity for taking a cruel revenge for French intervention with Scotland. He revived the insurrection which had been excited during the time of the late king, on the imposition of the salt tax. Power had promptly enforced the claims of law, but the irritation still survived; the troubles were renewed in 1548, and under circumstances of a more threatening character.

Certain collectors of the salt tax, who were sent to receive the duties in the villages, were ill-treated by the people of Laurignac, and pursued by them to the gates of Cognac. At this news all the neighbouring country rose at the sound of the tocsin, and a crowd of men, armed with scythes and forks, old swords, flails, spits, and sticks, spread themselves over the fields to murder the archers of the king. The insurgents placed at their head Bois Menir, surnamed Galaffe, a citizen of Blansac, and a gentleman named Puirmoreau, who sent letters to the bourgs and cities, ordering the inhabitants, under pain of death, to join, in order to assist them in extirpating the collectors of the salt tax. In a few days they had five or six thousand men under their orders. Antony de Bourbon, the father of Henry IV., who commanded in those parts, collected three hundred men-at-arms to stifle the growing revolt; but scarcely had this little troop appeared in the country, when the tocsin was heard on all sides, and for fear of being surrounded, the men-at-arms beat a retreat. The revolters immediately increased to such a point, that Bois Menir and Puimoreau presently found themselves at the head of forty thousand men. In L'Agenois, Le Perigord, Limousin, Poitou, and Gascony, the peasantry began to take arms. It was necessary to mount the noblesse on horseback; and the companies of citizens watched every night on the ramparts, with as much anxiety as if an enemy's army had been in the heart of the kingdom. The chiefs of the

revolt felt themselves aggrandised on a sudden, and sent to Somerset, offering to bring all the country again under the domination of the English; and the insurgents who rose at Bordeaux declared for them, and gave all their weight in support of this audacious proposition. The Bordelais population massacred the commandant, Tristan de Monnoies; they opened his body and filled it with salt, to mark their hatred of the salt tax. The parliament, which wished to interpose, was brutally treated at first; and the counsellors were forced to mount guard with the common soldiers, and do duty pike in hand, in the costume of sailors, for the defence of the place. They were, however, soon called to a severe account. A petty merchant, Francis Lavergne, who had been the first to sound the tocsin, was drawn and quartered opposite the Hotel de Ville; and the sedition had subsided of itself when Francis de Lorraine, Duke d'Aumale, and the Constable Montmorency, "the grand snarler," arrived. The ten thousand infantry and the thousand horse that they had with them, were joined on their route by all the noblesse of the country, which had momentarily been threatened with a renewal of the Jacquerie and Pastoureaux. The duke applied himself to recall the revolted to their duty by kindness. Montmorency marched on Bordeaux in order of battle, preceded by eighteen pieces of artillery; and shewing these to the jurats, when they humbly presented themselves before him with the keys of the



city, "Begone," said he, "begone with your keys, I will have nothing to do with them. I bring other keys with me," pointing to his guns, "which

will open for a me a door wider than yours." He then made his entry, sword in hand, drums beating and colours flying ; and, by his orders, they set up, at the square of the Hotel de Ville, a multitude of gallowses and scaffolds. More than a hundred citizens were put to death ; Bois Menir and another chief named Talamaque, were crowned with red hot iron, and broken alive on the wheel. Puirmoreau, being regarded as a gentleman, was spared a more severe death than beheading. A hundred-and-twenty citizens, followed by all the jurats, alarmed by this rigour, went in mourning habits to the place where the body of Monnoies reposed. They exhumed him with their hands, and carried the coffin on their shoulders before the hotel of the constable, where they all threw themselves on their knees, crying "Mercy ! Mercy !" Bordeaux was at length excused, on paying a ransom of two hundred thousand livres, being deprived of its privileges, the title deeds of which were committed to the flames. The constable afterwards returned to court by the way of Poitou, trampling on privileges, breaking the bells which had been used to sound the tocsin, and leaving everywhere the acknowledged chiefs of the revolt suspended on the gibbets which he had erected [1548].

All this was effected so expeditiously, that Somerset had not had time to reply to the propositions of the revolters ; but at court the secret was discovered. They knew that Charles V. had sent emissaries into the insurgent provinces ; and it was agreed to invade France on the side of Champagne, in order to facilitate the conquest of Guienne by the English. Henry II. considered these hostile menaces so many infractions of the late treaties, and profiting by the civil war which then raged in England, where Thomas Seymour disputed for the government with his brother, the Duke of Somerset, he assembled in July, 1549, his gendarmes and the noblesse at Paris, under pretence of giving fêtes in honour of the coronation of the queen, and then suddenly marched into Picardy, and laid siege to Boulogne, which, however, notwithstanding the loss of its advanced posts, held out till the winter, when it became necessary to turn the siege into a blockade.

A victory gained by Lion Strozzi over the English fleet in the roads of Boulogne, and the success of Paul de Thermes, who had replaced D'Essé in Scotland, induced the English council to make overtures for peace. The 2,000,000 of golden crowns, promised to Henry as the ransom of Boulogne, were reduced to 400,000, and the English engaged to give up, receiving an indemnity, the chateaux and cities which they still held in Scotland. This was arranged by treaty, dated Outre-Eau, March 24th, 1550. On the 15th of May, Henry II. made his entry into Boulogne, and the two kings sent each to the other the collar of his order, in token of their perfect reconciliation.

The greatest danger, however, did not lay on that side. Agitated by the religious revolution, which had been brought about by Henry VIII., England, dragged from reform to Catholicism, and from Catholicism to

reform, at the caprice of its sovereigns, could no longer, as in former times, cause serious apprehension to France. There remained, however, the house of Austria, and its formidable chief, Charles V. Since the treaty of Crespy, the latter had not ceased to seek further aggrandisement. Renouncing, at least in appearance, his views on France, his ambition turned towards Germany, in which he resolved to substitute a monarchical government for the existing constitution, under which the emperor was but the chief magistrate in peace or in war; the principal, and not the master, as the electors and other princes enjoyed regal rights within their respective states. In 1545, his aulic council seized on the sovereign jurisdictions of the empire, having taken it from the imperial chamber; in 1547, some months after the accession of Henry II., it had destroyed at Muhlberg the rampart of Germanic liberty, the league of Smalkalden, which had opposed a permanent resistance to arbitrary power. After that, he had taken and disposed of the duchy of Saxony, disarmed Hesse, imposed fetters on the sovereigns of both, and ordered the electors there, and those of the other states of the empire, to coin money bearing his image. These acts were intended as a prelude to the destruction of feudality, which he seemed disposed to deal with in Germany as it had been dealt with from the time of Philippe Augustus to that of Louis XI. in France. In Italy, already master of the kingdom of Naples, and of the Milanese territory, that is to say, of all the south, and of half the north, he commenced the conquest of the centre, by establishing a Spanish garrison at Sienna, by an invasion of Placentia, and by an attack on Parma, after the death of Peter Farnese, whom he had caused his lieutenant, Gonzague, to assassinate. The natural consequence of this new effort at aggrandisement, was the execution of his project for establishing a monarchy, or universal supremacy.

Great obstacles were in the way of the accomplishment of a design so gigantic. He coveted to transmit the vast monarchy he proposed to establish to his son. But to this the consent of his brother, Ferdinand, for whom he had obtained the dignity of the King of the Romans, in 1530, was necessary. That prince, now in the vigour of life, was little disposed to relinquish the succession in favour of his nephew. To expect this, was to expect too much from self-denial or from gratitude; but Charles did not scruple, in 1550, to call upon him instantly to resign all his pretensions in favour of his son, Don Philippe. His sister, Mary, Queen of Hungary, attempted to persuade her brother to yield to the wishes of the emperor; but Ferdinand would not consent to be reduced from the highest rank among the monarchs of Europe to become a subordinate and dependent prince. Though often solicited, he remained immovable.

France offered serious opposition to the emperor's lust of power. Henry II. did not decline following up the part which his father had acted with all its risks and perils. It was in Italy that he commenced the struggle. The great question at the moment there was that which affected the house of

Farnese. Peter Farnese, whom Charles had violently disposed of, as already mentioned, was the son of Pope Paul III., who had in his favour dismembered the estates of the church, and given to him the two duchies of Parma and Placentia. Paul, feeling that he approached his end, and seeing that the emperor was taking steps to seize Parma as well as Placentia, thought to furnish a safeguard to the threatened city by reuniting it to the holy see, and offered to his grandson, Octavius, Camerino and Nepi, in exchange for his paternal inheritance. This exchange was not agreeable to Octavius. The pope having taken possession of Parma, he first attempted to surprise it; and, failing in this, he wrote to Paul, declaring that, unless the city were given to him forthwith, he would treat with the emperor. This letter, transmitted by his brother, the Cardinal Farnese, is stated to have been received by the pope while he was refreshing himself in his gardens, and to have produced such an effect on him, that he instantly fainted, and died three days afterwards. It does not appear, however, from the letters of M. d'Urfe, the French envoy at Rome, that such was the case. According to him, the news of the attempt on Parma threw Paul into transports of passion, and he wept bitterly. The next day, however, he was so well as to give an audience to the Cardinal of Ferrara, and to attend to business generally. When he received the letter from Octavius, in which he threatened to throw himself into the arms of the emperor, he did not display any new emotion, and he returned an answer to it. This was on the 21st of October, 1549. On the 22nd the ambassador wrote that the pope remained in his usual state of health. On the 6th of November, a catarrh or defluxion, with which he was afflicted, settled on his lungs, and on the 10th he died. Being eighty years of age, and afflicted in the way described, it has been truly said his death might be accounted for, without supposing it to result from grief experienced for the defection of his grandson.

The Farnese were now left to maintain themselves in the usurped power, with which despotism had invested them. The Cardinal de Monte, who had been Paul's principal legate at the council of Trent, was, in a great measure through the influence of the Cardinal Farnese, exalted to the papal throne, under the title of Julius III.

The new pope pursued, with still greater energy than Paul had done, the projects which his predecessor had formed; and Octavius, pressed by the pope on one side, while the emperor aimed at despoiling him on the other, resolved at length to solicit succour from France. Henry only waited for an opportunity to thwart the emperor. He replied with eagerness to the call of Farnese, and sent the Lord de Thermes to his aid, who threw himself into Parma with a body of French troops. Gonzague immediately collected his army at Bersella, and held himself ready to fight the battles of the pope. Spaniards and French, however, figured there but as auxiliaries, the former for Julius, the latter for Octavius, and as yet war was not declared between the two nations. The garrison of Mirandola, which, in the contest,

espoused the cause of Henry, made at this period an incursion into the Bolognese territory; upon which Gonzague attacked Parma and Mirandola; and Henry immediately considered that making war upon him. Hostilities now broke out on the frontiers of Champagne and Picardy. Cossé de Brissac, who had just been named governor of Piedmont, took the field, and seized on Quiers and St. Damien, and advanced so far into Montferrat, that Gonzague, uneasy on account of the Milanese, recalled his troops from Parmeson. The Turks, excited by D'Aramon, the French ambassador, sent into the Mediterranean a fleet, commanded by Dragut, who fell on Sicily, Malta and Goza, and retook Tripoli from the Spaniards. In proportion as the dimensions of the struggle were enlarged, Julius became alarmed at finding himself involved in such a contest. His grief and his fear were increased still more at the time of the second convocation of the council of Trent. Henry II., when the first tidings of it reached him, caused a circular to be sent to all the bishops of the kingdom, enjoining them to look into the numerous abuses which prevailed in their dioceses, in order to report on them to the national council. James Amyot, the celebrated translator of Plutarch, declared at Trent in full council, that the king, his master, never regarded that body but as a faction, to whose decrees neither he nor his subjects were bound to render obedience. The edict of Fontainebleau came at the same time to forbid the clergy to forward money to Rome, and ordering them to withdraw all benefices from the pontifical jurisdiction. Zealous as he appeared in the Catholic cause, ready as he was to hang and burn Protestants by hundreds, Henry II., in many respects, trod openly in the footsteps of Henry VIII., and recalled the times of the pragmatic sanction so odious to Rome.

Julius was greatly alarmed at the course which events had taken, and addressed a letter to "the most christian king," who at length concluded a peace with him, April 20th, 1552. It was agreed that Octavius Farnese should hold Parma for the space of two years, at the end of which he should be free to negotiate with the holy see, and the edict of Fontainebleau was revoked.

The pacification with Julius was extremely convenient for the King of France, who had just entered into a league formed in Germany by Maurice, elector of Saxony, in order to oppose the attempts of the emperor at universal despotism. Henry II., a despot in his own kingdom, proclaimed himself in a neighbouring country the protector of liberty, as he had declared in favour of reform, and even with more eagerness. When about to march for the Rhine, he caused a manifesto to be published in the German provinces, at the head of which an engraving appeared, which presented the Phrygian cap of liberty between two poniards, the symbol of liberty in ancient legends, with the device "Liberty," and for a legend or motto, "Henry, protector of Germany, and of captive princes."

The preparations for the new expedition were formidable. Fifteen

thousand French, nine thousand German infantry, seven thousand Swiss, fifteen hundred lances, the king's household, four hundred archers of the guard, two thousand light horse, twelve hundred horse arquebusiers, two thousand men of the *arrière ban*, five hundred English cavaliers were collected, and a good train of artillery. Thirty galleys, equipped in the Mediterranean, went to join the fleet of Solymán; twenty-five others were to cruise and blockade the ports of Spain, or those of the Low Countries; and besides, the Marshal de Brissac commanded twenty thousand men in Piedmont. Henry placed himself at the head of the grand army, and commenced the struggle in favour of Germanic liberty, by adding to his dominions Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which were called the three bishoprics, and which formed a sort of federal republic, after the manner of the free cities of the empire. The three bishoprics, menaced a long time by the emperor, who, under different pretexts, had placed his hand successively on Cambray, Liege and Utrecht, free cities like them, and seeing themselves almost reduced to choose between two masters, opposed but a feeble resistance to the French troops. Toul and Verdun opened their gates to the first summons; Metz made a show of defending itself, but the preparations for the attack were not complete when the inhabitants surrendered. Thence the French passed into Alsacia, which they proposed to conquer as they had done the three bishoprics; but Strasburg, which governed the whole province, made a better stand against the invaders than the three free cities of Lorraine. The inhabitants of Strasburg had raised five thousand men, and collected a numerous artillery. Their faubourgs were razed to the ground, new fortifications were thrown up, and the provisions and munitions of war with which they had filled their town, announced that they were resolute to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Henry did not think it prudent to put their courage to the test. He had just then learned that his German allies had treated with the emperor at Passau, without even making mention of him in the act of accommodation. Already the troops of the Low Countries began to ravage Picardy and Champagne, and he was now about to have singly to meet all that imperial power, from the domination of which he had laboured so much to save others. It was soon known that Charles V. had advanced to Metz at the head of a hundred thousand men. Francis Lorraine, become Duke of Guise through the death of Claude, his father, threw himself into the fortress, followed by all the noblesse; while the emperor halted at Landon, to wait till his large artillery came up, and to rest his troops. More than eight hundred gentlemen accompanied the Duke of Guise, among whom were the Duke d'Enghien, the Prince of Condé, his brother, Charles de Bourbon, Prince of La Roche-sur-Yon; the Marquis d'Elbœuf, Francis de Montmorency, son of the constable; the Counts de Charny, De Grancey, De Nanteuil, De la Roche-Foucauld; the Lords De La Tremouille, De Montpezar, De la Palice, De Crevecœur, De Biron, De Gonor, De Clermont,

De Gamaches, De Vitry, Du Bueil, De Boisdauvin, De Canaples, De Mortemar, D'Estrée, De Matignon, De Seneterre, and De la Roche du Maine, who were eager to share the danger and the glory. He repaired hastily the dilapidated fortifications of the city. Metz then comprehended a space of eight or nine miles round. At the west and the south it was only protected by a great boulevard badly flanked, and a narrow ditch interrupted here and there by hovels and gardens. The Seille and the Moselle, which enclosed it on the east and north, constituted its only defence on that side. Guise caused the faubourgs to be razed, and formed with all expedition advanced works to establish batteries, and constructed behind the wall a second entrenchment, at which he himself laboured with his officers, to encourage the soldiers and citizens to assist in the work. Having sent out of the fortress all the useless mouths, he gave orders to prepare magazines and hospitals, and caused to be burnt all the mills round or near the city, the corn, and the forage, and waited tranquilly the approach of the imperial army, which extended its line to the walls of Metz on the last day of October. All the efforts and genius of the Duke of Alva, who directed the operation of the besiegers, were of no avail against the prudence and valour of France. In vain the old emperor, who, in the few moments of ease which the gout left him, came to the trenches, in the midst of a storm of rain, to exhort his soldiers. On the 28th of November, a large portion of the wall having fallen all at once, between the towns of Vessieux and Lignieres, shouts of joy were raised in the imperial camp; but when the dust had dispersed, the soldiers of Charles saw behind the prostrate ruin a huge rampart, well flanked and protected by arquebusiers, and the breach was so narrow, that even Charles could not resolve to order his men to attempt it. The winter set in. The imperialists encamped in the snow, and great numbers of them died in their tents. Each day the besieged kept them on the alert by vigorous sorties, to which all the noblesse eagerly ran at the call of the Duke of Guise, and fought as private soldiers. The Prince of Condé took part in a sortie one day, wearing the disguise of a light horseman. At length, on the 10th of January, 1553, Charles V. beat a retreat with the troops of the camp of La Belle Croix, and those which made the corps for the grand attack at the gate Champenese. The rest followed a few days afterwards. It was calculated that the emperor had not lost fewer than forty thousand men in this unfortunate enterprise. Those who remained to him were reduced to such a state of weakness and destitution, that the French themselves felt pity for them. "They met them," says Salignac, who wrote a history of this memorable siege, "wandering on the route half dead with cold and hunger. Many slept behind hedges and in the ditches, scarcely able to resist the dogs and the birds of prey, who, in some cases, devoured them alive. The French were as generous as they had been brave. They gave nourishment to their enemies, and carried to the hospital in the town the wounded and the sick which were left in the camp. Boats were sent to

the Duke of Alva to carry to Thionville those who were in his train. The national gaiety indulged itself in revenge without pity at the emperor's



expenditure. Charles had taken for a device the columns of Hercules, with this proud word "Ultra" as a motto. Among other satirical efforts, medals were struck in France, on the occasion of the raising of the siege of Metz; and there was one which represented an eagle chained to two doves, with this sarcastic equivoque inscribed, "*Non ultra Metas*," (not beyond Metz). *Metas*, in the Latin tongue, signifies Metz, as well as bounds.

The French arms were crowned with like success in the midst of the Alps, and in the plains of Italy. The Marshal de Brissac surprised Alva, and took Verrue [1552]. One great object of France was to wrest from Spain the kingdom of Naples, though to leave it in the hands of a third party after the conquest. The Turkish fleet, which hovered unceasingly near the Neapolitan coast, waited only for a favourable moment to join the French galleys. With a view to his military operations, Brissac asked but for a spot of ground in Tuscany, whence he might at his pleasure throw his troops on the road to Naples. He fixed his eyes on Sienna, the inhabitants of which had been formerly under the protection of France, and who now waited impatiently for a liberator. Dependent on Spain since 1547, Sienna had had for a governor the Marquis Diego, Hurtado de Mendoza, whose haughty, truly southern spirit, had sown the bitterest hatred in the hearts of the people. The malcontents sent an agent to Venice to the Cardinal de Tournon, ambassador from France, and the plot was settled. On the 3rd of

August, 1552, two daring conspirators, Enée Piccolomini, and Amerigho Amequighi, went into the public square, sword in hand, and harangued the citizens. All the population immediately flew to arms, attacked the Spanish sentinels, and the garrison was expelled from Sienna. De Thermes entered immediately the fortress, where twelve thousand men found themselves in a short time assembled, under the command of Cardinal Hippolyto de Ferrara, Archbishop of Milan, who took upon himself the command of the place. In vain the viceroy of Naples, Garcia de Toledo, wished to snatch the rebellious city from its new possessors. He had advanced near the approaches to the fortress, when the appearance of Dragut on the coast of Naples recalled him instantly to his government. The Turkish admiral had beaten Doria, too weak to make head against him; and if the Prince of Palermo, who arrived from Marseilles with twenty-five galleys, had joined him in time, Naples would, perhaps, in her turn, have changed masters. But when the Neapolitan exile was able to form a junction with Dragut, the latter had already sailed so far away, that he was within sight of Tuscany, and nothing could induce him to return to Naples, where the prince had a powerful faction in his favour. All that they could prevail upon him to do, was to take part in an expedition against Corsica, where the French were now [1553] to show themselves for the first time.

Never had Charles V. experienced so many reverses at the same moment. He tried to bear it with a cheerful countenance, and jocularly mocked Fortune, "who," said he, "does not love old men." But this pleasantry, chagrin in disguise, but ill concealed his rage and disappointment; and the army which the Count de Rœux conducted in the month of April into Picardy, espousing the resentment of his master, signalised its passage by the most horrible devastation. Noyon, Nesle, Roye, Chauni, in short, more than seven hundred villages were reduced to ashes. The imperialists destroyed, from the very foundation, by express orders of the government of the Low Countries, the beautiful Castle of Folembray, that Francis I. had caused to be erected. There were but two affairs of moment in the course of this all destroying campaign: the siege of Terouanne, and that of Hesdin. D'Essé Montalembert, already celebrated in the last reign for the defence of Landrecies, had been chosen by Henry to command in Terouanne. The old warrior, suffering at that time from the jaundice, had been afraid that it would be his lot to die in his bed. Full of joy at the prospect of escaping a fate so dreaded, on being entrusted with the command of the threatened city, "Sire," said he, "when you shall learn that the place is taken, you may boldly declare that D'Essé is cured of the jaundice." He in fact died in the breach, repelling an assault which lasted nine hours; but the place held out some time afterwards. At length, on the 20th of June, the enemy's miners having arrived under the wall, they sprang a mine, which made such an opening, that the cavalry of the besiegers could pass through it. The son of the constable, a young man without experience, who had been almost

compelled to assume the authority of command, as the survivor of the brave D'Essé, lost all presence of mind in that important moment. He caused a parley to be beaten, and desired to capitulate; but in the midst of the conference, the Germans darted in a mass through the breach, and put the population to the sword. Terouanne was of use to France, as an advanced post between Arras and Tournay, and the ravages which its garrison continually made in the neighbouring countries at the first appearance of war, rendered it a terror to all around. After the massacre of the inhabitants, the victorious army abandoned the walls and the houses to the peasants in the vicinity, who ran to it in crowds, and in eight days demolished it; and with such bitterness of rage, that literally they did not leave one stone upon another, and at this day the exact spot on which it was situate is hardly known.

Hesdin was taken in the same manner, and, at the moment when the besieged were about to surrender, was treated with like rigour. Charles V. only preserved of it the name for a new city, which he caused to be built in the following year on the site of the old one. Henry remained an immovable spectator of all these disasters. He waited for the Swiss and the Grisons, who did not arrive till the end of August. The army immediately marched on the side of Cambray, which was threatened with vengeance for the treatment which Terouanne and Hesdin had experienced; but as they advanced, the rains fell with such violence, that in a short time the roads became impassable for artillery, and they were obliged to retrace their steps.

Vengeance, deferred till the following year, was in the end but the more cruel. On the 19th of June, three armies advanced at the same moment: one entered Artois, which it laid waste with fire and sword; a second penetrated Ardennes, of which the ancient forests contained a number of strong châteaux, where the pillaging bands of Germans held their cantonments. They destroyed the strong places, and hastened to form a junction with the third army, which, under the orders of the constable, had invaded the Low Countries. Making a show of proceeding against Avesnes, Montmorency drew to that side a great portion of the enemy's force. He then suddenly turned off to the right, and went to lay siege to Mariembourg. This place was formerly but a great bourg; but the government of the Low Countries, under Mary of Hungary, had converted it into a strong fortress, surrounded it with formidable ramparts, and given it the name it now bore. Reckoning on the impracticable state of the roads which led to the city, Mary had left in it but a feeble garrison. The intelligence and the ardour of the French pioneers defeated her calculations. The artillery of the constable had been brought close to the works, before they had had time to throw any succours of importance into the fortress. It surrendered on the 28th of June, after a siege of three days; and Henry, who arrived in the camp on the last day of the month, changed its name to Henribourg, a royal fantasy, the indulgence of which did not prove of great importance. Thence

the king marched to Bouvines and Dinant, which he carried by assault, and put the inhabitants to the sword. The merciless orders given by Mary of Hungary in the last campaign had so irritated the French, that they made the war in a manner personal against her. After having taken and unbaptised the city which she had founded, they furiously assailed Hainault. Marcemont, her favourite retreat; was there, and that magnificent palace which she had caused to be erected at Binche, to which the soldiers of Charles V., her brother, had brought the richest assemblage of antiquities then known in the world, was reduced to ashes, and the rare collection scattered or destroyed by fire. She was thus made to pay dearly for the brutal destruction of Folembray; but from abandoning themselves to their thirst for vengeance, the invaders so ruined the country, that it became impossible for them to subsist in it. They then turned on the Cambresis, which they devastated, and came to Artois, where they laid siege to Renti, a strong castle in the midst of marshes, some two or three leagues distant from the spot where the ruins of Terouanne still lay. Renti covered Artois, and, at the same time, threatened the French frontier on the side of Boulogne. The artillery of the king had already ruined part of the walls; but Charles V. could not suffer a post of so much importance to be carried without resistance. He put himself at the head of an army, which had been long collecting, under the orders of Emanuel Philibert of Savoy; and, wishing to bring the enemy to action, encamped behind the wood of Renti, called the Bois-Guillaume, distant but a cannon shot from the French lines, from which it was only separated by a narrow valley. On the morning after his arrival, the 13th of August, fifteen thousand men entered the wood, where the Duke of Guise had posted a body of pikemen and arquebusiers. Guise advanced to sustain the attack with a detachment of light cavalry, and the national infantry commanded by Coligny, when it was expected that a great battle would be fought. Guise and Coligny carried, at the first shock, every thing before them. The rout of the imperialists was so complete, that Granvelle, Gonzague, and the Duke of Savoy, to avoid being taken, were obliged to leave their horses, and seek for safety in the woods. Montmorency, however, who was not of opinion that they ought to give battle at that moment, had purposely delayed the march of his corps d'armée, and that of the Swiss troops, at the head of which the king had placed himself. Charles V. sounded a retreat, and the whole contest was reduced to an affair of advanced posts. This was not enough to make the new comers quit the place; but Henry, finding himself shut up in those marshy grounds, anxious to terminate the enterprise, retired upon Boulogne. Before decamping, however, he sent to say to the emperor, that "if he withdrew it was only from want of forage," and offering to fight him in the open plain. Charles coolly replied, that "he should see what it would be right to do," and suffered him to depart. He himself returned to Brussels, driven, it may be said, from the field, by incessant attacks of the gout; and during

the remainder of the campaign, the troops on both sides were only employed in severally ravaging the countries on the side of Picardy and Artois.

While the armies were yet in presence of each other, under the walls of Renti, great shouts of joy were one day heard in the camp of the imperialists, and a general discharge of artillery announced to Henry that his arms had received a check in Italy. The presence of the French at Sienna had thrown alarm into the little court of Florence; but Cosmo de Medicis, divided between his hatred for France and the fear which she inspired, had not dared to move, when, towards the end of the year 1553, Henry II. appointed to the command at Sienna, in place of M. de Thermes, who was constantly occupied in Corsica, Peter Strozzi, a banished Florentine, whose father had been put to death, after three days of torture, in the prisons of Cosmo, leaving engraved on the wall this threatening verse, which Virgil puts in the mouth of Dido :

"Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus nitor."

Before departing, Strozzi had made a sort of bargain with Catherine de Medicis, who abandoned the duke to his vengeance, on condition that he should put her in possession of the duchy. But Cosmo prevented the execution of this plan. He raised an army, which he placed under the Marquis of Marignan, one of the most celebrated captains, and sent him to attack Sienna. Marignan, approaching the place unexpectedly, while Strozzi was scouring the country, endeavoured to carry it by assault. This was on the 27th of January, 1554; and he had already taken a bastion, and almost forced one of the gates, when Strozzi advanced, and compelled him to withdraw. They then commenced a series of hostilities, which were prolonged till the 3rd of August, when the two generals brought them to a termination by a great battle before Marciano. Strozzi, defeated, took refuge at Montalcino; and the conqueror again appeared under the walls of Sienna, from which he did not again move; but it was not till after an eight month's siege that the fortress surrendered. Montluc, who had taken the command in the absence of Strozzi, had succeeded in imparting to the inhabitants a portion of the military enthusiasm by which he was himself animated, ill as he was with the dysentery. Hunger alone could induce the inhabitants of Sienna to open their gates. On the 24th of April, 1555, this took place, and there, at that time, remained but three horses in the town, the rest, with other domestic animals, having been consumed during the siege. Many of the poorer people had been compelled to subsist on the herbs which grew on the walls and in the ditches. As to the Gascon captain, he acted nobly throughout. He declared that the name of Montluc should never appear at the bottom of a capitulation, and that he would leave the city sword in hand, with arms and baggage, and even carrying his cannon with him, ready to meet all who might be disposed to attack him. This bravado might have cost him dear, for his soldiers, as he himself says in

his commentaries, had more the aspect of dead than of living men, and not fewer than a fifth of them died from weakness. Marignan acted a generous part. "We, who negotiate this capitulation," said he, "are both poor gentlemen of the sword;" and when Montluc came forth, he advanced to meet him with all the kindness of a brother, embraced him, and gave him an escort, and carried his marks of regard so far, as to send on the road which he was to travel vehicles loaded with refreshments for his relief.

Sienna and the surrounding territory were not the less lost to France; and in Piedmont, Brissac could not sustain himself, but by force of extraordinary courage, against the Duke of Alva, who pressed him with thirty thousand men. He, however, succeeded in carrying Vignal, D'Yvree, and De Casal, October, 1555, to the great annoyance of the Duke of Alva, who caused the commandant of the last named place to be hanged. These troublesome conquests, however, mixed up with alternate reverses, were rather of a nature to prolong the war than to bring it to a termination. In the same way, in the Low Countries, and on the banks of the Rhine, all that occurred was a variety of sudden movements, and a series of often abortive attempts. The garrison of New Hesdin endeavoured to surprise Abbeville; the governor, De Thionville, was in communication with Metz; and it was in contemplation to give up both places; but the scheme completely failed, and was soon punished by the taking of Cateau Cambresis, which Albon de St. Andre carried by escalade. Propositions for an accommodation were made in the midst of these indecisive hostilities; but Henry demanded the Milanese territory, and Charles V. claimed Burgundy. Their pretensions could not be reconciled. At length Charles, weary of an interminable struggle, and sinking beneath years and infirmities, brought himself to adopt a strange resolution, which only a mind like his, at once positive, and fond of the wonderful, could have conceived. On the 25th of October, having assembled the states of the Low Countries at Brussels, Charles seated himself for the last time in the chair of state. His son, Philippe, stood on one side, and his sister, the Queen of Hungary, regent of the Netherlands, on the other. There was a splendid retinue of the princes of the empire, the grandees of Spain, and the knights of the golden fleece. By command of the emperor, the president of the council of Flanders explained the object of calling this extraordinary meeting. The instrument of resignation that had been prepared, by which Charles surrendered to his son, Philippe, all his territory, jurisdiction, and authority, in the Low Countries, was then read. It absolved his subjects from their oath of allegiance to himself, and called upon them to evince the same loyalty towards his successor which they had always borne to him.

Rising from his seat, for he was too feeble to stand alone, Charles, leaning on the shoulder of the Prince of Orange, addressed at some length those present, having a paper in his hand to refresh his memory as he proceeded. He recounted, but not with unbecoming arrogance, the extraordinary events which had marked his reign. From the seventeenth year of his age, he said

he had devoted his whole attention to public business, allowing himself little leisure for the enjoyment of repose or pleasure, during which he had visited Germany nine times, Spain six, France three, Italy seven, the Low Countries ten, England twice, Africa as often, and had made as many voyages by sea. His health now declining, and his vigour abated by an incurable disease, his growing infirmities warned him to retire; nor did he wish to reign when his powers had so far failed him, that the sceptre might be seen in an impotent hand. Instead of a sovereign worn out by years and sickness, and scarcely half alive, he gave them one in the prime of life, accustomed already to govern, and who added to the vigour of youth the prudence of maturer years. He thanked them for their faithful attachment, and would never cease to remember it in his retirement. It would be his sweetest consolation; and his last prayer to Almighty God would be for their future welfare. He turned to his son, who, kneeling, kissed the emperor's hand. Charles then addressed the future emperor, in solemn terms, on the importance of the vast inheritance which he had bestowed upon him, and counselled him to justify the step he had taken by a wise and virtuous administration; "and if," said he, "the time should ever come, when you wish for the tranquillity of private life, may you have a son endowed with such qualifications, that you can resign your crown to him with as much satisfaction as I now feel in transferring mine to you." At this address many of the auditory burst into tears. When it was concluded, exhausted by the effort, Charles sunk back into his chair, almost fainting.

Philippe II., his son, in marrying Mary Tudor, the daughter of Henry VIII. of England, considered that he had gained a right to the title of King of England; and the dream of universal sovereignty might have been realised by him, if he had received the paternal inheritance entire. But Charles did not dare to affront the declared antipathy of the German princes, by calling on them to sanction a project which perilled their liberties. Previously to setting out for the monastery of St. Juste, where, as he said, he went to prepare himself to die, he sent the sceptre and the crown of the empire to his brother, Ferdinand, who had long since been named King of the Romans. Before abandoning for ever the management of affairs to his son, Charles, not wishing that he should find himself engaged in a war at the commencement of his career, on the 5th of February, 1556, the day on which he definitely remitted to Philippe the crown of Spain, signed at Vaucelles a truce with France, which was to last five years. The conditions of this truce were tinged by the anxiety which the emperor had felt to conclude it. He gave up to the King of France all the conquests he had made in the Low Countries, in Lorraine, in Corsica, and in Piedmont, and required nothing from Henry in return. Nevertheless, however advantageous for him this accommodation might appear, the King of France did not long respect it. He had already formed engagements elsewhere, and was not prepared to sacrifice old treaties for new ones. In this instance the war

which was to break out originated with the pope, the ordinary apostle of peace.

The son of Count Montario, of an illustrious Neapolitan family, who had fought for the rights of the French dynasty, John Peter Carossa, dean of the sacred college, was the sworn enemy of the Spaniards. In this age of pontifical debauchery, his life remained pure from all taint. An austerity almost puritanical had led him to found a monastery of *Theutins*, when Paul III. called him to Rome. There the rigid monk suffered himself by degrees to be led to entertain the illusions of ambition. Step by step he advanced to the cardinal's hat, to the accumulation of benefices, to the title of dean of the sacred college, and finally, after the death of Pope Marcel II., he was raised to the chair of St. Peter. We have touched on the former life of the holy father, because it had a great influence on the political movements of Europe. The hatred of the house of Austria, and the nepotism so common to Rome, were the two moving principles of this return to worldly cares. The nephews of Paul IV., the Caraffas, aspired to the rank that the Farneses had reached in Italy; and as they could not hope from their uncle a secularization of patrimony from the church in their favour, they wished for a general convulsion, in which they might establish an independent principality—the one was named the governor of Rome, the other cardinal and legate of Bologna.

The pope had conceived designs which could not be carried into execution; Henry II. wished to be invested with the kingdom of Naples; Tuscany had expelled the Medicis, and recovered liberty, with the title of a republic. The possessions of the empire of Italy, parcelled out into a number of principalities, would become the share of the Caraffas, of the house of Este, allied to the Guises, and the church. The Princes of Lorraine entered with ardour into the projects of Paul IV. According to some historians, the Cardinal of Lorraine, the political chief of that ambitious house, reserved for his brother, the Duke of Guise, the crown of Naples, and for himself the pontifical tiara, after the death of the present pope, then eighty years of age; to the Duke d'Aumale, son-in-law of Valentinois, a principality in Lombardy. The enterprise was a bold one. It would have placed the Lorraine family, as was afterwards suspected, perhaps with reason, in a position to aspire to the throne of France.

It was not the wish of the pope that the King of France should conclude a truce with the King of Spain. Two months before [November 16th, 1555,] a secret alliance had been concluded between Paul IV. and Henry II., the object of which was the conquest of the kingdom of Naples. The holy father sent his nephew, the Cardinal Caraffa, to recall to the recollection of the king this previously negotiated treaty. The weak Henry inclined towards peace; but the influence of Diana of Poitiers, and of the Lorraine princes, were triumphant, notwithstanding the opposition of the old constable, who had concluded the treaty of Vaucelles. The alliance was renewed with

the pope, June 28th, 1556. A double part was admirably played by the Cardinal Caraffa. He promised to Henry the kingdom of Naples, and the duchy of Milan for two of his sons; to Catherine of Medicis the grand duchy of Tuscany, the inheritance of her family. At the same time, it is known he secretly made to the family of Lorraine, and the duchy of Valentinois, the most brilliant offers. These intrigues were perfectly successful; the truce of Vaucelles was broken, and war commenced at the same time, in Italy and in the Low Countries.

The Duke of Alva, who was in Naples, was not ignorant of what had taken place at Rome and in the French court. In the states of the holy church everything breathed war. Paul IV. passed his troops in review. There was a guard of a hundred gentlemen lodged in the Vatican; six thousand infantry and three hundred horse had been raised within the limits of Ancona and Ombria. On the 1st of January, the Count Montario, one of the four Caraffas, had been named, with great ceremony, in the chapel of the pope, generalissimo of the troops of the church. Paliano, and other points on the frontier of Naples, were fortified. Nevertheless, Paul hesitated to declare himself till the Gascon bands, then in Corsica, and the army of the Duke of Guise, should arrive at Rome. The Duke of Alva did not allow him time to do that. On the 5th of September, under pretext of avenging the arrest of Garcilaso de Vega, the agent of the King of Spain at Rome, entered in a hostile manner the dominions of the pope, seized on Froziona, on Ponto Corvo, and all the cattle in the country. Montluc and Strozzi, who came to succour the Caraffas with part of the troops of Tuscany, attempted in vain to stop the progress of the Spanish general. Amagna, Tivoli, Nettuna, and Civita Vecchia, fell successively into his power. Ostia opened her doors in the month of November, and the pope, blockaded in a manner in his capital, found himself compelled to solicit a suspension of arms; to which the viceroy, by command of his master, readily consented. The Farneses allied themselves to the King of Spain, who offered to give them Placentia; but the arrival of the Duke of Guise, who appeared in Italy in the beginning of 1557, prevented their making any movement in favour of their new friend. In the same way the duke was paralysed, and remained inactive during the war. The other allies of France could make no movement of importance. Paul IV. was bound by the treaty to increase the French army by fifteen thousand infantry, and a thousand horse, but furnished only a few companies. The Duke of Ferrara, who, from deference to the Italian princes, had been named generalissimo of the soldiers of the pope, and even of those of the king, scarcely received the baton of command from the hand of the Duke of Guise, at the head of the army, before he withdrew to his own dominions. Not only did he take his own troops with him, but it was necessary to send two thousand Swiss and a thousand Gascons to support him against the governor of the Milanese. Guise, nevertheless, thought himself strong enough to venture

on a war, at the end of which he saw in perspective a crown. When he reviewed his troops at Rimini, he had twenty thousand men, among which five thousand Swiss were counted, and a multitude of young lords, who had abandoned the national war, then going on in Picardy, to espouse in Italy the cause of the house of Lorraine. Guise took the field about the middle of April, and besieged Civitella, from which, after three weeks, he was obliged to withdraw. The Spanish general was careful not to run any risk. He ruined the enemy by marches and counter-marches, through a mountainous and difficult country. The hot season came, and it was well known, from fatal experience, how injurious the sun of Italy was to the soldiers of France. The Caraffas were already weary of the insolent protection of the princes of the house of Lorraine. The Duke of Guise had so acted as to send away from his camp the Marquis Montebella, and was to give as a hostage the son of the Duke of Parma, whom Strozzi had already conducted to the French court. The Duke of Guise threatened to abandon the cause, which he had till now supported, if the pope did not make a promotion of French cardinals. This was to secure beforehand the nomination of his brother. The Caraffas preferred treating with the Duke of Alva. They considered their object accomplished, which was, to create for themselves political importance; and Philippe attached too much value to his title of "most catholic king," not to make some sacrifices in their favour, for the sake of purchasing peace with the head of the Christian world. The war on that side was about to reach its termination; the aid which the Duke of Guise expected to arrive by sea, dwindled into the mere appearance of the Marquis de la Garde on the coast of Naples, where he captured an unimportant town. Dragut, who was to have arrived with a great fleet, had not left the Bosphorus. The French army, weakened by sickness, had begun to prepare for retiring from the Roman territory, when news arrived from France which induced the Duke of Guise to make a precipitate retreat.

War had broken out in the Low Countries at the same time as in Italy. In January, 1557, on the night before twelfth day, the Admiral Coligny secretly advanced to the ramparts of Douay, and had already planted his ladders against the walls, when an old woman, who happened to pass, gave the alarm in the city. The citizens, who were enjoying themselves, and preparing, according to ancient usage, for the festival of the ensuing day, hastened to the rampart, and Coligny was forced to renounce his enterprise, and retire to Picardy, not, however, without sacking on his way the little city of Lens, and ravaging the lands of Artois. This was the signal for hostilities. England, influenced by Mary to take part with Philippe, sent ten thousand men to his aid. This force joined, near Charlemont, the Spanish army, which was before sixty thousand strong. Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, the general of Philippe, directed this imposing mass with great skill, and deceived all the expectations of the enemy. Having passed the Meuse, he for some days kept the king and the French generals in

suspense, by marching in different directions, sometimes threatening Mariembourg, and sometimes Rocroy. He at length turned towards Guise, and encamped for three days before that city. It was then never doubted but he intended to besiege it; but, having first sent off all his light cavalry, he proceeded suddenly to invest St. Quentin, whither he repaired in person. The first movements of Emanuel had drawn attention from that point, and St. Quentin had been drained to strengthen Guise and the fortresses of Champagne. Coligny, furious at seeing the course of the war take him by surprise in his government, hastily assembled some of the noblesse, several companies of gendarmes, and a handful of infantry, and, at the head of this little army, rushed desperately through the Spanish camp, in order to succour St. Quentin. He himself made his way to the gates of the city; but followed only by one third of his men, the remainder being cut off, he was obliged to retrace his steps. D'Andelot, his brother, who presented himself a few days afterwards with two thousand infantry, could not force the enemy's lines, though the works of the camp were not yet finished. Montmorency soon arrived with the army of Champagne; but he found the city so completely surrounded, that it was impossible to enter it; and being too weak to cut his way through, he was about to withdraw, when he received a message from Coligny, a fatal message, which led to the unfortunate day of St. Quentin. A vast marsh extends along the side of the faubourg d'Ile. It is between La Fere and the bank of the Somme, and reaches to the ditches of the fortress. The Spaniards, believing it to be impracticable, had placed no troops, not even sentinels, on that side. It was, however, now the month of August, and the continuous dry weather caused certain hard patches to appear, which might afford an approaching enemy a passage; and Coligny, after causing the marsh to be carefully surveyed, sent to the constable to propose that on that side some infantry, which were much wanted, should be sent into the city. On the 10th of August, St. Lawrence's day, Montmorency gave the alarm on one side to the Spanish camp, while D'Andelot plunged with all the haste he could make into the marsh with the infantry which he was to conduct. The arrangements, however, were badly planned, and imperfectly executed. Instead of arriving at the point indicated by four o'clock in the morning, as had been agreed upon with the admiral, his force did not approach it till nine. In the midst of the marsh a broad stream ran, on which Coligny had provided boats to transport the troops. Exposed to the fire of the batteries from the faubourg d'Ile, the soldiers, in their impatience to get forward, rushed into the boats in crowds before they were fairly pushed off, and in consequence they sunk deep in the mud, and could not be got afloat in time for the passage. Each then made his way towards the city as well as he could; but many of the soldiers were unable to extricate themselves from the mire. The bullets of the Spaniards were poured on them in showers, and when he reached the ditch, D'Andelot had scarcely five hundred men remaining. In the mean time the Duke of Savoy had put

his forces in motion, and had turned the marsh at the head of his cavalry. Notwithstanding he was advised to the contrary by his officers, Montmorency



obstinately remained to protect the detachment which accompanied D'Andelot. He calculated on a certain ford, at which he expected to check the advance of the enemy, and which was strongly guarded by a body of German cavaliers, who, from their being armed with pistols, were called pistoleers. The Count d'Egmont forced them to give way at the first shock; and all the cavalry of Emanuel immediately deployed on the plain, and marched directly against the French. Too late the constable perceived his error, and addressing himself to a captain, named D'Oignon, said, "My good fellow, what is to be done?"—"I do not know," replied the other bluntly; "but in a couple of hours I shall know well enough." Montmorency, however, commenced his retreat on La Fere in good order, retiring leisurely in such a manner, that the enemy did not dare to attack him. He was within one hour's march of a wood, in which he might have mocked pursuit, when a sudden panic seized the followers of the army, who were entrusted with the provisions and the baggage, and were, in the confusion of this retrograde movement, intermingled with the battalions. They fell into great disorder in the midst of the ranks, which were consequently broken. D'Egmont, having availed himself of the favourable moment, immediately charged the rear-guard with his Brunswick horse arquebusiers, and the gendarmes of Count de Horn, which he entirely dispersed. The constable, left with the infantry alone, made good his retreat to Blancheface, between Essigni, and Liserolles; but there he was overtaken by the artillery of the Duke of Savoy, which broke up his squares, and he found himself completely surrounded. Wounded in

the back, he was compelled to surrender ; and the enemy took at the same time the Marshal St. Andre, the Dukes of Longueville and Montpensier, three hundred gentlemen, and four thousand soldiers. Four thousand soldiers besides, and six hundred gentlemen, were left on the battle field. All the materiel of the army, colours, baggage, and munitions, fell into the victors' hands ; two pieces of cannon only were saved, which were preserved by the sieur de Bourdillon. The loss of the Spaniards amounted to but four score men.

The consequences which resulted from this famous battle was merely the taking of St. Quentin, and a few small places in its vicinity. When the tidings of the victory reached Charles V. in his retreat. "Is my son at Paris?" he enquired. Being answered in the negative, "then nothing is done," was his reply. The reproaches which, on this occasion, fell on the Duke of Savoy, recall those which Hannibal had to encounter for not marching on Rome, when he left Cannes. The opportunity which the conqueror at St. Quentin is censured for not having improved, was not so particularly favourable after all. The Duke de Nevers had collected the remains of an army at La Fere, and between the field of battle and Paris there were many strong places, which it would be difficult to take and dangerous to leave behind him. Paris prepared for a vigorous resistance. The citizen companies were organized under the direction of Prince de la Rochesur-Yon ; and they laboured diligently at the ramparts, and fortified Montmartre. A hundred thousand crowns had been voted at the Hotel de Ville, and the other cities had followed the example. The ban and the arriere ban were convoked at Lyons, and all gentlemen entitled to bear arms were required to join the king, under pain of being degraded from the rank of the noblesse. Money was provided to raise a force of fourteen thousand Swiss, and as many Germans ; Guise was expected with the army from Naples ; and the levies which were made in all the provinces promised to supply many additional thousands of soldiers. If the Duke of Savoy was piqued on the point of honour, that chanced to him, according to the Spaniard, Louis Cabrera, which had happened on the occasion of the Provence expedition, conducted by his father, when he entered France feasting on pheasants, but left it devouring roots of trees. What Spain gained that was of most importance, by the victory, was the beautiful monastery of the Escorial, built by Philippe II. in the form of a gridiron, in honour of the martyrdom of that saint, on whose day he had gained a victory.

As the winter was approaching, Emanuel was obliged to retreat. The Germans were mutinous for want of pay. The English loudly demanded to be sent back to their country, which was threatened by the Scotch. Philippe, who had just rejoined his army before St. Quentin, soon relieved himself from allies who manifested so little zeal in his cause, and withdrew to Brussels.

The Duke of Guise arrived in a short time from Italy. Being named

lieutenant general of the kingdom, he took the command of the new army of the Low Countries, and raised the drooping spirits of his countrymen by an unhopèd for success, obtained in the middle of the winter. This was the taking of Calais, long deemed a fortress as impregnable as Gibraltar is now. That ancient conquest of England no one could expect would be restored to France, as it will be seen it was, in consequence of a defeat which had been celebrated by shouts of joy from her enemies. Senazpomt, the governor of Boulogne, had recently brought detailed intelligence relative to the defective state of the works at Calais, and the weakness of some of the fortifications; and Coligny was exceedingly favourable to the project of besieging it. Guise marked out the plan, which was eventually adopted with equal ability and good fortune. Several bodies of troops advanced towards the frontier on various pretences; and the whole being suddenly brought together, formed a powerful army. To turn aside suspicion, a portion of this force moved in the direction of Luxembourg, whence it had orders to march to the left towards the heights; Guise himself, with the rest of the troops, established himself in the marshes which surround the plain of Calais. By means of clay pitched over, a road was established right and left in the marshes, and by these the French were enabled to march close to the forts which protected the town on that side. In the course of two or three days they were carried. The walls of the chateau were in a bad state; but at high water the sea, which came up to them, rendered it impossible for an enemy to approach. Guise caused the attack to be made, at the moment of the reflux of the tide, by Grammont and D'Andelot, at the head of fifteen hundred infantry, armed with pikes and arquebusses. He commanded the assault, and threw himself first into the ditch, the water coming up to his middle. A battery of fifteen large cannons, prepared in haste on the beach, soon made a breach in the ramparts; and the French, rushing into it from all sides, put the garrison to the sword, and established themselves in the chateau, where they were only separated from the city by a simple ditch. When the tide returned, D'Aumale and D'Elbeuf were left in the citadelle, where they maintained themselves all night against the English, who returned incessantly to the charge, impatient to expel the intruders before they could receive support. On the next morning, when the waves retired, a passage was opened for the army of the duke. Lord Dumfort, who commanded in Calais, seeing that effectual resistance was impossible, beat a parley, and intimated that he was ready to capitulate, January 8th, 1558. Eight days had sufficed to enable the fortunate Duke of Guise to carry that fortress, and in the depth of winter, which had cost the great Edward a siege of eleven months. The English had occupied it two hundred and ten years, and they thought it so impregnable, that they had inscribed on one of the gates this boastful inscription: "The French will retake Calais when lead shall swim on the water like cork." When Paul IV. was informed that England had lost Calais, he exclaimed, "that it was the dower of Mary." Daniel says, "it

was all that she gained from her marriage with Philippe II." The taking of Guines, carried by assault on the 17th of January, relieved the kingdom from the last memorial of the wars of the middle ages; but unfortunately, this great triumph was not the work of the King of France; and national gratitude so exalted the house of Lorraine, which had been an object of suspicion at court since the time of Francis, that it found itself in a condition to preside over the new struggles which feudality, transformed for the second time, was ready to enter into with the royal authority.

In the mean time, the war was prosecuted with greater ardour than ever. Calais more than ransomed St. Quentin; and, in the first moment of enthusiasm, the states, assembled at Paris, voted by acclamation 3,000 crowns in gold to Henry. Never had money been offered with a greater readiness. The Guises were intoxicated with joy at the taking of Calais. The states charged the Duke of Lorraine to declare to the king, that if the sum already voted were not sufficient for his wants, he might without hesitation call them together again, and they would furnish a new supply. There were great rejoicings in Paris, and the king wished to be present at them with the whole of his court. He sent to say he would sup with the citizens at the Hotel de Ville on Holy Thursday. Twenty-five ladies of the city, the most comely in person, the wives and daughters of the principal magistrates, in silk uniforms, undertook the service of the tables. The floor of the hall, as a matter of great luxury, was covered with matting, and the ceiling was ornamented with branches of ivy, woven into garlands; the walls were covered with rich tapestry, decorated with the escutcheons of the king and queen, the Duke of Guise, and the Cardinal of Lorraine, and also, it is to be remarked, of the Duchess of Valentinois. The success of the war generally did not justify half of the extravagant and general enthusiasm. Guise took Thionville; the Marshal de Thermes Dunkirk and Bergues-St. Vinok; but at the moment when the latter moved on Nieuport, the Count d'Egmont hastened with a part of the army, and came up with him at Gravelines, on the banks of the river Aa, where, on the 18th of July, he attacked him with the same bravery which he had displayed at St. Quentin. At the first charge, D'Egmont had his horse killed by a cannon-shot, and victory seemed about to incline to the marshal, when twelve English ships came on that side, attracted by the sound of the cannonade, and, favoured by the tide, advanced and took up a position opposite the right wing of the French, on which they immediately opened their fire. This unexpected reinforcement gained the day for D'Egmont. Two thousand French were left on the field of battle, and many more were drowned in the Aa, or put to death by the peasants. In the same moment, it was made known that Clinton, with seven thousand troops, had made a descent on Lower Britany, where they had pillaged Le Conquet. Kersiman, a gentleman of the country, had given the invaders a severe check at the head of the militia, and had obliged them to retreat to their ships. Thirty Flemish vessels were already at the Isle of Wight, where they were to

be joined by an English fleet, and then, as reported by a Dutch prisoner, they proposed to besiege Brest.

These alternations of success and disaster wearied both parties. In the intoxication of their popular ovation, the Guises had thought they might forget the favourite, their ancient ally. They were disposed to rally round the queen; and the conqueror of Calais had not feared to allow some piquant remarks to escape him on the subject of the once beautiful Diana of Poitiers, then, it must be remembered, in her fifty-ninth year, which were duly reported to her. To revenge herself for this, Diana made common cause with Montmorency, who, though a prisoner, had lost none of his influence over Henry II. In an interview which, being on parole, he had with the king at Amiens, the latter shewed him the greatest regard. From impatience to see him again, the king had made a long journey in order to have that gratification. On meeting, he tenderly embraced him; and that no portion of time might be lost which they had an opportunity of passing together, he made Montmorency share his chamber and his bed. The latter was weary of captivity, and above all things he desired the termination of a war, which gave so much importance to his rivals, the Guises. Always weak, the king suffered himself to be swayed by his mistress and his friend; but he had not sufficient determination to act openly. He in a manner concealed himself from the princes of the house of Lorraine, and did not blush, says



one historian, to act the part of spy for the constable, whom he acquainted from day to day with the intrigues of his enemies, and the plans of the court.

Diana was mixed up with this correspondence. Sometimes the king acted as her secretary, sometimes gave his post to her, as is proved by several specimens of this secret correspondence still preserved in the king's library, where the two hand-writings may be seen, in letters which ordinarily conclude thus: "Your oldest and best friends, Diana and Henry." The negotiations, commenced under these favourable auspices, were considerably assisted by the death of Mary, Queen of England, November 17th, which made immediately a general change in the aspect of political affairs. During her reign, the stake and the pile had been used against the English reformers, who were thus pursued through the influence of the inquisition of Spain. Mary had greatly outraged the national sympathies, by suffering herself and her kingdom to be used as the instruments of Philippe II., her husband. Her sister, Queen Elizabeth, a Protestant at heart, and in consequence opposed to "the most catholic king," on ascending the throne, decided to take a course immediately opposite to that which had been pursued by her late sister. She indeed allowed the burning piles to remain, but it was that the Catholics, and not the Protestants, should perish in the flames; and the first act of her reign was to put an end to the alliance which subsisted between Spain and England, and to send plenipotentiaries to Cateau.Cambresis, to which place the conferences for a pacification had been transferred. The Guises, who had begun to favour Spain, and to put themselves forward as defenders of Catholicism, ruined everything by an impolitic manifestation which they obtained from the king. Elizabeth reigned in accordance with the will of her father, Henry VIII.; but, in the eyes of the Catholics, she was only the illegitimate daughter of Anna Boleyn, the first cause of the reformation, or religious revolution in England. The princes of Lorraine opposed to her rights those of their niece, Mary Stuart, grand daughter to Henry VII., and daughter to James V. of Scotland, who had died when she was only a few days' old. The council resolved that Mary, Queen of Scotland, should marry the dauphin, assume the style and title of "Queen of England," and quarter the arms of England with those of France and Scotland—a miserable offering to vanity, for which the unfortunate princess was dearly to pay. Meanwhile, Philippe II. was disposed to make his religious principles bend to state policy. He demanded the hand of Elizabeth; and without waiting for her answer, sent to Rome to obtain a dispensation that might enable him to marry the sister of his late consort. But the daughter of Anna Boleyn had previously determined on her line of proceeding, from which nothing could induce her to depart. The offers of the King of Spain were rejected. Diana and Montmorency obtained satisfaction for her from the French court; and she having decided to treat with Henry II., her example was followed by Philippe.

On the 3rd of April, 1559, peace was signed at Cateau Cambresis between France, England and Spain. Calais was to remain to the last possessor of it for eight years, with all its dependencies. At the end of the period which

has been named, it was stipulated that Henry should restore it to England, or that he should pay 500,000 crowns; and, as security for the payment, seven or eight commercial houses, not French, were to be answerable, and five Frenchmen of distinction were to be given as hostages, till such security were provided. Even after the payment of the 500,000 crowns, the right of England to Calais was to remain in all its integrity, if the King of France should break the peace, and in the case supposed, Calais was instantly to be given up to the English. On the other hand, if the rupture came from the side of England, Henry was to be released from all obligation; and this being eventually charged, he evaded the claim altogether. The differences between Scotland and England were composed at the same time; and Mary Stuart was comprehended in the treaty, under the title of an ally of France.



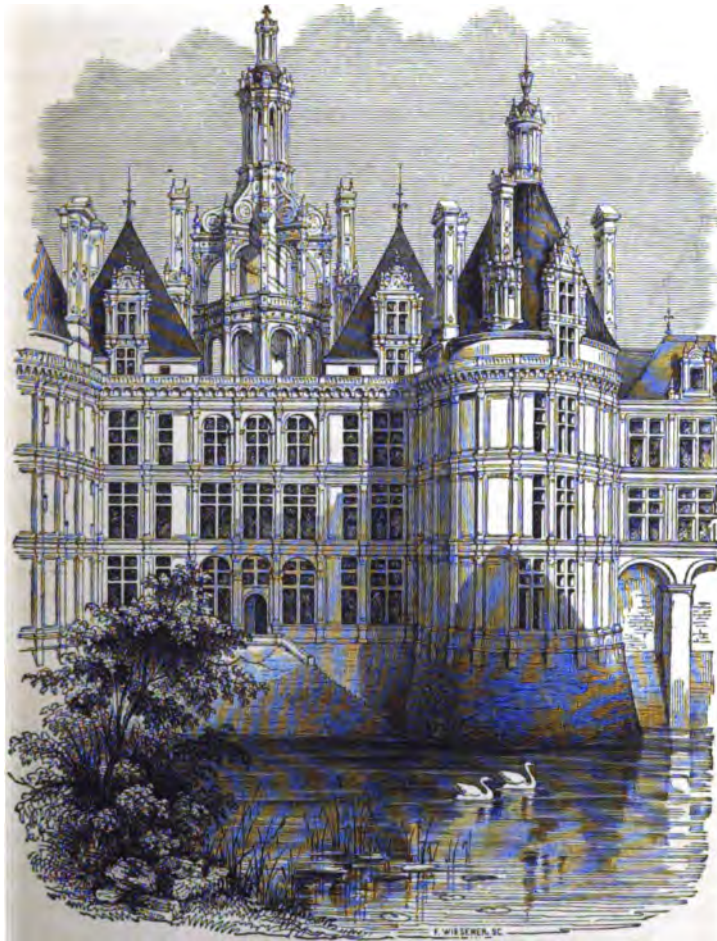
The peace concluded between France and Spain embraced almost all Christian Europe: the pope, the emperor, the Kings of Sweden, Denmark, Poland, and Portugal, the king and queen of Scotland, and a number of secondary princes entered into it as the allies of Philippe or of Henry. The two last named kings came to an understanding as to the extirpation of heresy, and the convocation of a general council for that purpose. For the temporal interests, which had been so long in debate, they were eventually regulated as follows: France recovered St. Quentin, Ham, and Catelet, but gave up Thionville, Mariembourg, Yvoi, Damvilliers, Montmédi, Valence, Hesdin, and the Comté de Charolais to Spain; Bouvines and Bouillon to the bishop of Liege; the three bishoprics, Metz, Toul, and Verdun, remained to him by a tacit concession on the part of Italy. The Duke of Savoy had

serious interests to arrange in regard to Italy with the French party. Henry II. engaged to give up immediately all the places which he occupied in Tuscany, and in the Sienna territory, and to restore the marquisate of Montferrat to the Duke of Mantua, to pardon the Genoese, and to restore the Island of Corsica, which he had partially conquered, but on this express condition, that the states in whose favour he abandoned his pretensions, should bury the past in complete oblivion, as to the cities and provinces which were to be thus restored. The Duke of Savoy, Emanuel Philibert, married the sister of the king, Margaret of France, who was then thirty-six years of age, and, in consideration of this union, Henry gave up Bresse, Le Bugey, Savoy, Piedmont, Quiers, Chivaz, and Velleneuve d'Asti, which he was to keep in his possession till his claim to those places, in right of his mother, Louisa of Savoy, should have been decided upon; and, waiting for the judgment, Philippe was to maintain garrisons in Vercell and Asti. The award was not made till December 12th, 1562; and the Duke of Savoy sacrificed Pignerol, Perouse, Savigliano, and the abbey of Genole, bordering on the marquisate of Saluces, which was placed under the sovereignty of France. The last clause of the treaty of Cateau Cambresis related to the marriage of Philippe II. with Elizabeth of France, eldest daughter of Henry II. Philippe, it was agreed, should obtain with her a dowry of 400,000 livres.

It was in the midst of the fêtes given to celebrate this union that the reign of Henry II. terminated. To be present at them, Philippe had come to Paris in the month of June, accompanied by Emanuel of Savoy, the Duke of Alva, the Count d'Egmont, the Prince of Orange, and all the great commanders who had fought for him in that memorable war. Among the entertainments which the king prepared for his illustrious guests, he conceived the idea of giving what was called "a passage of arms," after the manner of the tournaments of antiquity, for which his father had transmitted to him the expiring taste. The lists were formed in the rue St. Antoine; and he himself wished to be one of the challengers with the Prince of Ferrara, and the Dukes of Guise and Nemours. In the evening of the 30th of June, Henry, who during three days had broken lances amidst the loud applause of the court, obstinately resolved, notwithstanding the entreaties of the queen, to break one more lance with Montgomeri, the commander of the Scotch guards. They both entered the lists, charged each other, and broke their lances, from one of which a splinter passed through the vizor of the king, and entered deeply his right eye. The blow made him stagger; his esquires ran quickly to assist him; the dauphin, the Duke of Savoy, the Cardinal of Bourbon, the constable, and the whole of the court, very much alarmed, assembled round him. He said it was nothing of importance, and freely forgave his antagonist, Montgomeri. The blood, which issued in great drops from the wound, proved to every one the magnitude of the danger. They moved him to the palace at Tournelles; and the first dressing

having been taken off, the injury appeared to be so great, that his life was despaired of. The Duke of Savoy, whose union with Margaret had been fixed for a day subsequent to the marriage of Philippe, was much disturbed by this dismal incident, and sought the king, fearing that his death would change the determination of the court with respect to the match. Henry, to tranquilize him, caused his sister to come to him, and ordered that the marriage should take place in his chamber on the 9th of July. He died on the following morning, the eleventh day after he had received the wound, in the forty-first year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign.

Here terminates the epoch of the wars in Italy, an epoch of barren agitation, if we confine our views to the recital, generally monotonous, of abortive conquests and impotent treaties, which seem wholly to fill it; but behind this stormy and confused array of political intrigues, and combats without end, which absorbed, for the profit of various parties, general attention, grand changes will be found to have been accomplished with little noise. Royal centralization organised itself in a great measure, and reform took its rise, and spread all over the kingdom. The king began to place at the foot of his acts that formula of despotism, "For such is our good pleasure;" he sold offices of judicature, disposed at his will, and took possession of benefices, caused offenders to be judged by commissioners, whom he wished to find guilty, and the foreign bands, and the national militias, who composed the body of his armies, were so organized, as to be entirely at his disposal. Till the movement of national regeneration, determined by the art of printing, and the contact with Italy, that did not exist, which seemed destined in future days to make the great glory of royalty. Francis I., "the father of letters," as he has been called, pensioned poets and men of learning; he founded the college of France, where the instruction soon rivalled and went on to eclipse that of the old university. It was to him that artists came in crowds from Italy, and all the great efforts of architecture and sculpture, Folembray, Chambord, the Louvre, and the fountain of Innocents, were executed for him, or paid for from his treasury. Already, all the monarchical system, such as it was realised under Louis XIV., was, in a manner, sketched and formed; and the declaration that Francis I. uttered in full parliament, "that he was above the laws," fell little short of that other celebrated speech, made at a subsequent period by the Grand Monarque, "I am the state." Nevertheless, as yet there had been seen but the commencement of the system favoured by those sovereigns. Feudality identified with the court, gnawed its chain in silent rage. Henry II. more than once gave it a loose rein; and soon new ideas, fermenting among the people, opened the way to many revolts, and afforded vast scope to daring ambition. Internal improvements had quietly extended their progress in the midst of the din of arms, and the tumult of complicated negotiations; and the treaty of Cateau-Cambresis had at length scarcely calmed the great—the general military excitement of Europe, for which the son of Louis XI.



Chateau de Chambord.

had given the signal, when France found herself ripe for a new existence. During sixty years she might be said to have lived out of herself, and the history of the French was only to be read at Naples, at Milan, at Madrid, and in the Low Countries; it now returned to her own ancient territory, recalled by portentous indications, the precursors of that civil war, which on all sides appeared to be on the eve of breaking out.

During the period to which attention is now turned, the discovery of the pandects of Julian assisted the growing ideas of European legislators, and waked a general taste for ancient literature. Unhappily, in this, as in almost every case, where men in high situations have been able to choose their models, the fierce and the triumphantly cruel were the objects of studied imitation, rather than the sage and the good: the princes of the time thought of imitating Alexander and Hannibal, rather than Socrates and Aristides. Dreams of conquest, worthless if realised, still made the delight of monarchs, as if war were the only natural and legitimate business of mankind.

Pomp increased in the French court, and the artificers of pageantry were held in great request; but their labours, though attended with enormous expence, were not always, even on the grandest occasions, remarkable for their purity of taste. On the occasion of the gorgeous spectacle which astonished Paris when Louis XI., after a long absence, entered his capital, "The Scandalous Chronicle" of Comines informs us, that the procession included representations of angels, the Virgin Mary, and the Saviour of man. It comprehended also, "wild men that played the parts of gladiators; and near them were placed three handsome females, stark naked, representing mermaids, with lovely hard white bosoms, a glorious sight! sporting, and singing gay, enlivening airs." Yet even this is less disgusting than the splendour of a later reign, where we find "the chevalier king" seeking to propitiate Heaven by a grand parade, and closing the magnificent spectacle by committing six unfortunate beings to the flames. The absence of decorum in the former instance, is not so astounding as the affected piety and horrible cruelty indented with the latter. Religion was indeed generally treated with profound contempt by the sovereigns, till misfortune or death compelled them to think of eternity. The name of the Eternal was on numerous occasions profaned, while his most sacred laws were deliberately violated. Yet the most cold-blooded hypocrite that ever filled a throne, could produce the wood of the true cross to sanctify a treaty, appealed to the Virgin to gain his pardon for a brother's murder, and died calling on Our Lady of Embrun to protect him!

Caricatures and satirical ballads were numberless in Paris from the time of Louis XI. The course of wit and ridicule was as resistless as that of the reformed faith itself. Nothing could long impede its progress, nothing could extinguish it.

Of the general policy of the monarchs of Europe volumes might be written, but little need be said. Moved by selfishness and vengeance, we find the

same princes at different periods pursuing courses diametrically opposite. The fine maxim of King John of France, that "honour, if banished from the rest of the world, ought to find a home in the hearts of princes," was but very indifferently illustrated by his successors. The principle acted upon even by that high-minded votary of glory, Francis I., was anything but consistent with what is called common honesty. He, when about to sign the treaty of Madrid, thought it consistent with his honour to prepare beforehand a protest against it, and this, in his royal mind, was sufficient to render null and void any treaty to which he might subsequently put his hand. Such laborious care to gain an important point by dissimulation, was but little in the spirit of the sentiment breathed by the other royal captive. It was much more in accordance with the vile principle of Louis XI., *Qui nescit dissimulare nescit regnare.*

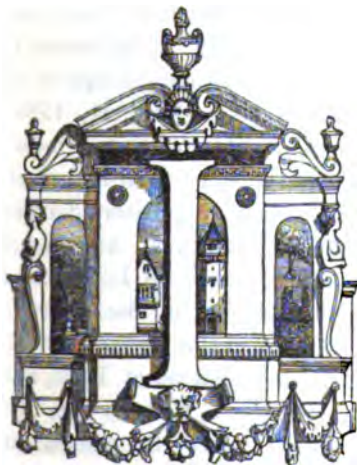




CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF FRANCIS II. TO THE ENTRY OF HENRY IV. INTO
PARIS. A. D. 1559 TO 1594.

CONSPIRACY OF AMBOISE.—THE HUGUENOTS AND THEIR ENEMIES.—MATYRDOMS AND CIVIL
WARS.—MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.—SIEGES OF ROCHELLE AND PARIS.—ABJURATION
OF ST. DENIS.—PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.



It will be necessary to go back almost to the first preachings of Luther, to arrive at the commencement of the history of the reform in France. From 1521, a portion of the clergy of Meaux supported his doctrine; the wool carders and the drapers of the diocese had embraced the reform immediately after the bishop of Briçonnet. The penal code of the middle ages, which placed in the list of crimes religious differences, was still in force. The wool carder, John le Clerc, was the first victim of the new faith.

Expelled from Meaux, he went and occupied himself in destroying the images of a little chapel near Metz, and being taken, was tortured, and shortly afterwards committed to the flames. An Augustine monk, who preached at Metz in 1524, followed in his steps, and shared his fate. Royal

authority had nothing to do with these executions ; they were the work of the bishop of Metz, John of Lorraine, and served in some sort as a prelude to that struggle, hand to hand, on which the house of Lorraine was about to enter in France, in connection with the reform. Francis I., for a time, left the preachings quietly to follow their course, but the clergy were soon indignant. The university and the parliament entered the most energetic protests against the new opinions. When news of the disaster of Pavia arrived, the zealots exclaimed that "the just anger of the Almighty had descended on the kingdom, by the culpable indulgence which had been extended to the reformers ;" and Louisa of Savoy caused two reformers to be burnt at Paris, who were conducted to their punishment by the sound of the organ of Nôtre Dame. Afterwards, those furious zealots of the anabaptists came from Munster. The political and social theories contained, as yet but in the bud, in the theological instructions of Luther, began to make themselves seen on all sides. Already the doctrines of Zwingle and Calvin, the two republican heretics, had found their way into France ; and the austerity of manners of which the new converts made a display, could not but exhibit them in most striking contrast to the frivolous and gallant court of the chevalier king. They had gone far beyond that modest reform of clerical manners, and correction of ecclesiastical abuses, which were formerly demanded in the councils of Bale and Constance. The disciples of Calvin, carried away themselves by zeal, were not content with religious liberty, but, weak as their party was as yet, they placed themselves in the position of aggressors. In the month of May, 1528, an image of the Virgin, established at the corner of the rue des Rosiers, at Paris, was found one morning pierced by stabs from a poniard. "The savage fervour of the saints of God" became each day more menacing. Libels were everywhere circulated, and seditious placards were posted on the walls. Francis I. then thought it necessary to repress the reformers ; and punishments were in a short time multiplied all over the kingdom. Berquin was strangled at the place Maubert, 1529 ; Denys de Rieux was burnt at Meaux ; at Vienne, a shoemaker was burnt, and twenty Protestants thrown into prison. Ten perished from bad treatment. In Languedoc, the country of the inquisition, the inquisitors doomed the heretics before an open tribunal. There was at Toulouse an *auto da fe* (an act of faith) in which thirty-two Protestants suffered. A licentiate of the law was condemned to the fire. The sect increased in the midst of punishments, and the impetuous monarch was irritated at this state of things ; and when he saw there had been fixed placards in the chateau at Blois, and even at the door of his chamber, favourable to the reform, it threw him into such a fury, that, as has been told in the proper place, he caused six Protestants to be burnt in his presence, at Paris, and, not content with that vengeance, issued an edict against their brethren. The struggle was prolonged till the end of his reign, each party rivalling the other in violence ; and during this period the reform seemed to seize on all classes : the people,



Henry II. and Diana of Poitiers.

the clergy, the noblesse, and even the royal family itself. The cherished sister of the king, his companion in captivity, Margaret of Navarre, was induced to listen to the discourses of Roussel and La Fèvre, two compatriots of Calvin, till the "great snarler," Montmorency, advised the king to commence the extermination of heretics with her. "Speak not thus," exclaimed Francis, "she loves me too well; she will never believe anything but that which I could wish her to believe, and will take up no religion prejudicial to my authority." The ill-fated Vaudois, whom such considerations could not protect, served the purpose instead of his sister, and were destined to furnish an example, at least as terrible, as would have been the proposed punishment of Margaret. These were a small colony of the ancient Vaudois, the brothers of the Albigenses, who lived retired at the bottom of a valley, in the environs of Aix, where they occupied two cities, Cabrieres and Mérindol, with some thirty villages. Long pursued by certain intolerant prelates, who confounded them in one common hatred with the new reformers, these peaceful people escaped persecution, protected by Chassereux, president of the parliament of Aix, and by the Protestants of Germany. Their enemies at length prevailed in 1545. D'Oppède and the Baron de Lagarde, sent with an army, entered by night their valley, massacred men, women, and children, razed their houses to the ground, cut down the woods, tore up the trees in the gardens, and reduced to an uncultivated desert that part of the country, which had been one of the most fertile, and one of the best peopled in the south. A cry of indignation arose in the kingdom, even among the Catholics, at the first news of the horrible catastrophe. This could not but add still more to the fanaticism of "the saints of God," who, from that time, began openly to brave the executioners of the king. Till then, assemblies were held in secret and in darkness, like those of the primitive Christians; at night, in caves, in woods, and among rocks. The year which followed the massacre just described, a reformed church was established at Paris; and shortly all the great cities of the kingdom had their places of worship, in which the new doctrines were preached. Thirty-three towns, and seventeen provinces, were already filled with reformers at the time of Francis's death. The new church was seen establishing itself on all sides, directed from Geneva by its chief founder, Calvin; and the movement of mind was still urged forward, when the power of the state passed into the hands of Henry II.

The court seemed at first to condemn the severity exercised in the last reign against the Vaudois and the reformers. They listened to the complaints of the landlords, whom the massacre of the Vaudois had ruined. But the Cardinal of Lorraine, and Diana of Poitiers, brought back Henry and his cabinet to hatred and persecution of the dissenters. In the month of July, 1549, at the close of a general procession, the king having been present, many Calvinists were taken from the prisons where they had been detained, and burned in five different parts of Paris. Henry himself was a

spectator of their punishment, in returning from his palace of Tournelles. Sectarians were burnt with the same relentless cruelty at Lyons, at Angiers, at Blois, and at Bordeaux. These were unquestionably tremendous blows, struck by the hand of power; but it was feared, rude and dreadful as they were, that they would prove impotent to crush the new doctrines. In consequence, it was resolved to organise a complete and regular system of persecution, by making the laws and the magistracy auxiliaries to the government in its struggle against reform. On one side, after fifty audiences, the parliament of Paris pronounced the absolution of Lagarde, D'Oppède, De Lafont, and the other magistrates of the parliament of Aix, who had massacred the Vaudois. Guerin alone was condemned; but for crimes foreign to the cause; the credit and the intrigues of the Guises obtained that sentence from the first courts of judicature in France [1551, 1552]. In another direction, after the royal edict of Chateaubriand [1551] appeared, and the order of the parliament which prohibited "bush schools," or schools which were held by the reformers in the country, in 1552, and the edict of Ecouen [1559], which condemned to death offenders in matters of religion, and forbade judges to mitigate the penalty, and the ordinances by which the tribunals were enjoined to apprehend, as guilty of heresy, all those who solicited mercy for heretics.

There was then generally a legislation of blood against the reformers, and judges ordinary and extraordinary were required to carry it out. No body in the state was so largely interested in the extirpation of heresy as the clergy, whom it menaced in their property and their power, and even endangered their very existence. In 1557, they admitted as judges in the trials extraordinary to which reformers were subjected, ecclesiastics with the title of inquisitors. The inquisition, the commencement of which has been already mentioned under Francis I., now gained a remarkable development in mingling itself with civil justice, from which it till then had been kept apart. The two chambers of parliament, and the great chamber, La Tournelle, were appropriated at the same time to try cases of heresy; and besides, the king appointed extraordinary commissions, called *chambres ardentes*, to follow the delinquents. The Guises superintended the sentiments and conduct of these different tribunals; and, in order to keep up the ardour of their persecution, brought royalty into a situation unheard of till then. At the time of the affair of Vaudois, the members of the parliament had been nearly unanimous in their principles of intolerance and devotedness to the will of the Guises. Since that period, pity had gained over some; and others were enlightend by reading and reflection. Very few had embraced the new opinions; but many thought that it was necessary to convoke a general council to reform existing abuses in the church, and meanwhile to suspend the prosecution of the reformers. In April, 1559, a president and eight counsellors proposed to the parliament to take into its consideration the means of obtaining this double end. Urged on by the Guises, the king

went to the parliament, and commanded them to discuss the question freely in his presence. Three counsellors, confiding in the royal permission, pleaded the cause of liberty of conscience; and two of them, Dufaur and Anne Dubourg, added to their reasonings severe reflections addressed to the king on his government and his conduct. Henry II. ordered the constable to arrest them immediately, and with them three other counsellors, who had spoken before in favour of religious toleration. The trials of Dufaur and Dubourg were commenced without loss of time. Their feeling in respect to majesty, while speaking, had nothing to do with this rigorous proceeding, for the three counsellors arrested, at the same time with Dufaur and Dubourg, had not been in any way guilty of that offence, and the action against the two individuals just named, set forth that it was not on account of the reproaches which they had directed against their sovereign, but was founded solely on their religious opinions. According to the rules of parliament, all the deliberations of that body were supposed to be secret; no prosecution therefore could be instituted against any member for the opinion uttered by him, as in law such opinion could never be known. In this case, the king had been introduced to the parliament, fraudulently to entrap Dufaur and Dubourg, and to penetrate that secrecy, behind which their inviolability was entrenched, and had thus succeeded in drawing from them a declaration of their sentiments, on which it might be possible to prosecute them. They had been induced, by the words of the king, to indulge in a liberty of speech, which was now to be made a crime. Thus was sullied the royal majesty by a judicial artifice and perjury, in order to procure a capital accusation against two members of the parliament. The trial was suspended in consequence of the death of Henry II., and taken up again in the reign of his successor. The end of this proceeding was in all respects worthy of its commencement. Dufaur and Dubourg had incontestably the right of being tried by their peers, that is to say by the chambers of the parliament. This law was violated. As Dufaur was a deacon, they made that a pretence for sending him before the officials of Paris, of Sens, and Lyons. The tenets he professed being proved, he was condemned as a heretic, and handed over to the secular power, who burnt him in the place de Grève, 1559.

These violences and illegal proceedings, far from extinguishing the new doctrines, brought every day more numerous partisans, as was found to be the case from like causes in the time of Francis I. Under that prince we have seen that two reformed churches were established in 1546, at Senlis and at Meaux; one was established in the midst of Paris, in 1555; and soon all the principal cities of the kingdom, Rouen, Angoulême, Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Marseilles, &c., had theirs. From the cities, the heresies extended into the country around, where the reformers, to the number of ten thousand, united. In 1557, a meeting was held at Paris, which gave rise to a popular movement. Their promenades to the Pré-aux-Clercs attracted

an immense concourse. Not only the people, but the noblesse and the court, abandoned the fêtes which were given, to sing with the reformers the



psalms of Marot. Among the proselytes, they numbered the King of Navarre, his wife, Jeanne d'Albret, Coligny, D'Andelot, Colonel of the French infantry; the last even scrupled not to say, in the presence of the king, that he would rather die than go to mass. Their numbers and their confidence increased till, in 1558, they gave a grand procession through Paris. At the time of the conference at Poissy, in 1561, two years after the death of Henry II., their churches, public as well as private, were found throughout the kingdom to amount to two thousand one hundred and fifty; and they counted among their friends and supporters one sixth of the whole population.

Henry II. left four sons, of whom the eldest, who succeeded him, was scarcely sixteen years of age. A regency was required; but to whom was the important charge to be confided? The king would sign public acts, but who should guide his hand? Catherine, the wife of the late king, the mother of the present king, offered herself. All the precedents of French history were on her side. There was no Salic law to oppose to her ambition. But whether the rancour against the Italian name, which she too strongly recalled by her manners and by her policy, or whether it was the resentment felt against Henry II., who had continued the career of Francis I. only in that which was most severe and despotic, Catherine de Medicis was not popular. The epoch, moreover, was fruitful in men who wished to be great in themselves and for themselves; and, independently of the question as to the person, Protestantism had sown everywhere suspicion, and prepared the means for embarrassing the march of the government.

During the eleven days which passed between the day on which the king

received his fatal wound and his death, Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France, had used every means to secure to himself some share in the government. He wrote to the princes of the blood, exhorting them to come and take their places in the council of the king. His representations were especially addressed to Anthony de Bourbon, King of Navarre, the nearest heir to the throne, after the brothers of the young monarch. He called upon him to come forward with all possible dispatch, as the least delay would give to foreigners the supreme power, which it would be impossible to wrest from them.

These foreigners were the Guises; one of them was a brave warrior, a skilful commander, just to the soldiers, and connecting with his name noble recollections of glory; the other, the cardinal, was a man of great erudition, and an admirable orator, who carried the council with him by the force of his eloquence. He had also in view another family, which comprehended likewise a warrior and a cardinal. These were Coligny and the Cardinal de Chatillon; the admiral had all the bravery of Francis de Guise, but less firmness of resolution. Frequently, he was unable to foresee events which were to be expected; but once engaged in a struggle, he obstinately maintained it; and such was the confidence which he inspired, that never had the responsibility for defeat weighed heavily on him. His brother, the easy bishop, gave himself up entirely to the liberty granted by the reformers.

Coming immediately after the princes of the blood, was Anthony de Bourbon, (the father of Henry IV.) who suffered himself to be led as others wished, except when the will of his high-spirited wife, Jeanne d'Albret, interfered: the Prince of Condé followed, who preferred being first in the Protestant to second in the Catholic party, an active, indefatigable chief, who was ready to step forward on every occasion, and who was marvellously fitted for a life of intrigue and action. Next to them we find the aged Montmorency, whose best days were past; and finally we may mention L'hospital, as indicating what is called the third party, and which received at the time the name of "the political party." The chancellor, whose integrity was such as the Duprats and the Amboises could never boast, wished to arrest the threatening torrent of revolution, and his efforts, though unavailing, constitute not his least title to that gratitude which has been awarded to him by posterity. Such are in brief the principal figures in that picture which we are about to present, of the "wars" so called, "of religion."

Henry II. had scarcely breathed his last, when the Guises monopolised all the power of the state. Catherine gave to them that support which she herself had just received from them against the favourite and the constable; and, by means of their niece, Mary Stuart, they had no difficulty in gaining over to their cause the young king. It was in vain that Montmorency, during the eleven days which intervened between the wound and the death of the late monarch, had written letters upon letters to the princes of the house of

Bourbon, pressing upon them that they should lose no time in repairing to the council, or the kingdom would fall into the hands of strangers. When the deputies of the parliament came to salute the new king, he sent them to his two uncles, the duke and the cardinal, and declared that he would leave to them the government of his kingdom. The first took upon himself immediately the command of the army, the second the management of the finances. On returning from the royal funeral, Montmorency came in turn to salute Francis II., who coolly recommended him to seek repose in his estates; and, in consequence, he forthwith withdrew to his castle of Chantilly, taking with him in his disgrace his son-in-law, Coligny. The Prince of Condé was sent as ambassador to the Low Countries; and to render him more sensible of the sinister design, of the affront, in disguise, which was intended for him, the Cardinal de Lorraine, knowing well that his fortune was not so high as the name which he bore, wished to allow but 500 crowns in gold, to cover the expences of the embassy. In a few days the King of Navarre advanced towards the court, rallying around him on the road the discontented spirits of the nation. At Vendome he held an assembly, to which Montmorency had sent Dardois, his secretary, and in which the ruin of the Lorraine princes was resolved upon. The latter, who had spies near the King of Navarre, overwhelmed him with affronts and disgusts, during his sojourn at court, and made him fear to lose by the King of Spain what remained to him of his kingdom, and finally gave him the task of conducting to Philippe II. his new consort, Elizabeth of France.

In the first part of her regency, Catherine, confused by the conflicts of the parties that surrounded her, and the storm which thundered in her ear, had taken the anti-national step, unfortunately, of claiming the protection of her formidable son-in-law; and Philippe already proudly assumed that it was for him to govern the kingdom. He had written to the Guises, thenceforth his faithful allies, a letter full of bravados, in which he threatened to crush with his power whoever might be sufficiently audacious to attack their authority. Rejoicing in having secured this unpopular patronage, the uncles of the king trespassed on their sovereign, and seized, with unblushing effrontery, for themselves and for their friends, places, pensions, and dignities. They distributed the cordon of St. Michael with such profusion, that the distinction lost all value, and obtained the scornful *sobriquet* of "the collar of beasts." Guise despoiled, for his own profit, the constable of the situation of grand master of the king's household. Brissac, his confidant, had the government of Picardy, which Coligny, who till then had possessed it, wished to resign in favour of the Prince of Condé. Soon there came round the two ministers an immense crowd of persons, soliciting offices from all parts of the kingdom. All wished to belong to that party where there was much to gain; but the cardinal, to whom more especially these interesting offers of service were addressed, "had something in his nature," says Brantome, "that in his prosperity, he was so insolent and blind, he cared little for any

one, and had no regard for the feelings of others." Fatigued with the importunities of applicants, he thought it advisable to set up near the castle of Fontainebleau, where the court then resided, a gallows, and the criers were sent to announce in the market-place, by sound of trumpet, that whoever came to the court to solicit would be hanged, if he did not leave within four-and-twenty hours. This was playing a very coarse game with an irritable race of gentlemen, who would not have pardoned in the king himself so gross an affront; and quarrels on matters of religion soon arose to increase the peril of his situation.

The trial of Anne Dubourg, interrupted so fortunately by the accident in the street of rue St. Antoine, had been again prosecuted under the new ministers; but their alliance with Spain seemed to precipitate them still further into ways of persecution. The president, Minard, one of their most zealous partisans, was in vain objected to, or challenged, by Dubourg. In spite of his representations, and even his menaces, Minard continued to sit on the judge's bench. But the persecuted soon began to think of vengeance. Minard was killed by a pistol shot at the door of his house in the rue Vieille Temple, as he returned from the palace on his mule. This violence served but to hasten the punishment of the Protestant counsellor, who was hanged eleven days afterwards at the Place de Grève [December 23rd, 1559]. From day to day, the hatred excited became more envenomed. The Guises, attacked on all sides by the libels of the reformers, only thought how they might still further inflame Catholic zeal. The latter applied themselves then to imitate the religious processions to the Pré-aux-Clercs. They assembled in the streets, and sung canticles before those images of the Virgin that were then exposed in front of the houses, some of which are still found in the old quarters of Paris. Those who passed were invited to join in the chorus, and if any refused to do so, they were insulted and beaten. They could not escape but by some manoeuvre. Coligny, D'Andelot, and the other chiefs of the party, resumed underhand the intrigue of the assembly of Vendôme. They met at La Ferte, in a château belonging to the Prince of Condé. There Coligny, having with certainty ascertained that there were in France more than two millions of reformers, who were capable of bearing arms, it was agreed that they should take the king by force from his two ministers, and that they should arrest the latter, in order to bring them to trial. But to this audacious conspiracy a chief was wanting, and Condé was too lukewarm a Protestant to accept that situation. "More occupied with his pleasures, than with the cross and the pope, he was converted," says the historian of Coligny, "but neither changed his tastes nor his mistresses." Before signing an engagement with the conspirators, he put upon them this restriction, to which he thought in case of necessity he might refer, "Provided that nothing was to be done against God, the king, his brothers, the princes, and the state." Coligny did not wish to put himself more forward; but he endeavoured to engage in the plot,

not only the Calvinists, but all the disaffected, so that he gained the aid of some, who only thought of religion, with others who had no motive but hatred of the Guises. To conciliate all, he made choice of John de Barri, the Lord la Renaudie, an adventurer both in heart and head, who had, under the last reign, that which they called at the time *de méchantes affaires*, and who, compelled to quit France, had made himself a Calvinist at Geneva, in order that he might be something. La Renaudie, after making for a short time his appearance in England, where he had a mission to secure the support of Elizabeth, in a plot directed against the uncle of Mary Stuart, began to visit all parts of the kingdom, organizing revolt, and naming the chiefs in each province. In the list, which has been preserved in the memoirs of the time, we find, in Gascony, the chief selected was the Baron of Castelnau Chalosse; in Bearn, the Captain Mazere; in Limousin, Du Mesni; in Saintonge, Mirabeau; in Picardy, Coccaville; in Provence, Mouvans; in Brie and Champagne, Maligni; in Normandy, St. Mary; in Britany, Montjean; in Anjou, La Chenage; and in Poitou, Bressai. The rendezvous was fixed for the 6th of March, 1560, at the Château de la Fredonniere, whence they were to proceed to seize and massacre the Guises in the midst of the court, which was then held at Blois. All at first succeeded to their wish. The Guises, having taken the king to Blois, provided him with a series of ever varying amusements, "that, lost in mirth, he might forget to reign," and there rested in profound obscurity. In the meantime, levies were extensively made in the German mode, that is, the soldiers enrolled themselves without knowing on what expedition they were to be sent, binding themselves to march without a moment's delay, at the command of the chief by whom they were paid. Those in the most distant provinces, were already in motion; they advanced in parties, which increased as they moved towards the capital, and the centre of the kingdom was filled with troops. A Paris advocate, named Avenelles, who lodged in the house of La Renaudie, discovered the secret, and lost no time in communicating it to the minister, who immediately conducted the court to the Château D'Amboise, where it would be more safe against any sudden attempt. The duke, however, doubted the reality of the plot. He refused to make the troops advance to the frontier, as the cardinal advised, and it was not till the last moment, when La Renaudie was at the gates of Amboise, and they saw the Prince of Condé arrive at the fortress with the Chatillons, and a number of men;—it was only then, that Francis took determined steps to parry the danger. But while he wrote to the governors of the neighbouring provinces, and called the noblesse around the king, on the 15th of March, the gates of Amboise were all at once besieged by a band of unarmed Calvinists, who demanded to speak to the king. The young monarch, disturbed by the various movements he had witnessed, wished also to speak to his subjects. "What have I done," said he, "to my people, who thus seek me? I wish to hear their grievances and to do what

is reasonable." The Guises, whom a second treason had put in possession of the whole plan of the conspiracy, were anxious to guard against the applicants obtaining access to the royal presence, and directed their steps towards La Carliere, the new rendezvous, which had been fixed upon by La Renaudie. They skilfully paralysed the forces of Condé and the Chatillons, and placing themselves, well surrounded, in the advanced posts, sent detachments of cavalry to wait for the approach of the small troops of conspirators, which were scattered in the neighbouring woods. Those of Bearn, who were first attacked, were immediately put to the rout, and suffered themselves to be taken almost without striking a blow. The Duke de Nemours fell upon the Gascons of the Baron of Castelnau, at the moment when they were feeding their horses in the village of Nosai, and defeated them with as little difficulty. La Renaudie had avoided all ambuscades, and was already about to quit the forest which reached to the walls of Amboise, when he was met by the sieur de Pardaillon, his relation, who had been exploring the wood at the head of a strong body of cavalry. The strife which ensued was long and bloody. In the end, the two commanders rushed at each other; and the pistol of Pardaillon having missed fire, he received two wounds from the sword of his enemy. One of his pages avenged him in the same moment. La Renaudie was shot through the body from an arquebus. He had still sufficient strength remaining to stretch the page at his feet, after which he fell dead on the spot. His body, being carried to Amboise, was hung on a gallows, with this inscription attached, "chief of the rebels." On the same evening, at the moment when they supposed all was finished, Coccaville arrived with his troops; hearing the tocsin sounded from all parts of the country, and seeing the peasants put the fugitives to death, he dared not to retreat, and came, in despair, to throw himself into the faubourg on the side of the Vendomese. There, a new combat took place between the conspirators and the royal troops. Coccaville repulsed the attack from the bridge of Amboise, and threw himself into some houses in the faubourg, where, the conquerors having set them on fire, he and all his friends expired in the flames. Such was the issue of this famous conspiracy; the only serious event in the reign of Francis II.; the prelude to the "wars of religion," as they are named, though, according to the testimony of a contemporary writer, there entered into them more discontent than Huguenotism [March 16th, 1560].

The Guises used their victory cruelly. The prisoners, thrown into the Loire, bound hand and foot, covered that river during many days with dead bodies. They hung a crowd of them to the battlements of the castle; and the sword of the executioner fell on those who were most distinguished. Raunai, Maziere, and Castelnau, were decapitated with other gentlemen. Villenouge, who remained till the last, stained his hands with the blood of his companions, and lifted them to Heaven, claiming vengeance from the Most High. Catherine caused at length the massacre to cease; but the tardy publication of this amnesty did not in any degree diminish the new

feelings of hatred which were engendered against the Princes of Lorraine. "I saw," says Brantome, "Huguenots who said, 'Yesterday we were not in the conspiracy, and would not have joined it for all the gold in the world; but to day, we would declare for it for a very trifle, regarding the enterprise as good and holy.'" The chancellor, Olivier, whom death had surprised in the midst of these sanguinary executions, refused to see the cardinal in his last moments. When his visit was announced, "Ah! cursed cardinal!" he exclaimed, turning himself towards the wall, "thou hast damned thyself, and made us all damn ourselves." Olivier was replaced by Michael de L'hospital, the son of the physician of the Constable de Bourbon, a grave and energetic man, whom the queen caused to enter into the council expressly to counter-balance the influence of the Guises, by the exercise of all his science and his probity. L'hospital was not very hostile to the new doctrines: "bad Catholic as he was in his heart," remarks Father Daniel, "in a tone of chagrin, he saved appearances, in order not to ruin his prospects, and went to mass. He was of that moderate faction which, at a later period, was called 'the political party,' who treated religious questions as secondary to a number of others, with which the government had to deal, and who were of opinion that they might, with a good grace, allow Protestant preaching by the side of the Catholic mass.

Aided by Marillac de Montluc, the father of the famous commander, Michael de L'hospital caused the edict of Romorantin to appear, which singularly softened the jurisdiction of the kingdom with respect to the Protestants, and attributed to bishops only knowledge of the crime of heresy. The impiety of L'hospital would not have acted thus against the laws of the parliament, but with a view to defeat the projects of the Cardinal de Lorraine, who wished, as the faithful ally of Spain, to introduce into France the inquisition. But this timid compromise between two parties so strongly opposed to each other, could not conciliate either. La Renaudie had put arms into the hands of the Protestants; and, once committed to a course of violent resistance, they could not afterwards be restrained. In Normandy, in Provence, and in Dauphiny, a party was formed, which, not content with claiming liberty of conscience, met the Catholics by returning intolerance for intolerance. At Valence, the Huguenots (that was the name given to the French reformers) seized on the church and the convent of Cordeliers, and caused public preaching to be made in them, while the congregation was kept down by arms. Mouvant, whose elder brother had been massacred by the Catholics of Draguignan, with two thousand men well armed, attempted to surprise, one after the other, Aix, Arles, and Sisteron. Not suffering himself to be discouraged by a triple check, he retired to the mountains with five hundred soldiers, and made head with such success against four thousand men, under the Baron de la Garde, that, in the end, he was allowed to capitulate with all the honours of war. In Normandy, a schoolmaster wished to play the part of

John of Leyden, "and, by a thousand contortions of face and body," says Daniel, "endeavoured to persuade the populace that he possessed inspiration from above." But he had chosen his ground badly. The clergy of the city were the first to disavow the prophet. Abandoned even by his own party, the schoolmaster was taken and burnt before the eyes of his followers, whom he had laboured to persuade that he was immortal, and who were hung round the pile which consumed him. At the same period, Queen Elizabeth caused violent manifestos to be published in France, and marched an army into Scotland, where she dictated to the sister of the Guises, Mary of Lorraine, the treaty of Edinburgh, which consecrated the principle of liberty of conscience in favour of the Scotch Protestants.

Such support greatly sustained and increased the courage to the reformers of France. The failure of the late conspiracy had not made the princes of Lorraine feel perfectly secure, and they added two hundred arquebusiers to the king's guards, as a protection to themselves as well as to him. But this could not pacify the kingdom. Faithful to his views of conciliation, L'hospital essayed once more to allay the storm, in the assembly which he convoked in the month of August, at Fontainebleau, "to take into consideration the means of tranquilizing the state." The menacing attitude of both parties shewed that little good was to be expected from these delibera-



tions. The Guises had filled the city and its environs with troops, and the noblesse were devoted to them. Condé, who had found himself but little

regarded since the disaster at Amboise, refused to appear in the assembly, and prevailed on the King of Navarre also to absent himself. The Montmorencies and the Chatillons attended, but at the head of eight hundred cavaliers; and after many high words exchanged on both sides, finished by referring the decision on the questions debated to the national council and the states general, which were immediately convoked. In the midst of these conferences, and while the circulars were being sent to the bishops and governors in all parts of the kingdom, hostilities, it may be said, began to show themselves. At Fontainebleau, a Gascon gentleman, named La Sague, was seized, and letters were found on him from the Prince of Condé, and the Cardinal de Montmorency, in which were laid down the whole plan of a civil war. The malcontents were to meet in arms at Orleans, at the time of the assembling of the states general, which were to sit in that city, when a rising was to take place in Paris, in Britany, in Provence and Picardy, and war was to be made on the house of Lorraine, as the common enemy of the Huguenots, and of all who were in the ranks of the disaffected. The brothers Maligny soon made the first attempt, which was on Lyons, and in the name of the Prince of Condé; the abbé of Achon, who had the command of the fortress in the absence of his uncle, the Marshal de St. André, at the head of the Catholic citizens, repulsed the Huguenots, who had possessed themselves of the bridge over the Saone. But all that multitudinous army, which had been put in motion there, and elsewhere, were not disposed, for a trifling miscarriage, to abandon the object in view, and, from day to day, it became obvious that the fatal moment was near at hand.

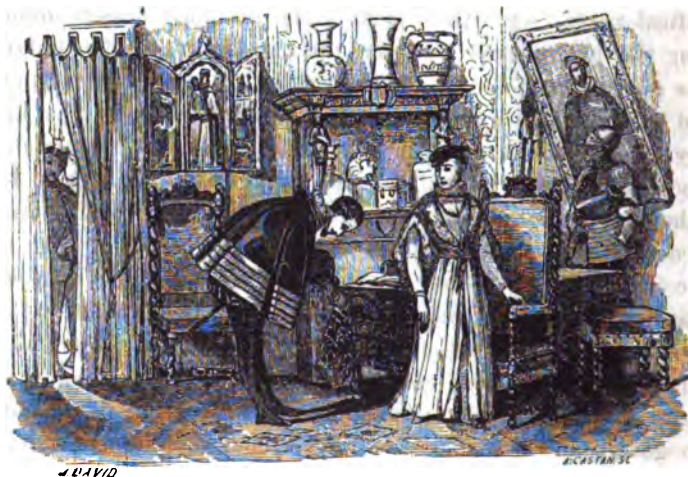
Minds were thus excited, when the states general met in the month of October, at Orleans. The two Bourbon princes had finished by preparing letters of amity, which they made the young king sign, and they arrived at Orleans on the last day of the month with but a feeble escort, relying on the royal word, notwithstanding the advice and the pressing entreaties of their partisans, who wished them at once to place themselves at their head. The noblesse of Gascony, of Poitou, of Provence, of Languedoc, and of Normandy, offered to furnish a body of fifteen thousand infantry, with cavalry in proportion. Eight hundred gentlemen, whom the King of Navarre met at Limoges, not being able to obtain permission to accompany him, he offered to solicit a pardon for them, if they felt uneasy. "Our pardon! sir," exclaimed one of them, "you will be too happy if, asking for your own with the greatest humility, you succeed in obtaining it." Only at the gates of Orleans did the two princes become sensible of the danger of such imprudent confidence. They were surprised at seeing no one come to meet them, and to find the entrances guarded like those of a fortress in time of war. The streets were full of soldiers, the ramparts, the cross-ways, the squares, were all occupied by numerous bodies of guards; the house where the king resided was surrounded by many battalions, like

the tent of a general in the middle of his camp. The gates were closed, those about them refused to open them; and the princes were obliged to dismount from their horses, and enter by the wicket. It was too late to retreat. Conducted by the king into the chamber of the queen mother, they found her much disturbed, her countenance sad, and her eyes filled with tears. The princes had scarcely had time to reply to the first salutations, when the king, addressing himself all at once to Condé, reproached him for having kindled a civil war in the kingdom, and ordered him to be arrested by Chavigny, a captain of his guards. The King of Navarre attempted in vain to plead the cause of his brother; he himself was secured, and presently conducted by an officer into a neighbouring house, where a guard was set over him. A commission immediately issued to try Condé, without regard to the protestations of the accused, who in vain demanded a trial before the peers of France, and the parliament, his natural judges. Towards the end of November, a decision was pronounced, which doomed him to death, and fixed his execution for the 10th of December, the day on which the states general were to open their sittings. L'hospital, Du Morier, and the Count de Sancerre, refused to sign the sentence; but Francis seemed resolute to have it carried into effect. Eleonora de Roye, the wife of Condé, having come to Orleans, threw herself in tears at his feet. "Madam," he coldly replied, "your husband has wished to deprive me of my crown and life." The condemned prince remained undismayed at this critical moment. Pressed to seek some means of effecting an accommodation with the Guises,



"there is no better mode," said he, "of making an appointment with them than at the point of the lance." The King of Navarre tried in vain what

could be effected by submission. He went to supplicate the Cardinal de Lorraine, who received him in his garden. "The king,"¹ according to Brantome, "spoke to him uncovered, more frequently than covered, while the other, perfectly at his ease, received him with chilling coldness. Far from being able to flatter himself that he should succeed in saving his brother's life, he had reason to fear for his own. It was necessary, the Guises said, by two blows struck at the same time, to take off the head of rebellion as well as that of heresy. The King of Navarre was apprised that an order was likely to appear at court against him, and that he would be put to death. Such an order was in fact issued, and being thrice repeated, he resolved to brave his assassins. "Captain Ranti," said he to the lieutenant of his company, "I am about to go to a place where they have conspired my death; but no skin was ever sold so dear as mine shall be, if the violence I expect be attempted. Should such be the will of God, he can save me; but I pray you, if I die, that you possess yourself of the shirt which I now wear, and carry it, all stained as it will be with my blood, to my wife and my son, and conjure the former, by the great love she has always borne to me, seeing my son is too young to avenge my murder, to send the said shirt, torn and bloody, as, if I am assassinated, it must be found, to foreign and Christian princes, calling upon them to requite a deed so cruel and so treacherous." Francis II. waited for the King of Navarre in his morning gown, wearing a poniard in his girdle, with which it was agreed that he should strike the latter, if he uttered one insulting expression; and the guards in attendance were immediately to finish him. The



deportment of the King of Navarre, however, was throughout so respectful and so humble, that the resolution of Francis failed him, and he permitted

him to withdraw, without putting his hand to his girdle. As he passed the threshold of the door, Anthony de Bourbon found himself face to face with the Duke of Guise, and could hear the latter exclaim, "What a poor feeble-minded king we have!"

The sword of the headsmen, however, remained over the head of the Prince of Condé, and the fatal hour drew near. In five days, the sentence of the commission was to be executed. Condé was tranquilly playing at cards in his prison, when one of the valets de chambre, named Picard, approached the table, and let a card fall. "Our enemy," said he, in a low whisper, as he stooped to pick it up, "is snatched away." Francis II. had just died from an abscess in the ear, at the age of seventeen years and ten months, after reigning a year and a half. His illness had rapidly increased while he was making a beard; and some reported that his barber, who was secretly a Calvinist, uneasy on the subject of a profession of faith, which all the people in the château were required to sign, had, while shaving him, touched the abscess with a poisoned razor. The speech of Picard would seem to indicate that he was no stranger to the crime, if one had been committed; or at all events that he was soon informed of what had taken place. The Huguenots did not dissemble the joy felt on the occasion of this death. Their ministers, in their public preachings, scrupled not to declare that the fate of the king was an instance of the justice of God, directed against the enemies of the gospel [December, 1560.]

The new king, Charles IX., was a child nine years and a half old, a stranger to the Guises, who had not over him the same influence which they had possessed over his brother. Catherine lost no time in escaping from a patronage which was humiliating to her pride. Relying on L'hôpital and "the political party," or "third party," she occupied herself immediately in restoring the lost balance between the two factions. The judgment of Condé was reversed, and the constable recalled to court. The hand of her son signed letters, which gave to her the administration of the kingdom, assisted by "the wise counsel of the King of Navarre, and the notables and great personages who had served the late king." The Princes of Lorraine believed themselves on the point of being attacked by an army. Montmorency had arrived at Orleans with seven or eight hundred gentlemen. The house of Bourbon collected its supporters, and each individual ranged himself under the standard of his chief. It might have been said that the city was formed into a double camp, in which friends and enemies had confounded their tents. Meantime, the states general had opened their sessions; but no one thought of them or their proceedings. The speech of L'hôpital, who wished to govern, in the name of royalty, the two religious factions, and to draw a line for each, found an approving echo nowhere. In the month of February, 1561, the court repaired to Fontainebleau, taking the Guises with it. Montmorency, the Bourbons, the Chatillons, all the ancient part of the conspiracy of Amboise, made a last effort to bring about the downfall

of the ministers of Francis II. They threatened to leave the court if their enemies were maintained in their situations. Their carriages already defiled towards Melun, and they were mounting their horses to depart, when Catherine sent to Montmorency, who, obeying the summons, found at her house the king and the two secretaries of state, their pens in their hands, as ready to write what he might think proper to dictate. Taken thus by surprise, and required by the young monarch not to leave Fontainebleau, the constable suffered them to gain all the oaths from him which they wished to exact; and his sudden defection having prevented the departure of the King of Navarre, who was already booted and prepared to set out, no decisive step could at that moment be taken.

The agreement between Montmorency and the Protestant party was soon broken. A zealous Catholic, "the great snarler" brought, in aid of his religious conviction, all the rudeness and asperity of his military habits. The chagrin of disgrace in the last reign had sufficed to open his eyes to the merits of the Huguenots, who shared his hatred against the Guises; but restored to power, he resumed all those intolerant feelings which were his in the time of Francis I. and Henry II. Catherine, in order to hold the balance more equally between the Catholics and Protestants, affected to be undecided in regard to the two persuasions, and willingly allowed her court to deal with the question affecting them in their own way. They accordingly went to hear mass in the morning, and attended preaching in the evening. Montluc, bishop of Valence, the brother of the famous Gascon commander, half Catholic and half Protestant, shared, in this respect, the sentiments of the queen mother, of whom he was the confidant; and he, like her, would have experienced great pleasure in effecting a sort of fusion of the two worships. At Fontainebleau, it was one day announced to Montmorency, that the Bishop of Valence was preaching in the hall of the château, in a short mantle and a hat, after the manner of the Calvinist preachers. On hearing this, glowing with indignation, he immediately ran to the hall, and turning to his followers, called out "Bring that pulpit to me; this bishop is burlesqueing the character of a minister." Montluc, fearing that he should be thrown out of the window, saved himself by retreating as expeditiously as possible. The old constable was fond of this sort of adventure. He often suddenly interrupted sermons, and being well attended, drove away the preachers and beat the congregations. Having, on one occasion, gone to Popincourt, from the place where the Huguenots held their meetings, he put to flight all he found there, and caused the pulpit to be burnt in his presence, and also the benches on which the hearers had been seated. This proceeding gained for the constable the *soubriquet* of "Captain Burn-bench." His nephews, the Chatillons, endeavoured, but in vain, to induce him to observe a line of conduct more in accordance with his former engagements. Carried away by his religious impressions, the constable returned, as of himself, to the Guises, his ancient

enemies, the representatives and the supporters of the Catholic party. A vote of the assembly held at Paris, while waiting for the second convocation of the states of Orleans, finished the work, and threw him completely into their arms. The Parisian deputies demanded that they should make the favourite of Henry and Francis disgorge what they had received from their sovereign. Montmorency, finding his fortune compromised with that of the Guises, openly joined their party. James d'Albon, Marshal of St. Andre, who was one of those who had profitted by royal largesses, undertook to negotiate this accommodation, and for the price of his labours to that end, got himself comprehended in the treaty which was concluded between Guise and Montmorency. These three, the constable, the marshal, and the duke, formed what was called "the triumvirate." Wanting an honourable pretext for an association, which had been formed for the sole purpose of protecting wealth, of which, to say the least, the origin was suspicious; the triumvirs placed under their august protection the interests of the Catholic religion, badly defended by an incredulous queen and an indifferent minister.

The want of religious zeal on the part of L'hospital did not abate his anxiety to uphold the rights of the crown, and to promote the welfare of the kingdom. All around him seemed to tend to dissolution. The provinces were in a flame: Catholics against Protestants, and Protestants against Catholics; each now could only trust to himself the care of protecting, in his own way, the doctrine that he had embraced. If preachings were often disturbed by violence, the mass could no longer be celebrated with security, and the priests were often insulted in their churches. Calm alone in the midst of the universal agitation, the chancellor strove in vain to enlighten those who cherished these blind hatreds, and to inspire minds generally with that spirit of toleration, which would leave to each, individually, liberty of conscience and of action. "But," said he one day in parliament, "the devil has mixed himself up with religious contests." By perseverance and unconquerable energy, he at length succeeded in obtaining a declaration which ordered the governors of provinces to use their best efforts to appease religious discords, and which forbade the people to apply injurious names to those from whom they differed. Huguenots, as well as Papists, liberated prisoners, and recalled those who had been banished on account of religion. His work, scarcely sketched, was destroyed in the same instant by the edict of July 31st, 1561, by which the parliament, always more hostile to reform in proportion as the court treated it with less rigour, altered very materially the original plan, and took from the Calvinists their cherished right of assembling. In their "apologetic complaint," they asked from the king, "only that some corners of his cities should not be interdicted to their private meetings, without arms." He granted them, it is true, a general amnesty, but under this insulting condition, "provided they should live as Catholics, in peace." It was the Duke of Guise most especially, who, by his

intrigues, had prevailed upon the parliament to frame the intolerant dispositions which had been put forth in the edict of July. He openly avowed it to be his work, and exclaimed, on leaving the sitting in which the act had been registered, "When this order is to be maintained, my sword will never rest in its sheath." Catherine and the chancellor knew this well; but they did not know, at the same time, that the sword of the Protestants would not be less prompt to leap from its scabbard, to vindicate the rights which they considered themselves to have acquired. However, no one, it may be said, gave himself much concern about the edict; each party protected itself in its own way, and controlled the other wherever it could by the force which it possessed. The "politicians" made a last effort to put a period to this enormous anarchy; and, with one common accord, Catholics and Protestants resolved to attempt a theological approximation, at the conference of Poissy, from which was to issue that formula so much desired, to effect a pacification, which Catherine and her minister had aimed at accomplishing for more than a year in vain.

Calvin had been called upon to represent at Poissy the party which recognised him for its chief; but "the Pope of Geneva," as he was then called, did not care to leave his little republican kingdom, to risk exposing himself to the fate which had awaited John Huss and Jerome of Prague at Constance. He sent in his place Theodore of Beza, his favourite disciple,



whom he destined to be his successor in this new papacy, a man of great wit, a fine orator, and above all, especially lively and happy in reply, and well fitted to conduct a negotiation and to manage a theological dispute. On

the side of the Catholics appeared the Cardinal of Lorraine, who took upon himself to occupy high ground in the debate, "And there," says Le Laboureur, "he made a great display of doctrine," as did the Cardinal de Bourbon of vast zeal, and Montluc, Bishop of Valence, of much address. The Bishop of Sens, Claude de Xaintes, and Claude d'Espence, caused their great learning to be there admired, their prudence and their piety. These were all necessary, not merely for an imposing display, but to carry on the contest, seeing the Cardinal de Lorraine, who had put himself too forward, wanted support, as did the Bishop of Valence, who was suspected of not being so earnest in the cause as the cardinal. Catherine did not conceal the end she had had in view, in calling both parties together. A worthy niece of Leo X., who had only seen in the first preachings of Luther the quarrel of a man of mind with some Florentine theologians, could not comprehend why they should so furiously commit themselves to questions of discipline and liturgy; and, in her unreflecting ignorance of the absolute spirit of Catholicism, she had, with great simplicity, proposed to the pope, in a letter which she wrote to him at the time of the meeting, to treat with the reformers on one part of their doctrine. We transcribe a fragment of this letter, as a curious monument of the religious sentiments of the princess, who caused the mournful catastrophe of St. Bartholomew. "The reformers are not," said she, "either anabaptists or libertines; they believe the twelve articles of symbols. Many persons of piety also think that they ought not to be cut off from communion with the church, in order not to offend the weakness of some fastidious individuals. What danger would there be in taking away images from the churches, and to repress some unimportant ceremonies in the administration of the sacraments? It would be, moreover, a great benefit to grant to all the faithful the communion in both forms, to abolish certain masses, and to allow the service to be performed in the vulgar tongue. For the rest, they agree that it is proper no innovation should be made in the doctrine and the hierarchy, and they would always preserve for the sovereign pontiff the respect and obedience which are his due." The attitude of the parties at the conference soon taught Catherine how great was the error into which she had fallen, when she supposed that the votaries of different forms of worship could suffer them thus to be altered. The Cardinal de Lorraine had at first given a good reception to De Beza, hoping, perhaps, to gain him over by means other than those which could be used in discussion; but scarcely had the Calvinist orator addressed the assembly, and advanced, in conformity with the views of his sect, that the space between the body of Jesus Christ and the bread used in the sacrament, after consecration, was not less than that between heaven and earth, when an explosion of murmurs rose from the benches on which the doctors and bishops sat, and the orator could not proceed. The Cardinal de Tournon protested that had not the king been present, he should have risen to depart, taking with him all that there was of Catholicism in the assembly.

"Would to God!" exclaimed the cardinal to Lorraine, "that this man had been mute, or that we had been deaf." The conference was carried on to the end in this tone. De Beza and his people no longer looked to obtain the slightest concession; each wishing to gain all or nothing, they could only return to the language of Condé in prison, "There are no better means for making an appointment than at the point of the lance."

They separated without having done anything, beyond aggravating and envenoming the quarrel between the parties still more; and Catherine adhering to the reasoning contained in her letter to the pope, the triumvirate, urged underhand by the nuncio, Walter, and Chantonnay, the ambassador from Spain, took upon himself to decide the question abruptly. The triumvirs had just succeeded in getting the King of Navarre to favour their views, who, always full of respectful fear for Spain, could not resist the solicitations of her ambassador. Chantonnay went to see him three or four times in disguise, and had offered to him Navarre first, afterwards, the comté of Venaissin, and then Sardinia, of which the Spaniards at that time were in the habit of putting forth the most pompous descriptions. These were all mere promises, but Anthony suffered them to prevail with him. "Truly may I say to you," said Pasquier in his letters, "that in a moment we have seen his face and his disposition change at once with regard to the Huguenots." By his order, it was necessary to renounce the preachings which were then made at court, and in the apartments of the Louvre. The Queen of Navarre herself could not find any favour in the eyes of the new convert. He caused her litter to be stopped at St. Germain, in the court of the château, at the moment when she was about to leave it to attend a sermon in the house of a minister. Further than that, it may be said that little more was necessary than a divorce from Jeanne d'Albret to induce Anthony to pass into the arms of Mary Stuart; but that project led to no important result. The docile instrument of the ambition of her uncles, Mary soon proceeded to Scotland, where the death of the regent, her mother, left the field open to reformers and discontented lords. However insignificant in our history the character of this young female, a weak and yielding creature, more occupied with the care of her beauty than with the great and solemn questions which were agitated by those among whom she moved, much popularity has remained connected with her name, strengthened by the recollection of her misfortunes. Mary loved the land in which she had been educated so much, that while the ship, which carried her to Scotland remained in sight of the coast, she continued on the deck, her eyes mournfully fixed on the "pleasant country, France;" and, in that moment, when the last point sunk in the horizon, "Adieu France!" she exclaimed, bursting into tears, "adieu! France, for ever; I shall never behold thee again!"

Notwithstanding the tears and regrets of Mary, the time for action had now arrived. L'hôpital, gaining at length the ascendancy in the councils of

the state over the triumvirate, had succeeded, after many efforts in prevailing on the parliament of Paris to register the famous edict of January, 1562,



which gave to the reformers the free exercise of their religion. This last triumph of the third party was received with an universal murmur. "God save us," cried the Catholics, "from the mass of M. le Chancellor." Strange doctrines were brought forward. The priest, Artus Didier, wrote to the King of Spain, to pray him to protect the clergy of France against the infuriated Protestants. A licentiate in theology, named Tanquerol, maintained, in a public thesis, that obedience to the king ought to follow the interests of religion. The Huguenots, on the other hand, did not manifest less eagerness, fiercely to defend their cause. In their canticles and pasquinades, which they posted on the walls, they threatened death to their enemies; and at a subsequent period, when Catherine returned to the Catholic party, the reformed ministers did not hesitate to proclaim that it was permitted to kill a queen (*licet occidere reginam*) when she opposed herself to the preachings of the true gospel. For the moment, the queen seemed wholly devoted to the Protestants. Condé was her right hand. At court he commanded alone, from the voluntary retreat of the Guises and the Chatillons. His friends, increased by some hundreds of students, who had been hastily armed, and mounted guard in Paris, to the great annoyance of the citizens, and even of the King of Navarre, who could not, without chagrin,

see himself replaced by his brother in the office of lieutenant general of the kingdom, the illusive title of which had so largely flattered his vanity. Already, in many parts of the kingdom, at Cahors, at Amiery, at Troyes, at Dijon, at Tours, at Abbeville, at Marseilles, and at Toulouse, there had been risings of the Catholic population, professing to do justice on the edict of January. The Protestants had no longer to fear the stake and the burning pile; but they were massacred in popular outbreaks. The exasperation of minds being at its height, Anthony wrote to the Duke of Guise to hasten to rejoin him at Paris, and to prepare for replacing the power in the hands of the triumvirate.

The duke immediately left Joinville for Lorraine, attended by his brother, the cardinal, with two companies of grenadiers, and a numerous retinue of gentlemen and armed domestics, such as the great lords at that time carried everywhere with them. On the last day of February, all this train arrived at noon at Vassy, a little town on the frontier of Champagne, where the duke immediately caused the mass to be celebrated by his chaplain. As the priest passed to the altar, the bell was heard, which ordinarily called the Protestants to their preaching; and the sound of their hymns reaching the church, the people in the duke's cortege ran to the barn in which the heretics were assembled, to the number of seven or eight hundred. A quarrel soon arose, and stones began to fly. Two German pages, who came armed, killed or wounded many Huguenots by shots from their arquebusses or pistols. A regular battle ensued. The Duke of Guise, attracted by the noise, having been wounded by a stone in the face, his gendarmes were rendered furious by the sight of his blood, and they now precipitated themselves, sword in hand, into the barn, breaking benches and chairs, tearing the books, and massacreing, without distinction of age or sex, all that came in their way. More than sixty persons perished, and two hundred were wounded. "The Duke of Guise," Brantome tells, "had his sword out of its sheath, but drew blood from no one." In the eyes of all parties, however, his shame or glory was not abated by the circumstance of his leaving the cruel work to be done by his followers. Engravings were published, which represented all the details of the catastrophe of Vassy, and the Cardinal de Lorraine leaning against the wall of the cemetery, and regarding with exultation the progress of the slaughter. The impression made on the Catholics was altogether different. Their preachers extolled in the pulpit the illustrious man who had given so splendid a proof of his noble zeal in the cause of the old religion. They now only named him "the new Moses," "the new Joshua," "the new Maccabeus," to avenge themselves on the Protestants, who had called him "the new Herod," it being the custom of the age to take all points of comparison from the Bible. The entrance of the duke into Paris was a real triumph. The prévôt and the aldermen came to welcome him, and the streets were filled with a crowd of people, who cried "Long live the Duke of Guise!" with such ardour, that

he made a sign with his hand to moderate their transports. In vain Theodore de Beza came to the King of Navarre to plead the cause of his murdered brethren. He received no answer but this provoking speech, "Whoever touches the tip of the finger of my brother, the Duke of Guise, touches my whole body."—"Sire," replied De Beza, "I speak for a religion which knows better how to endure injuries than to submit to reproaches, but remember, that it is an anvil which has borne the attacks of many hammers."

On the very day when Guise made his triumphal entry into Paris, he was met in the rue de Grenelle-St.-Honoré by the Prince of Condé, who was returning from a sermon, followed by five hundred gentlemen. A single gesture made by the duke would have caused all the followers of Condé to have been massacred by the populace, intoxicated as they were with enthusiasm. He despised such ignoble vengeance; and the two rivals, passing, respectfully saluted each other. But because he had spared his enemy in the street, Lorraine no longer thought it necessary to keep terms with him at court. Catherine soon permitted him to obtain an order from her, which sent the prince from Paris, whither he had repaired by her invitation. It was then that Condé wrote to Coligny these words, which were the signal for a civil war, "Cæsar has passed the Rubicon; he has taken Rome, and his standards have begun to waive over the country."

In a short time, the Huguenots had raised an army for their chief; he prepared to seize the king and his mother at Fontainebleau, where the court then resided, when Guise suddenly appeared with the King of Navarre, and two thousand men. Notwithstanding the menaces of Catherine, and the tears of the young king, who could not understand so sudden a departure, the gendarmes of the triumvirate returned to Paris with their captives; but from this violence they derived no advantage. Catherine, who would have called them to her assistance, had Condé first arrived, sent to the prince letter after letter, to desire him to rescue her from the hands of her new masters. "Assuring myself," she wrote to him, "you will not refuse, and that you will only think of preserving the children, the mother, and the kingdom, as one affected by their condition, and who may assure himself that his services will never be forgotten. Burn this letter immediately. Your good cousin." Far from destroying such precious proofs, Condé exhibited them everywhere, and did not forget them in his manifestos, in which he called to his aid not only the Protestants, but also all the good French. A powerful king, who had called on the *arriere-ban* of his noblesse, could not have been more promptly obeyed than he was on this occasion, though his whole treasure amounted to but six hundred crowns. All the roads were, however, presently covered with nobles well armed, well equipped, who brought with them their most faithful vassals. Their ancestors did not march to the crusades with more zeal. They were followed by the Protestant ministers, who gave the whole spectacle an air of unity and of austere

devotion. When these caravans, as they may be termed, met, they saluted each other with verses from the scripture. In their hours of recreation, they sung in chorus the psalms of Marot. The gentlemen contributed what they could to form one common treasury. On the day of passover, March 19th, Condé saw around his standard five or six thousand men. After having reached Meaux, he advanced to Paris, where preparations were made to give him a brilliant reception. Chains had been thrown across the streets, and the guards had been doubled at the gates and on the walls. But the Huguenots had no disposition to attack a force so greatly exceeding their own in strength. Condé only solicited a passage for his men by the bridge of St. Cloud, and continued his route on the Loire, where his party had resolved to establish their line of defence. D'Andelot was charged with the care of Orleans, where operations were to commence; and already he had taken the precaution of securing the posts, when, being arrived in sight of the gates of the city, Condé felt all at once his heart fail him, from reflecting on the fatal consequences of this hasty attempt. He halted immediately; but it was now too late. Already they heard the report of the arquebusses, and the bells sounded the tocsin. "We have plunged in so far," said the prince, "that we must drink or drown," and putting his troop into a gallop, he made for the gate of St. John, which D'Andelot had attacked; just at the moment when the latter, overpowered by numbers, was reduced to the necessity of beating a retreat. The arrival of Condé put an end to the combat. In three weeks half the great cities of the kingdom had fallen into the hands of the Huguenots: Blois, Tours, Poitiers, Angiers, Pont-de-Cé, Beaugenci, Pithiviers, Châlons-sur-Saône, Mâcon, La Rochelle, Rouen, Pont-Audemer, Dieppe, Havre-de-Grâce, Bourges, Montauban, Castres, Montpellier, Nisnes, Castelnaudary, Pezenas, Beziers, Agen, Maguelonne, Aigues-Mortes, Orange, Lyons, Pierrélate, Grenoble, Montelemert, Romans, Sisteron, Gap, Tournon, Valence, and other places. In the midst of this universal wreck, the governors of the provinces did not know what part to take, perplexed as they were between the orders of Catherine and those of the triumvirate. "The letters of the Duke of Guise," says Travannes, in his memoirs, "intimated that it was necessary to kill all, and those of the queen to save all." Lorraine took upon himself to enforce by arms the orders that he had sent. From Orleans, where he had established the basis of his operations, Condé called on all the Protestants of the kingdom to join him. The ministers who were with him wrote to the churches, "It is no longer time to discuss; we must execute. Do not be astonished at the orders you may receive." "You must recommend to the gentlemen on horseback, and to the troops on foot," wrote De Beza, "to march immediately, for here the storm will burst, and all depends on the issue of this enterprise." The pillage of the churches and monasteries furnished immense resources for raising and paying the troops. At St. Martin de Tours they found 1,200,000 livres in gold and silver, without reckoning jewellery. The sacred

vases, the shrines of saints, and the ornaments of the church, were made away with to the great scandal of the people, and turned into money, on which Condé, by an audacity sufficiently significant, caused his image to be struck, with the exergue "Louis XIII." He negotiated with the Germans and the Queen of England. Guise claimed the assistance of Philippe II., and that of the pope and the Duke of Savoy. The Swiss hired themselves to both parties. "The foreigners," writes Lanoue, "opened their eyes, and panted to enter France." Before coming to the last extremities, Catherine attempted in vain to avert the horrors of a civil war, by an interview which she procured in the plain of Toury, between Louis and Anthony de Bourbon. The two brothers, each advanced before those who surrounded them, but could not come to any agreement; and the Protestant gentlemen, who had everything to fear from a *pair fourrée*, dragged away in the end the general, in such a way, as almost to force him from his horse, and carried him in triumph to their camp. The reinforcements which the Guises expected from abroad, having at length arrived, war immediately commenced.

At the commencement, Protestants and Catholics rivalled each other in excesses of all kinds. The late profanations of the army of Orleans had wrought up to the highest pitch of exasperation the feelings of the former; and the others had forty years of injuries to avenge. It was necessary to bid adieu to that admirable regularity so much vaunted by Theodore de Beza, who had almost converted these bands into great congregational armies. "It is really a fine thing," said Coligny, "to see such discipline, provided it could last; but I fear that these people will throw away all their goodness at once. I have commanded the infantry, and I know what it is. It often makes good the old proverb, 'a young hermit; an old devil.'" Carried away by hatred, the Huguenots no longer contented themselves with pillaging churches: they overturned altars, mutilated the images of Christ and other statues, burnt the sacred relics, and even opened the graves and dispersed the bones of bishops and monks that had been interred in the churches and abbey. Their enemies were eager not to be left behind in this disgusting race. "Go beyond the heretics," was the language of an order of the parliament at Paris. At Bar-sur-Seine, an attorney preferred an accusation against his son, who was a Calvinist, and caused him to be hung before his eyes. More than five thousand Protestants were massacred at Toulouse in the course of five months. Montluc in Guienne, the Baron des Adrets in Dauphiny, as their orders came from Rome or Geneva, proved that religious passions were as fruitful in perfidy as in cruelty. Neither of them respected a capitulation. Montluc relates to us, very complacently, in his memoirs, that he traversed the fields, accompanied by two executioners, which, he says, "were soon called my lackies, because they were almost constantly with me." Des Adrets killed, burned, and plundered, with a ferocity, which made even his soldiers themselves shudder, "and," says Brantome, he was even feared more than the tempest which desolates the fields." It was

he who, at the fall of Montbrison, contrived for himself a horrible amusement, after dinner, by compelling, one after another, the soldiers of the garrison



to leap from the parapet of a tower. "I saw him," says De Thou, "at Grenoble, in his old age; but it was a strong and vigorous old age, with a fierce aspect, an aquiline nose, lean and withered cheeks, and marked by spots of red, like the paintings of Sylla. We might almost be tempted to think, from reading the history of that sad epoch, that a vapour had arisen from the blood which had been shed, that had turned every man's head, witness that Brissac, of whom Brantome speaks, "too cruel to fight, but ready to kill, who loved to reserve himself till, with his dagger, he could leisurely enjoy the delight of falling on a victim, and of striking him till the blood spirted in his face."

These matters were but the necessary consequences of the war. Leaving ferocious partisans to multiply on all sides of the kingdom second rate hostilities, the chiefs of the two parties appeared in the centre of France, each with seven or eight thousand men, exercising themselves in skirmishes, and the capture of a city by a sudden assault, to prepare the way for deciding between the two religions. After three months of partial fighting on the banks of the Loire, where Guise had retaken Bourges, Tours, Angiers, and Poitiers, at the news of a reinforcement of six thousand men being about to arrive from England to join the Protestants, who, for this

aid, gave up Havre-de-Grâce to Elizabeth, he all at once removed the theatre of war to Normandy, and laid siege to Rouen, where Montgomery, the involuntary author of the death of King Henry, commanded. Attacked on the 25th of September, it was carried by assault a month afterwards, October, 26th; but the Catholic army paid for this success by the loss of the King of Navarre, who, struck in the trenches by an arquebuss shot in the shoulder, died a few days after at Andelys, being then forty-five years of age. He was a weak, irresolute prince. After having confessed one day to his wife, Jeanne d'Albret, that he did not know which was the better religion, Anthony de Bourbon suffered himself in his latter days to be so governed by those who had wished at Amboise to "sell his skin," "that, in this war," says Brantome, "he showed himself most animated, excited, and infatuated, and was ever ready to hang all the Huguenots that fell into his hands, who hated him for it as a merciless fiend." His wife, who, in her youth, loved a ball as well as a sermon, and did not favour this novelty in religion, declined following him in his defection. She lived in retirement on her estates at Bearn, with her child, then nine years of age, whom she was soon to lead into the ranks of those who had killed his father, and who was eventually to become Henry IV.

While these events were passing, D'Anelot advanced to meet the succours which were expected from Germany. On the 6th. of November, he entered Orleans at the head of nine thousand men, of whom two thousand were French, who had joined him on his march. "Our enemies," said Condé, "have given us two severe checks; they have taken our rooks," (meaning Rouen and Bourges) "I hope this time we shall take their knights, if they venture into the field." Marching in person at once to that point where the danger was most imminent, he, on the 25th of November, ranged his army in order of battle under the walls of Paris. After a fruitless attack on the side of the faubourgh St. Victor, Condé had already defied Guise and the constable to meet him in the field, when the queen interposed once more, and proposed that another attempt to effect a pacification should be made. She was so far listened to, that conferences were held on the 2nd and 7th of December, in a mill which stood some four or five hundred paces from the faubourgh St. Marceau. They were attended with the same result which had followed all that had preceded them. Catherine offered to return to the edict of January, but this was not enough for men who had gone so far. Condé demanded absolute liberty of conscience, and the public exercise of Protestant worship. He further claimed that the kingdom should be cleared of all foreigners, Spaniards, Italians, or Germans, who had been called in by any of the hostile parties. This was flatly refused; and all hope of an accommodation being at an end, too weak to maintain himself long before Paris, Condé ordered a retreat on the 10th of December, and took the road to Dreux, which Baubigni had promised to surprise, in consequence of private intelligence which he had received. The Catholic army followed

close behind. At the end of six days, the triumvirs approached within cannon shot of the Huguenots' quarters, which were established at Osmay, near the Eure, and dispatched immediately the sieur de Castelnau, who, marching all night, presented himself at break of day on the following morning, to ask if he might give battle. Perhaps Guise hoped, by taking this course, to compromise her with a party she had always desired to conciliate. The artful Florentine was on her guard not to fall into the snare. Without replying to Castelnau, she turned to the king's nurse, who was in the chamber, and said to her, with an air of indifference, and in a tone of mockery, which she was accustomed to use in all these religious quarrels, "Nurse! here are generals! They send to consult a woman and an infant as to whether they ought to fight." No other answer could be drawn from her, except that she relied on the prudence of her commanders.

The latter did not long deliberate. On the 18th, the Catholics passed the Eure at night, near Dreux, and ranged themselves in battle array, on the road by which Condé was to march in the country near Beauce. On the next morning, at eleven o'clock, the Catholics and Protestants found themselves face to face, without even a ditch to separate them; but though the two armies cannonaded each other, for two full hours, they did no more than skirmish. It was the first time since France had regained her nationality that two French armies had been opposed to each other. "Each," continues Lanoue, "stood firm, reflecting, within themselves, that the enemy coming towards them consisted not of Spaniards, English, or Italians, but French, their own companions, relatives, or friends. They felt that such were those who, in another hour, were to be engaged in killing each other, a thought which inspired horror, without, however, diminishing their courage." The Catholic army consisted of from thirteen to fourteen thousand men, and two thousand horse. Condé had but seven or eight thousand infantry, but his cavalry doubled that of the host opposed to him, which, on such ground, gave him in his manœuvres an important advantage. They at length engaged, and fought during seven hours, with an animosity of which French history affords few examples, and victory seemed at first to incline to the Protestants. The two first corps of the Catholic army, commanded by Montmorency and St. André, were cut to pieces by Condé and Coligny. Montmorency, wounded by a pistol shot in the face, was obliged to surrender to the sieur de Bussy, and would have been massacred by the German horse, if the Prince of St. Porcien, his personal enemy, had not rescued him from their hands. Round Condé the shout of victory was already raised. There remained no longer a *corps de bataille* unbroken, but the Swiss bands, which retired by small detachments, yet still in good order; they still maintained the fight, turning round from time to time, and presenting, in the absence of their pikes, the greater part of which were broken, some their swords, and others throwing stones at those who pursued. But Guise, who commanded the rear guard, had not yet moved. Leaving the two triumvirs, his rivals,

enemies, the representatives and the supporters of the Catholic party. A vote of the assembly held at Paris, while waiting for the second convocation of the states of Orleans, finished the work, and threw him completely into their arms. The Parisian deputies demanded that they should make the favourite of Henry and Francis disgorge what they had received from their sovereign. Montmorency, finding his fortune compromised with that of the Guises, openly joined their party. James d'Albon, Marshal of St. Andre, who was one of those who had profitted by royal largesses, undertook to negotiate this accommodation, and for the price of his labours to that end, got himself comprehended in the treaty which was concluded between Guise and Montmorency. These three, the constable, the marshal, and the duke, formed what was called "the triumvirate." Wanting an honourable pretext for an association, which had been formed for the sole purpose of protecting wealth, of which, to say the least, the origin was suspicious; the triumvirs placed under their august protection the interests of the Catholic religion, badly defended by an incredulous queen and an indifferent minister.

The want of religious zeal on the part of L'hospital did not abate his anxiety to uphold the rights of the crown, and to promote the welfare of the kingdom. All around him seemed to tend to dissolution. The provinces were in a flame: Catholics against Protestants, and Protestants against Catholics; each now could only trust to himself the care of protecting, in his own way, the doctrine that he had embraced. If preachings were often disturbed by violence, the mass could no longer be celebrated with security, and the priests were often insulted in their churches. Calm alone in the midst of the universal agitation, the chancellor strove in vain to enlighten those who cherished these blind hatreds, and to inspire minds generally with that spirit of toleration, which would leave to each, individually, liberty of conscience and of action. "But," said he one day in parliament, "the devil has mixed himself up with religious contests." By perseverance and unconquerable energy, he at length succeeded in obtaining a declaration which ordered the governors of provinces to use their best efforts to appease religious discords, and which forbade the people to apply injurious names to those from whom they differed. Huguenots, as well as Papists, liberated prisoners, and recalled those who had been banished on account of religion. His work, scarcely sketched, was destroyed in the same instant by the edict of July 31st, 1561, by which the parliament, always more hostile to reform in proportion as the court treated it with less rigour, altered very materially the original plan, and took from the Calvinists their cherished right of assembling. In their "apologetic complaint," they asked from the king, "only that some corners of his cities should not be interdicted to their private meetings, without arms." He granted them, it is true, a general amnesty, but under this insulting condition, "provided they should live as Catholics, in peace." It was the Duke of Guise most especially, who, by his

replied, "then we must say the mass in French." Some hours afterwards, De Losse arrived, who informed her of the triumph of the Duke of Guise. Immediately she caused the bells to be rung, the houses to be illuminated, and the streets of Paris were filled with masquerades and processions, in which they sung the praises of the conqueror of Dreux. Never had a subject, since the time of the Duke of Burgundy, such power over royalty. Relieved at the same time by the death of one, and the captivity of the other of the two men, who shared with him the government of his party, and holding in his hands the leader of the opposite faction, whom he calculated on bringing over to his views, as he had done his brother, the King of Navarre, sustained besides by the holy see and Spain, which saw in him the representative of Catholic ideas, Guise elevated himself, in thought, to act the part of the former mayors of the palace, and enjoyed by anticipation all its advantages. Generous and modest towards the rival whom he had conquered, with whom he shared his table and his bed on the evening after his defeat, he spoke as a master in his dispatches to the court, and arrogantly used the expressions "my battle," "my victory." It was necessary to give him a marshal's brevet in blank, that he might bestow it on whom he pleased. Afterwards, he demanded for his officers the cordon of the order of St. Michæl. Catherine obeyed, without saying a word, but she could not contain her indignation. "We have made," she wrote to one of her confidants, "this morning, [January 12th, 1563,] thirty-two knights, because we had not enough of them before; and after that, they say we have done nothing here!" From that time it was the Protestants only that could make head against the duke in the kingdom; and without loss of time he gave them cause to do so. After making such an appearance on the morning following the battle, as might provoke the victors to venture on a new combat, Coligny had quitted Normandy to fall on Orleans, where his brother, D'Andelot, had the command. Guise marched direct to that city, where the principal storm was to be met, according to Theodore de Beza. His remark was, "that the terrier being taken where the forces had retired, would force them to retreat all through France." On the 5th of February, the Catholic army was before Orleans, and attacked the fauxbourg of the Porteraux, which was carried at the first assault. Four days afterwards, the turrets which defended the head of the bridge were taken by surprise; and all was disposed for a general attack, when, on the 18th, in the evening, as Guise was returning from inspecting the works, accompanied only by three men, one of them, Poltrot de Mere, a Protestant gentleman, whom he had received three days before as a deserter, having concealed himself behind a hedge, lodged in his shoulder the contents of a pistol, which had been charged with three poisoned bullets. "They have long meditated this blow," exclaimed the duke, as he fell. Seven days afterwards, he expired, having pardoned his assassin, who, however, was torn to pieces by horses, at the place de Grève, in Paris.

the side of the Catholics appeared the Cardinal of Lorraine, who took upon himself to occupy high ground in the debate, "And there," says Le Laboureur, "he made a great display of doctrine," as did the Cardinal de Bourbon of vast zeal, and Montluc, Bishop of Valence, of much address. The Bishop of Sens, Claude de Xaintes, and Claude d'Espence, caused their great learning to be there admired, their prudence and their piety. These were all necessary, not merely for an imposing display, but to carry on the contest, seeing the Cardinal de Lorraine, who had put himself too forward, wanted support, as did the Bishop of Valence, who was suspected of not being so earnest in the cause as the cardinal. Catherine did not conceal the end she had had in view, in calling both parties together. A worthy niece of Leo X., who had only seen in the first preachings of Luther the quarrel of a man of mind with some Florentine theologians, could not comprehend why they should so furiously commit themselves to questions of discipline and liturgy; and, in her unreflecting ignorance of the absolute spirit of Catholicism, she had, with great simplicity, proposed to the pope, in a letter which she wrote to him at the time of the meeting, to treat with the reformers on one part of their doctrine. We transcribe a fragment of this letter, as a curious monument of the religious sentiments of the princess, who caused the mournful catastrophe of St. Bartholomew. "The reformers are not," said she, "either anabaptists or libertines; they believe the twelve articles of symbols. Many persons of piety also think that they ought not to be cut off from communion with the church, in order not to offend the weakness of some fastidious individuals. What danger would there be in taking away images from the churches, and to repress some unimportant ceremonies in the administration of the sacraments? It would be, moreover, a great benefit to grant to all the faithful the communion in both forms, to abolish certain masses, and to allow the service to be performed in the vulgar tongue. For the rest, they agree that it is proper no innovation should be made in the doctrine and the hierarchy, and they would always preserve for the sovereign pontiff the respect and obedience which are his due." The attitude of the parties at the conference soon taught Catherine how great was the error into which she had fallen, when she supposed that the votaries of different forms of worship could suffer them thus to be altered. The Cardinal de Lorraine had at first given a good reception to De Beza, hoping, perhaps, to gain him over by means other than those which could be used in discussion; but scarcely had the Calvinist orator addressed the assembly, and advanced, in conformity with the views of his sect, that the space between the body of Jesus Christ and the bread used in the sacrament, after consecration, was not less than that between heaven and earth, when an explosion of murmurs rose from the benches on which the doctors and bishops sat, and the orator could not proceed. The Cardinal de Tournon protested that had not the king been present, he should have risen to depart, taking with him all that there was of Catholicism in the assembly.

threatening openly to take satisfaction for the death of the late Duke of Guise, by justice or by force, and presented, after vespers, kneeling, a request to the king. "It seems to me," said Charles, "I have heard it said God makes kings reign by honour and justice; that is the reason I have already told my cousin I will cause that to be done which you have required from me. I wish it to be done openly, and in such a manner, that God and the world shall be satisfied, and my conscience discharged." The latter sentences were nothing less than a threat of death held out against Coligny, whom the Lorraines loudly accused of having prompted the assassin who had murdered the Duke of Guise. The admiral defended himself with warm indignation against the charge, notwithstanding the confessions made, extorted on the rack probably, by the criminal himself. It, however, appears certain, that he had sent Poltrot to the Catholic camp, and that he had given him a hundred crowns to purchase the Spanish horse, on which he attempted to make his escape, after committing the deed. The political party had too rudely disturbed the equilibrium, in deciding on the question. They were subsequently content to make up this affair. Coligny swore that he was innocent, and was believed on his word. Three years afterwards, in 1566, the admiral and Henry de Guise, the eldest son of the late duke, embraced each other before all the court. On the value of such embraces we need not dwell. When Henry, who was but seventeen years of age, approached the man who he believed to have brought about the death of his father, he was observed to start with horror; and on the evening of the day on which the public embrace took place, his uncle, the Duke d'Aumale, wanted to draw swords with Coligny. The "third party" gained a recruit in this affair, Francis de Montmorency, the eldest son of the constable, governor of l'Isle-de-France, who, espousing the quarrel of his cousin, Coligny, declared himself from that moment a sworn enemy to the Guises.

The latter, dismissed from office by Catherine, eclipsed at court by the favour of the Protestant chiefs, and forced to bend before Coligny, renewed with new activity their foreign relations, and attempted the manœuvres of the league, by forcing, in concert with the Constable de Montmorency, a rising of the people against heresy, which royal authority was obstinately resolved to tolerate. In Languedoc, in Burgundy, and in Paris, and in many other parts of the kingdom, they got up conspiracies, the object of which was nothing less than a sort of popular massacre of St. Bartholomew. At Paris alone, a list of three hundred persons, who had been proscribed, was prepared and signed by the constable. All was ready for a rising, and the houses condemned to be pillaged were marked. Catherine, who still kept terms with the Huguenots, took her son to Paris; and, not content with arresting the plot by her presence, she caused that night some of those to be hanged from their windows, who had been most active in promoting it. The movement, notwithstanding, continued in the provinces. In Burgundy, the Catholics had formed a league under the name of "the

brotherhood of the Holy Ghost." Pius IV., who occupied the pontifical chair, wished, in his turn, to interfere in favour of Catholicism. He issued a bull, which suspended the thunders of the church over the heads of the prelates of the French church accused of heresy, and cited them to appear at Rome, to give an account of their faith. The Queen of Navarre was included in this menace. Too faithful to the ancient formula, Pius declared her to have forfeited royalty, if, in six months, she did not appear, and give up her estates to the former occupant. This was going rather too far, and the parliament, zealous as they were against reform, no longer understood the propriety of a court giving up a kingdom to the temporal guardianship of the pope. Pius IV. soon perceived that he had attempted too much; and in order to allay the storm he had raised, prudently recalled his bull.

He was then occupied with the project of bringing the labours of the council of Trent to a termination. "After many interruptions," says Paolo, "the council slept so soundly, that it was hardly known whether it was alive or dead." The business, however, was seriously resumed under Pius IV. All the nations interested in its deliberations, but more especially France, were impatient for its close, that its decisions might form a rampart against the new gospellers. Up to this period, some of their pretensions had appeared admissible, even to the more zealous Catholics. Such were the marriages of the priests, the communion under both forms, and other points of discipline, which whole nations desired to see established; but the bishops, not wishing to fall into any arrangements dictated by human prudence alone, repulsed unanimously the novelties which it was sought to introduce. They laid down canons clear and precise, which thenceforth fixed immoveably the Catholic faith; and after twenty-five sessions, spread over a space of twenty years, the council broke up early in December, 1562.

The Cardinal de Lorraine had appeared there with much éclat. He proved himself, in more than one respect, a man of capacity, for he did not confine himself to the immediate business of the council. Such an assembly, to which ministers were sent from nearly all the powers of Europe, offered too fine an occasion for the exercise of the politician's skill, for him not to profit from it. He formed connexions with the greater part of them, of which the object was only seen in their consequences. It is believed that the first effects of the measures then concerted, was the solemn embassy which came to France early in the following year, on the part of the sovereign pontiff, the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy.

The object of this great demonstration was to make Catherine exert herself more effectually, and to waken her slumbering zeal. That the decisions of the council of Trent should be recognised by France was demanded by the ambassadors, and the strict suppression of heresy. To conciliate the cardinal, who had prompted the whole proceeding, they demanded the trial and punishment of the assassins of his brother. Catherine had not yet chosen her party. Her son replied by asserting generally his

reverence for religion, and his love of impartial justice. For the rest, he told the ambassadors, he would write to their masters. Notwithstanding this, the solemnity of the step had produced a strong impression. The timid coldness of the political party began to present its dangers. Catherine, always regarding the question in a personal point of view, suffered herself to be carried away by what she deemed prudence, to adopt the most violent councils. The Huguenots took no middle course. Still more intolerant in their manner, their excitement was increased, in proportion as they felt that they were losing that protection which till then had been extended to them by the crown. Catherine found one day in her chamber an anonymous letter, in which she was threatened with the poniard, if she did not send all the Catholics away that were about her person. More energetically to condemn the dissolute manners which prevailed at court, the consistory of one of the central provinces had just caused to be hanged an adulteress, with the partner of her crime; and from that moment all chance of an accommodation between the reformers, and that numerous swarm of young females, whose charms Catherine had been accustomed to put forward in furtherance of her policy, was wholly out of the question.

The Italian genius of the Florentine did not betray itself merely in this odious system of corrupt calculation; like a true daughter of the Medicis, Catherine found leisure, amidst so much painful occupation, to show her taste for regal splendour. At the commencement of 1564, she left the Château of Tournelles, her former abode, and caused to be built, behind the Louvre, a palace on the ground of the Tuileries, so called, because tiles had, for a long period, been made on that spot. While John Goujon prepared, at an immense expence, the new abode which she had chosen, Catherine, with her son, set out on a long journey in the south of France, undertaken with the twofold object of studying the disposition of the provinces, and treating with the neighbouring powers, which seemed disposed to interfere by force, or otherwise, with the affairs of her kingdom. In Lorraine and Burgundy, whither they first proceeded, the population, being zealous Catholics, received the court with shouts of "Long live the king! the queen and the mass!" but in the countries of the Lyonese, in Dauphiny, and Languedoc, where the Huguenots had prevailed in the recent struggles, a most desolate spectacle was presented to the eyes of the young king. In more than one place, they had abolished the mass, and massacred the priests, and all who were connected with them. He found, in from twenty to twenty-five leagues of territory, nothing but ruined churches. Everywhere the cross reversed attested the fury of party. At Nancy, the queen entered into negotiations with the Protestant princes, and succeeded in detaching the Marquis of Baden, and John William of Saxony, from the cause of the Protestants of France. In the month of August, the royal cortege having just been established in the Château de Rousillon, in Dauphiny, the Duke and Duchess of Savoy had long conferences with the queen, from which, perhaps,



The Tuileries.

emanated the edict of Rousillon-sur-Rhone, which infringed still more what remained to the Huguenots of the liberties, promised in the convention of Amboise. At Avignon, all seemed to be given up to rejoicing; and though



the visit to the legate was purely complimentary, Catherine found a Florentine there, the confidant of Pius IV., who had sent him to her, at her request, and with whom she treated on state affairs while the public ministers were occupied with pleasure. Of all these interviews, the most important was that at Bayonne. There Catherine met her daughter, Elizabeth of France, accompanied by the Duke of Alva, the adviser and the right hand of the gloomy Philippe II., who had come to negotiate his passage to the Low Countries. The youths, who surrounded the two queens, filled the city with the noise of their fêtes; but at night, at the moment when balls and joyous masquerades occupied the general attention, the Duke of Alva arrived by a private staircase, which led to the apartments of the king, and discussed with Charles and his mother the concerns of Huguenotism. The Spaniard displayed much bitterness, as Coligny had proposed to the queen to go at the head of his co-religionists, to defend the rebels of the Low Countries, and to reunite Flanders to the kingdom of which it had so long formed a part. One speech which occurred in the mysterious conferences which took place about this period, will suffice to indicate the nature of the council by which Alvares de Toledo endeavoured to snatch the queen from the influence of "the political party." "Ten thousand frogs," said he one day, when speaking of the chiefs of the Protestant party, "are not worth the head of a single salmon." His dispatches, which are preserved in the archives of Simancas, prove that the plan of a general massacre of the Huguenots was already debated in a sub committee. The court, meanwhile, returned, after a three years absence, in the central provinces, having

combined the means of a general attack. Charles IX., accustomed, up to this period, to take no part in relation to public affairs, but that which his mother approved, after his journeying, was animated by a feeling of bitter indignation against the Protestants, who had covered his kingdom with ruins; and the turbulent fury of this sickly youth burst out in bitter expressions, which were not vainly uttered, falling as they did on the ears of men whose minds were inflamed like those by which he was surrounded. "It will not be long," said Charles to Coligny, one day, when he was more than ordinarily fatigued by the perpetual demands of the Protestants, "before you will be content to be endured by the Catholics; now, you claim to be equals; you will soon aspire to supremacy, and try to drive us out of the kingdom."

The Catholic fraternities actively forwarded their military organization; and the reformers were more than ever on the *qui vive*. The brethren had fixed days and places of meeting, dinners, exercises, and a common purse. To these it was only necessary to add an oath, binding each individual member to employ all his means, and to risk his life, in the defence of the Catholic faith, in case of any attack. With this formula the fraternities became in each city a united body, resembling a corps of troops, prepared to act on the order of their chiefs, under their banners and military standards. On the other hand, the Calvinists acted as if they had been in an enemy's country. They had signals of intelligence, rallying words, modes of recruiting and receiving, routes traced out for them, entrepôts marked, magazines of arms, and everything necessary, at the first signal, to produce a general rising. Each party regarded the other with painful suspicion, waiting but for a pretext to have recourse to arms. This was soon furnished by Catherine. The Duke of Alva, having commenced his march to the Low Countries, passed by the side of France, the frontier of Savoy, and the borders of Lorraine. The queen affected to be apprehensive of an attack, and called together an assembly, half Catholics and half Protestants, who unanimously came to a resolution in favour of arming, to protect themselves against the designs which Catherine imputed to the Spaniards. Condé and Coligny offered to superintend the execution of the measures now resolved upon, at the head of their co-religionists; but Catherine was fixed not to avail herself of this offer, which would have legally placed an army under them, on which they might have calculated at a subsequent period. She raised five thousand Swiss in the Catholic cantons; she took care not to give brevets of companies but to those on whom she could rely; and while this was doing, Alvares had passed quietly along the frontier. He already approached the confines of the Low Countries; but the court not the less occupied itself in preparing for war. The Swiss advanced towards the interior of the kingdom, commanded by a Colonel Pfiffer, the most skilful captain of the country; and reports were abroad that a great blow was to be struck. Turning to account the advice which the Duke of Alva had given, the queen meditated seizing on Coligny and Condé, who, at the

aspect of the danger which threatened their friends, had abruptly broken through those bonds, by which it was attempted to restrain them. The prince and the admiral penetrated her design. Couriers soon arrived from different parts of the kingdom, which announced that the roads were thronged with a multitude of gentlemen, cavaliers, and infantry, all taking their way towards the court. "Had there been an army of Huguenots on foot I should have known it," exclaimed the constable. L'hopital treated as falsehoods the advices which Castelnau brought on his return from Flanders. Simply as a matter of prudence, the court quitted Monceaux, a beautiful country house in Brie, but open on every side, and took up its abode behind the walls of Meaux. A person of distinction, who was sent to Chatillon to observe the admiral, found him dressed as a gardener, and



superintending his grapes. This was on the 26th of September; and on the 28th, all France was in a flame.

A large body of cavaliers suddenly assembled at Rosay, a small town four leagues from Meaux, of which the ramparts, being in many parts defective, seemed in no state long to resist an attack from rebels. The sudden arrival of Pfiffer, with his six thousand men, saved the court, which was then at bay. The Swiss formed themselves into a square battalion, and received in the midst of them the king, the queen, and all the ladies, whom they conducted, their pikes in their rests, to Paris. The Duke de Nemours opened the march with the king's light horse, and a handful of archers on horseback. The constable, with the rear-guard, commanded the soldiers of the court, mounted on small horses, having for all arms their swords, and a few pistols, but neither powder nor shot. Fortunately, the Swiss protected this body of gentlemen, who were so ill provided in case of attack. Condé and D'Anelot appeared, and made some attempts on their flank, and exchanged pistol shots with the men in the first rank, endeavouring to break through that

ledge of pikes which guarded such precious treasures. On hearing the first reports of fire arms, Charles furiously hastened to the centre of the battalions, sword in hand. But for Montmorency, who restrained him, he would have passed the protecting line, and charged the rebels himself. "The Swiss," says Lanoue, "often turned round, as a furious wild boar turns on the hunters that pursue him." No impression could be made on them; and the next morning Charles, having moved on before them with a body of three hundred men, who had come to meet him at Bourget, received them at the gate St. Martin, overwhelming them with thanks and eulogies. "But for my good companions, the Swiss," said he, "my life or my liberty would have been in great peril."

The Protestant army had followed close to the royal escort. On the fifth day after the advance from Meaux, Condé had established himself at St. Denis, and, without considering the number of his men, commenced the blockade of Paris, burning mills, securing routes and bridges, and intercepting, by means of small parties which he had dispersed over the country, everything that approached from Normandy, Picardy, and Boulogne. One month was thus spent, during which it was in vain attempted to open negotiations. On the 10th of November, Montmorency resolved to bring this state of things to a close, quitted Paris with all his army, which comprehended twelve thousand infantry, and two thousand five hundred horse, and drew up his troops in order of battle, in front of the villages La Chapelle and La Vilette. Condé and Coligny had with them but twelve hundred horse, and eighteen hundred infantry, and not a single piece of cannon. They, nevertheless, accepted the offered battle; and made, at the first onset, so terrible a charge on the left wing of the Catholics, that they gave way, and were driven into the middle of La Chapelle. Condé, arriving the same moment, opened a passage to the constable, who, notwithstanding he was seventy-four years of age, still fought with the courage and vigour of a young man. He soon found himself abandoned by his people in the midst of an enemy's squadron. Wounded in many places about the face and head, he was about to give up his sword, when Robert Stuart, a Scotchman, presented a pistol at him. "You do not know me," exclaimed the constable. "It is because I *do* know you," replied the other, "that I use this pistol;" and so saying, he immediately shot Montmorency in the reins. They were so close to one another, that Montmorency, rallying the remains of his strength, struck the Scotchman with the pommel of his sword, and broke with the blow, part of the assailant's jaw bone. Both fell at the same moment from their horses. The Swiss were on the point of dispersing; but D'Aumale and Damville kept them in their ranks. The cavalry of Condé had been cut to pieces; and the prince himself, surrounded in his turn by the enemy, had turned his horse towards St. Denis. The Catholics remained on the field of battle till midnight, and proclaimed themselves conquerors, but the contest had not lasted more than three quarters of an hour, and the

loss was nearly equal on both sides. "It is not your majesty who has gained the battle," said the Marshal de la Vieille-Ville to Charles, "and still less the Prince of Condé; it is the King of Spain." Catherine was not of that opinion. "This day," said she, "I owe two great obligations to Heaven; one, that the constable has avenged the king on his enemies, the other that the enemies of the king have defeated the constable. Montmorency expired at Paris on the third day after receiving his wound, preserving to the last the blunt rudeness of "the great snarler." "Dost thou think," said he, when dying, to the ecclesiastic who pressed his exhortations upon him, "that a man who has lived nearly eighty years with honour requires to be instructed how to die for a quarter of an hour?" He died November 12th, 1567.

The day after the battle, the reformers advanced to burn the houses in La Chapelle, and sent forward, in bravado, their parties to the barriers of the faubourgs. They, however, could no longer maintain themselves in their encampment at St. Denis, from want of provisions and forage. John Casimir, the son of the Count Palatine of the Rhine, brought to them, from Germany, seven thousand horse soldiers, and four thousand infantry. They advanced by the route of Lorraine, having the royal army close behind, commanded by the Duke of Anjou, a youth of sixteen, who was destined to do more harm to the Huguenots than all the old commanders in the wars of Flanders and Italy, whose fortune had so indifferently answered to their courage. The march was long and painful; the soldiers of Condé, wanting everything, were obliged to seek at a great distance, in the scattered cabins, the food of which they stood in need. The horses were unshod; the soldiers almost naked, and they marched without shoes through the snow and the mud. They reached at length the further bank of the Meuse, towards the end of the month; but it was not till after six days of anxious expectation that they perceived the approach of the German cavalry. A new source of embarrassment then arose. A hundred thousand crowns had been promised to Prince Casimir, and there were not two thousand in the military chest. The German infantry threatened immediately to withdraw, if their pay were not forthcoming. In this situation of things, making a virtue of necessity, every one, down to the followers of the army, and the children of plunder, gave up whatever they had that was most valuable; and the spirit of emulation became so great, that at last it was considered a disgrace to have contributed but little. In this way 30,000 crowns were collected, with which the Germans were obliged to be content; and immediately Condé commenced his march toward the centre of the kingdom. His army rapidly increased as he advanced; and he had with him more than twenty thousand men when he appeared before Chartres, to which place he forthwith laid siege. The walls were previously so much dilapidated, that in a few hours they made a breach sixteen paces wide. "It was, however, here to be proved," says Lanoue, "that there are no walls like brave men." Bordet, Flocat, and the

chevalier Lignieres, who commanded in the fortress, defended it so well, that the Calvinists soon despaired of ever effecting an entrance. The German auxiliaries deserted them in crowds. The gentlemen who had rejoined Condé near Meaux, thinking the struggle was to be decided by a *coup de main*, complained that they had been kept five months in arms, and demanded to be released. Catherine took advantage of their weariness to propose an accommodation; and on the 23rd of March, 1567, the treaty of Longjumeau was signed, which promised oblivion for the past, and replaced the Calvinists under the protection of the edict of January.

This war had terminated the irresolution of the court. Charles found himself, on the road to Meaux, constantly pursued by his subjects, and obliged to shelter himself behind the pikes of his "good companions, the Swiss." Forced to change her policy, in consequence of the rancour of her son, Catherine had at length chosen her party, and now only thought of exterminating the Calvinists. The peace of Longjumeau was but an ingenious snare to bring about the disbanding of that powerful army. Throughout the kingdom the populace were excited against the heretics; ambushades, outbreaks, and even poniards and poison, were all put in requisition to effect their destruction; and, if the historians of the party may be credited, more than ten thousand of them perished by such means, within the space of half a year! "The political party" sighed to find the councils of Rome and Spain thus forced upon them. Too prudent, however, to compromise themselves by any open insurrection, they avenged their wrongs by innocent pleasantries on the mortifications which the court caused them to experience. The peace of Longjumeau, which it so badly observed, was called "the little peace," "the lame and imperfectly settled peace;" in allusion to the two plenipotentiaries of the queen, the Lord of Malassise, and Biron, who were lame. The rage of the Protestants, though they did not act uniformly on one system, was much more vivid, and still more mercenary. They, however, did not dare to move, separated as they were from each other, and distributed all over the kingdom. "We have acted foolishly," said they, who had been most favourable to the peace, "but we must now drink of the cup we have prepared, bitter as the draught may prove." Another act of treachery, directed against the chiefs of the party, caused them immediately to resume their arms.

Condé had retired into his Château of Noyers, in Burgundy; Coligny had repaired thither to rejoin; him and Catherine thought this a favourable opportunity for destroying, by a single blow, her two most dreaded enemies; and accordingly sent an order to Travannes, the governor of the province, to seize them in Noyers, and to bring them to her dead or alive. Tavannes was a Catholic, and, carried away by zeal, was eager for the adoption of strong measures; but he became voluntarily one of "the third party," as soon as he found that by doing so, he might get forward. Thus circumstanced, he hesitated to take upon himself the responsibility of an act so odious, and

he therefore caused the courier to pass to the environs of Noyers, with his letters to the court. There, the courier was seized, as he expected he would be, and letters were found upon him, in which were these words: "The stag is in the toils; the chase is prepared." More was not necessary. In the night of the 25th of August, the guests of Noyers commenced their journey, taking with them all their families, wives, children, and nurses.



Part of them were on horseback, and some in litters, this small troop traversed almost the whole of the kingdom, with an escort of a hundred and fifty men, through detachments of cavalry spread over the country, and troops which were stationed to cut off all the passages. On the 18th of September, the prince and the admiral entered La Rochelle, a city wholly Protestant, where they were soon joined by Jeanne d'Albret, and her son, Henry de Bearn. The war was presently rekindled in all the provinces. The Calvinist noblesse of Gascony and Poitou soon raised an army for the two fugitives. In Languedoc, the Baron d'Acies, James de Crussol, assembled round him twenty-five thousand men. After a long series of bloody combats with Brissac, Montluc, and the Duke de Montpensier, Crussol conducted to La Rochelle what remained of the soldiers, while D'Anselot led thither the Huguenots of Britany, Normandy, Maine, and Anjou. Towards the end of September, Condé found himself at the head of forty thousand infantry, and ten thousand horse. The Duke of Anjou, whom Catherine had sent against him, with an army as numerous as his own, and better equipped, made head against him during the winter, in Bas Poitou, Le Limousin, and Angoumois, contenting himself with harassing the enemy, without seeking to engage in a general action, but cherishing the hope that his soldiers would disband themselves, worn out by fatigue and privation. Condé, who sometimes said that "an army is a monster, who commences to form itself by the stomach," had taken care from the first to provide himself with immense resources, by selling the goods of the clergy in the provinces which he occupied. Those of La Rochelle had made him a present of 60,000 crowns; and the pirates

who scoured the seas, laid violent hands on all the vessels of the Catholics, to whatever nation they might belong, and largely provisioned his magazines. The spring arrived, and Henry of Anjou at length decided to try his fortune in a combat; and on the 13th of March, 1569, the two armies, drawn up on the banks of La Charente, attacked each other near Jarnac, a little town on the frontier of Angoumois and Du Limousin. Condé, who the evening before had fallen from his horse, appeared in the midst of his cavaliers with his arm in a sling, exhorting them to act valiantly, when the horse of the Count de Larochevoucauld, capering near him, broke the prince's leg. "You see," he coolly remarked, "that a spirited horse is dangerous on the day of battle," and without taking any further notice of the accident, he ordered the charge to be sounded, calling to his people, "It is delightful to encounter peril for Christ and our country." If we may credit Tavannes, Coligny and D'Andelot acted very indifferently on this occasion. They approached the enemy till within the length of their lances, and then, turning suddenly to the left, abandoned the Prince of Orange, who, thus forsaken, was forced alone to meet the enemy. Thrown from his horse in the conflict, Condé, with his broken leg, could not rise, and already he had tendered his sword to the sieur de Argence; "But," says Brantome, "he had been recommended to many favourites of monseigneur;" and Montesquiou, captain of the Swiss guards of the Duke of Anjou, ran to the prince, whom D'Argence had carried to the foot of a tree, and exclaiming like a fury, "Kill! kill!" blew his head to pieces, by a pistol shot fired from behind. Condé was thirty-nine years of age at the time of his death.

Victory remained to the Catholics, but it led to no important result. The Protestant army had lost but a few hundreds of men, and Coligny, on whom the sole command now devolved, conducted it in good order to Cognac. The death of their chief was far from humbling them, if we may judge from the following song, which they sung to the sound of the trumpet in their camp.

Le prince de Condé
Il a été tué;
Mais monsieur l'amiral
Est encore a cheval,
Avec Larochevoucauld
Pour écraser tous ces papaux.

Which may be thus paraphrased:

Though Condé's noble prince
Is killed without remorse,
Monsieur the admiral
Still mounts the warrior's horse;
And Larouchefoucauld crushes hope
In all who battle for the pope.

Jeanne d'Albret soon presented herself to the camp of Cognac, with her son, Henry de Bearn, and her nephew, Henry de Condé, who was then

seventeen years of age, "Here my friends," said she, on entering the camp, "here are new chiefs, whom God sends you, and two orphans, whom



I confide to your care." It was a Protestant bullet that had made the first an orphan, but he was nevertheless recognised as the head of the Calvinistic league; and Jeanne, to mark her resolution, and that of her son, caused a medal to be struck, which presented her likeness on one side, and on the other that of her son, with the inscription, "PAX CERTA, VICTORIA INTEGRA, MORS HONESTA," (secure peace, complete victory, glorious death.)

The Catholics, wishing to improve their success, proceeded to besiege the vanquished in Cognac; but they were soon taught, to use the expression of Lanoue, "that such cats are not to be taken without gloves." They were so vigorously received, that they were obliged to abandon the undertaking; and a reinforcement of thirteen thousand men, that joined Coligny in Guienne, having enabled him to resume the offensive, he entered the Limousin, and attacked the Catholics at La Roche-Abeille. The Duke of Anjou remained entrenched in his camp, protected by a large marsh, and on an eminence where the Swiss were posted; but Strozzi, who commanded the two best regiments in the army, obstinately insisted on cantoning them away from the marsh, in a place planted with hedges and chesnut trees, where they could have more shade, and more fresh air. It was against him that the Protestants directed all their force. The rain, which had just fallen, had extinguished the matches of the arquebusses, and his soldiers, reduced to fight with the sword only, yielded at length to numbers, after a desperate resistance. Some succeeded in climbing the height, others were put to death

without pity [June 23rd]. The design of the admiral, after gaining this advantage, which was followed by the disbanding of a portion of the Catholic troops, was to secure Bas Poitou, which the Catholics had called "their milch cow." Thence he proposed passing the Loire, and proceeding to Saumur, in order to carry hostilities to the walls of Paris in the course of the autumn, "a city never favourable to peace till it found the scourge of war at its gates." The solicitations of some of his gentlemen, who had property near Poitiers, caused him to halt before that place, to which he laid siege on the 24th of July. Coligny was destined to regret this enterprise. "These great cities," said he, "are the sepulchres of armies." Henry de Guise, and his brother, the Duke of Mayence, who had thrown themselves into Poitiers, detained him there six weeks; and sickness having found its way into the camp, Coligny himself afflicted with dysentery, was about to raise, ingloriously, the siege, when the Duke of Anjou offered him an honourable retreat, by making an attack on Chatellerault, on the 7th of September. Weakened by the severe losses which he had sustained at Poitiers, Coligny waited, in the hope of striking some great blow, or the arrival of Montgomery, who had gone to re-establish in Bearn the domination of Jeanne d'Albret; but the German cavalry, who hired themselves out for a campaign, and for a given period, and who during several months received no pay, demanded to be led to battle, and the two armies being face to face on the plain of Moncontour, in Poitou, nothing could restrain them. Their ardour extended to the followers of the army, who came in a crowd to throw themselves into the ranks; and the disorder continued when the Catholics had arrived. There wanted but half an hour to reason with this warlike frenzy. At the first charge, the Calvinists were broken; and Coligny, mingled with the crowd of fugitives, and seeking to rally them, received a pistol shot, which broke his lower jaw. Notwithstanding the blood, which nearly choked him, he gave his orders in a voice almost stifled; but this army, animated all at once with such ungovernable fury, could no longer listen to anything. The admiral was at last carried away in a litter, and then a frightful massacre of the Protestants ensued. The conquerors excited each other to the work of carnage, crying "Roche-Abeille, Roche-Abeille," to avenge the soldiers of Strozzi, who were so cruelly butchered. Those who could escape dispersed on all sides, in such a manner, that of twenty-five thousand men that were with him in the morning, there remained to Coligny but three thousand horse, at the head of which was St. Jean d'Angely.

The Protestants thought all was lost, and began to talk of getting on board the first vessels that arrived, to fly to England or Germany. Coligny raised their drooping courage; and while the army which Charles IX., jealous of his brother, came to command in person, lost precious time on the side of Saintonge and Poitou, the wreck of the Calvinist bands moved on Languedoc, intending at any risk, if pressed too close, to entrench themselves in the Cevennes, or in the mountains of Auvergne and of Vivarais, where

they could prolong indefinitely the warfare. It would have been easy to crush them on their route, for Coligny had only cavalry, the horses were foundered and unshod; and often it happened that a body of peasants were able to throw the whole troop into disorder. But Damville, who commanded there, made it his business to take care of his cousin; "and suffered," Lanoue tells, "this snowball to roll on without hindrance, till it became as large as a house." Montgomery arrived from Bearn with his victorious army; and the churches of the country furnished numerous recruits of infantry. At the commencement of the spring of the following year, 1570, Coligny descended from the mountains of Upper Languedoc, to carry fire and sword into the plains below. Notwithstanding all the efforts of Montluc, after approaching Nismes, and passing along the right bank of the Rhone, he traversed the Vivarais, and entered Burgundy, where he was rejoined by the German cavalry of the Count Palatine. Having vanquished thirteen thousand men, under Cossé Gonnor, at Arnay le Duc [June 25th], Coligny had thrown his troops into the country between L'Yonne and the Loire, where they lived at discretion, threatening at the same time l'Isle de France and the Orleanists; when Catherine, despairing of gaining her ends by force, over a party which seemed to acquire new strength from defeat, resolved to negotiate with the Protestants, and made peace with them by the treaty of St. Germain-en-Laye, which was signed on the 18th of August. Besides the liberty previously accorded by other treaties, it gave them four cities of safety, which were to remain for two years in the hands of the Princes of Navarre and Conde: La Charite, La Rochelle, Cognac and Montauban.

The two lords who negotiated the peace of St. Germain-en-Laye, were the same who had before negotiated that of Longjumeau; and the surname which had been gained for that pacification, applied still more mournfully to the one last concluded. Immediately after the signature of the treaty, the Protestant party withdrew to La Rochelle, where they remained in the attitude of a hostile power; the war was at an end, but no reconciliation had been effected. Catherine sent two lords to La Rochelle, authorised to negotiate the marriage of her daughter with Henry of Bearn; and in order more certainly to draw thither the Chatillons, she favoured the dream of Coligny, who was to go with the Gueux of Flanders, to repel the domination of Spain. This perfidious step, if it be true that Catherine already meditated the massacre of St. Bartholomew, was crowned with complete success. The little Calvinistic court repaired to Blois, to that of Charles IX., who received it with every demonstration of the most lively satisfaction and good will. "I clasp your hand," said he to Coligny, when the latter came to throw himself at his feet, "and we will part no more till you desire it." Of these equivocal words, the true meaning is now sufficiently apparent. The young king, at the close of the interview, said to the queen "Now, madam, have I not played my part well?"—"Yes," replied Catherine, "but it is nothing to make a good beginning, if we do not go on to the end."

This passed in the middle of 1571. Notwithstanding all the royal protestations, the Huguenot lords had still their suspicions. It had been arranged that the marriage of the Prince of Bearn should take place in the capital. "If these nuptials are celebrated at Paris," said the father of Sully, "the liveries will be vermillion." Various indications, from day to day, seemed to announce that a new treason was hatching. Odet de Châtillon, who had taken refuge with Elizabeth at the breaking out of the last war, had just been poisoned by his own servant, when he was on the point of returning to France. Jeanne d'Albret, having resolved to visit Paris, in order to hasten the marriage of her son, died of an abscess, June 9th, 1572. The physicians, on opening her body, found no traces of poison; but they did not examine her head; and her domestics reported, that on the day when she was taken ill, an Italian merchant, named René, had sold her gloves, which were scented with poison. René himself made it a boast, after the affair of St. Bartholomew, that he had done so. The king, however, had always called her "his dear aunt," "his all in all," "his best beloved." From all sides advices reached Coligny of the coming danger. His friends wrote to him from La Rochelle and from Geneva, that he ought to suspect the court. Taligni, his son-in-law, the most skilful diplomatist of the party, urged him to consult his safety by a timely retreat. In a short time many of his officers set him the example. "I am going away," said one of them, whose name was Langoiran, on coming to take leave of him, "they pay us here too much attention; I had rather be saved with the fools, than perish with the wise." But Coligny had determined on the course which he would take. He was tired of being engaged in civil wars, and declared, that rather than see things again thrown into confusion, he would prefer being himself dragged bleeding through the streets of Paris. The king seemed, from day to day, to incline more to the idea of sending the Protestant army to the Low Countries. Brantome tells, "that, being at La Rochelle, the admiral said to him, remarking on the character of his Huguenots, that if he did not amuse and occupy them elsewhere, he was certain they would break out again, so well he knew their restless character, and their eagerness for plunder." The marriage of Margaret and Henry was celebrated August 18th, 1572; and Coligny, entering Nôtre Dame to attend the ceremony, perceived, suspended to the arches, the colours taken by the Catholics at Jarnac, and at Moncontour. "Those," said he, "are sad trophies; but they will soon be replaced by others of a more agreeable character." Four days afterwards, while returning to his own home, at eleven in the forenoon, turning back to see the king play at tennis, Coligny was hit by two pistol balls, in the right hand and the left elbow, while passing before the cloister St. Germain l'Auxerrois, where Villemar, preceptor to the Duke of Guise, was lodged. "There," he calmly exclaimed, "is the fruit of my reconciliation with the Duke of Guise." His people forced open the doors of the house immediately, but the assassin was no longer there. It was an adventurer, named



Charles IX. visiting Admiral Coligny.

Maurevel, already known for having treacherously killed Morey, one of the bravest Huguenot captains. It was ascertained that he had found a horse behind the garden, ready to mount, and had fled with all speed by the rue St. Antoine.

When it was reported to the king, who was still engaged at play, that the admiral had been wounded, and conveyed to his house bleeding, and supported by his domestics, he furiously threw his racket away, exclaiming, "Am I never to know repose?—am I to see new troubles every day?" It is not known with certainty, whether at this period the great character of Coligny might not have gained on that susceptible and extravagant nature, which seemed to take to good or evil by starts, and many believed that great changes would have been witnessed, had not Catherine had the ordering of the young monarch. It is even probable that the ambitious fears of the queen mother, had joined with the raging thirst for vengeance of the house of Guise, to prompt the crime of Maurevel. In the afternoon of the 22nd, Charles went to visit the admiral, accompanied by his mother and the Duke of Anjou, and the Marshals of France; and Villeroy affirms in his memoirs, that during the whole interview, which lasted about an hour, Catherine never moved from the side of the king. She remained close to him, as if she had feared to lose one of the words addressed by the admiral to her son; and in the account of it, which the Duke of Anjou afterwards dictated in Poland, to Miron, his physician, he described Coligny to have found an opportunity for whispering a few sentences into the ear of the king, and added, his mother and himself, seeing themselves in that chamber, were seized with sudden alarm. For many years, the admiral had been the chief of the Huguenots, and they were so much accustomed to recognise no other sovereign, that being little satisfied with the protestations of Charles, whose sincerity they doubted, they everywhere repeated, that "if the king did not do them justice, they would themselves take it." Pardaillon said this aloud at the supper of the queen. De Piles, carried away by his feelings, burst into threats in the presence of the king himself. The indiscreet words, violent gestures, and supercilious frown of this rash lord, made the king and all the Catholics of the court shudder. The queen mother and the Guises had not a moment to lose. A lackey of the house of Villemar had been put to the torture; and the Huguenots began tumultuously to assemble. Skilfully profiting from these imprudent demonstrations, Catherine made the king afraid of the admiral, by bringing before him the plan of a conspiracy. She represented to him, that immediately after his wound, Coligny had sent dispatches to Germany and Switzerland, calling for an army of twenty thousand men. She, moreover, warned him, that in case of new collisions with the Huguenots, the Catholics had decided to league themselves together, as their rivals did, under chiefs, whom they would choose, without troubling themselves more about royal intervention. "On this subject," Miron says, "these considerations produced a wonderful and strange metamorphosis in

the king, for if it had been before difficult to persuade, it was now still more difficult to restrain him. Rising immediately, he said to us in rage, swearing by the dead D—, that 'since they found it good to kill the admiral, he willed that it should be so, and not only the admiral, but also all the Huguenots of France, in order that not one should remain to reproach him, and he wished that orders should be given to that effect promptly.'

Then it was that the massacre of St. Bartholomew was decided upon. In the night between the 23rd and 24th of August, the tocsin was sounded from the bell of the palace clock, and immediately commenced, in every part of the city, those sad scenes which were to lead to consequences so deplorable. The Guises directed the whole. They had previously advertised Charron, the prévôt of the merchants, and the captains of the quarters, of their design, and the citizens had been put under arms. Language can but imperfectly describe the awful horrors of that fatal night, and the countless murders remorselessly committed, in the profaned name of a God who has enjoined "peace on earth, and good will towards men." The rallying sign of the Catholics was a white cross in the hat, and a sleeve of the same colour on the arm. Charles IX. remained with his mother and his brother in a small closet near the gate of the Louvre, throwing an uneasy glance on the street before him, while waiting for the commencement of the tragedy, when suddenly the report of a pistol was heard. "I cannot say," writes the Duke of Anjou, "in what place it was fired, nor whether it injured any one; but this I know, that it wounded all of us in our minds, that it offended our judgment, while it filled us with dismal apprehensions for the disorders about to be committed." A gentleman was instantly dispatched to the Duke of Guise, to order him to attempt nothing against the admiral; but it was too late. Henry, eager to avenge his father, had begun with Coligny. The German, Bême, entering the chamber with a large spear in his hand, heard the admiral calmly say, without moving, as he reclined on his couch. "Young man, thou oughtest to respect my grey hairs; but do what thou wilt, thou canst only shorten my life by a few days." Bême, Petrucci, and those who followed them, poniarded the admiral as he lay; and having dispatched him with many blows, threw the body out of the window, crying out "It is done!" The Duke of Guise waited in the court below, and when the corpse fell to the ground, he wiped the blood from the face with his handkerchief, to satisfy himself that it was indeed the admiral; and having recognised him, trampling the remains under his feet, "That is well begun," said he, "now let us continue our work."

Roused by the cries, by the hootings, and the general tumult that prevailed immediately after the palace clock had sounded, the Calvinists left their dwellings half naked, half asleep, and without arms. Those who attempted to repair to the house of the admiral were immediately butchered by companies which had been posted before the door. Many sought a refuge in the Louvre, but were instantly repulsed by the pike and the arquebus.

Thence, attempting flight, they were encountered by the troops of Guise and the citizen patrols, who made a horrible carnage. From assailing the helpless victims in the streets, the assassins proceeded to force open houses, and all they found, without distinction of age or sex, were massacred. Headless trunks were thrown from the windows, the coach houses were filled with carcasses, or dying victims, and the streets covered with dead bodies, which they dragged from the pavement to the river. The merciless slaughter was continued through the night and the two following days. "Bleed on," exclaimed the unpitying Tavannes, "bleed on; the physicians say that bleeding is as good in the month of August as in May." The Duke of Guise, the Duke of Montpensier, and the bastard of Angoulême, promenading the streets, declared that what was done was the will of the king, and that it was necessary to kill the Huguenots to the last man, and at once extirpate the race of serpents. Excited by these exhortations, the citizen companies continued the massacre of their fellow citizens, as they had previously engaged to do; and there was one man, named Crucé, who, exhibiting his arm, naked and bloody, boasted that he had killed, in one day, more than four hundred men!

Charles suffered himself to be carried away by the example of those whose murderous doings he beheld; and while he heard the mingling cries of the



victims, and the shouts of the destroyers, was anxious to take part in the horrid work. From his window in the Louvre, he saw a crowd of Huguenots flying towards the Pré-aux-Clercs, on the other side of the Seine.

The king ordered some long arquebusses to be brought, and to be loaded, one after the other, and fired on the fugitives as they passed, crying at the same time, with a loud voice, "Kill! Kill!" On the third day he went to see the remains of the admiral, which, after having been dragged through the streets, mangled and mutilated, thrown into the river, and exposed to the fire, had been carried to Montfaucon, and there suspended by the thighs to iron tenter hooks; and, as if this were not enough, an order of the parliament condemned Coligny for high treason, and sentenced him to be dragged on a hurdle by the common executioner, and hung on a gallows at the place de Grève. The body, however, was left on the tenter hooks at Montfaucon, and the order of the parliament was carried into execution on an effigy in straw. In a spirit of impotent vengeance, and in cruel mockery, a tooth-pick was placed in the mouth of the effigy, to recall the habits of the admiral, who had been seen almost always with one.

To the provinces they dared not at first announce that royalty had sanctioned this wholesale murder. On St. Bartholomew's day, Charles wrote to the governors, "that last night there had been a rising as well of the Catholics as the Huguenots, which had grown into a great and lamentable sedition. The followers of the house of Guise, and other lords, gentlemen and their adherents, who formed no small portion of the city, having forced the corps de garde, which had been placed before the house of the admiral for his security, had killed him, and some other gentlemen, and there had also been massacres in different parts of the city, which had been carried on with such fury, that it was not possible at once to supply the remedy, and put a stop to the movement." This was dated Paris, August 24th, 1572, signed Charles; and beneath, Brulard.

But soon, emboldened by a knowledge of what had passed at Paris, the fraternities of the provinces began to rise in the cities, and to murder the Protestants. In the cemetery of the Innocents, a whitethorn put forth new flowers at the end of the month, and the populace, regarding it as a prodigy, all the court went to see it, and divided among them the branches of the miraculous whitethorn. This was pronounced to be an emblem that the church would again flourish, being purified and invigorated by the blood of heretics. Heaven, it was contended, had declared in favour of the massacre; and the court failed not, under its auspices, to advance religious ideas, which it had little regarded while commanding the butchery. New circulars were then forwarded to the governors of provinces, enjoining them to renew in their governments the scenes which had been witnessed in the capital, and which, in the first instance, had been disowned. Each, however, acted according to his own view of the case. Those who were engaged in a struggle with the Protestants, profited by the then state of things to get rid of their enemies; but others flatly refused compliance, and the answer of the commandant of Bayonne, the Count d'Orthes, is still recalled with admiration. It ran thus:

"Sire, I have communicated the letter of your majesty to the garrison and inhabitants of this city; but I have found in it only brave soldiers, good citizens, and not a single hangman."

Notwithstanding the ferocity with which he pursued the work of blood, Charles had the abject meanness to attempt to gloss it over to Queen Elizabeth, by pretending that a plot of the Huguenots to seize his person having been discovered, was the cause of what had taken place, which he affected to deplore. Fenelon, his ambassador at the English court, was instructed to make such a representation. That functionary, shocked at the treachery which had been used, scrupled not to avow that he was ashamed of being a Frenchman. He, however, submitted the excuse which had been forwarded. He met with a reception at the court of the English queen, where he claimed an audience, which thrilled him. All was melancholy, and the courtiers and ladies, through whom he had to pass to Elizabeth, were attired in deep mourning. They seemed to regard the representative of a monarch so perfidious and blood-thirsty, with horror and disgust, which they made no effort to conceal. The queen listened to him, but said, "she must wait for further information. His master, she considered, had been badly advised, by evil counsellors, to place the sword of justice in the hands of murderers. It was only by his subsequent conduct that she could judge of his intentions, though disposed to pity rather than to blame, a monarch who had shed the blood of so many brave subjects."

Nearly a hundred thousand Calvinists had been massacred, or compelled to fly to foreign lands; but there still remained nearly two millions in the kingdom, who burned with impatience to avenge their slaughtered brethren. At Nismes, at Sancerre, in the Vivarais and the Cevennes, in the marshes of La Saintonge, and of the Bas Poitou, the revolt burst out more furious than ever. La Rochelle, which from that time was considered the capital of the party, was immediately put in a state of defence; and Lanoue, who had been sent to the inhabitants to effect an accommodation with the court, had scarcely reached the city, before, not being able to bear the reproaches for treachery, which they addressed to him, he gave up his mission, and placed himself at their head. In the month of February, 1573, the Duke of Anjou went with forty thousand men to invest the place; but after remaining there four months, during which the besieged repulsed all his attacks with invincible courage, the news of his nomination to the throne of Poland caused him suddenly to withdraw from the camp; and, not wishing to leave to any one else the glory of an enterprise so painfully begun, he accepted, on the 24th of June, a capitulation, which seemed a mockery of the besiegers, as it left the people of La Rochelle masters of their country, and constituted their city a sort of little republic, which the soldiers of the king were to have no right to enter.

In the little bourg of Sancerre, in Berri, six hundred soldiers of the militia, and a hundred and fifty peasants, held out four months against six

thousand soldiers, killed thirteen hundred men at La Chatre, and the governor of the province, and did not at last surrender till they had exhausted all means of subsistence, having sustained incredible hardships, and lived on rancid fat, suet, boiled leather and parchment, chopped straw, and even pounded stones. In the month of July, Charles IX., alarmed at such desperation, tried the effect of issuing an edict of pacification. But this was of little effect. Past treachery had rendered it impossible for those to whom it was addressed again to have confidence in royal promises. The inhabitants of Quercy, Saintonge, and of the Vivarais, of Gerandan, Bearn, Rouergue, Languedoc, Provence, and Burgundy, obstinately refused in any way to avail themselves of the edict. On the 16th of December, an act was signed at Milhau, in the Rouergue, which organized definitely the party, and caused it in some degree to resemble a little independent state. Everything that regarded war finances, police, and ecclesiastical government, was regulated by that, and copies of it were sent to all parts of the kingdom.

The political party, however, had received an important accession of strength, from the horror inspired in all humane and honourable minds by the enormities of St. Bartholomew. Such, happily, is ever the effect of religious persecution. L'hôpital died, it was believed of grief, repeating this passage :

“ Excidat ille dies ævo.

The Viscount D'Auvergne, Henry de la Tour even, became a Calvinist. The Montmorencies declared, from day to day, against the Catholic party, at the head of which the Guises had been replaced, the death of the chief of the house being in a moment forgotten. The political party had with them the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé, brought over to their views on that evening, when Charles had caused them to approach him, that he might say in a terrible voice, “ Mass! death! or the Bastille!” The retreat of the Duke of Anjou from France had brought his younger brother on the scene of public life. This was the Duke d'Alençon, a man of an ardent mind, eager for fame, impatient for action, and seeking to gain that importance from opposition, which his mother had previously denied to him. He did not hesitate to throw himself into the arms of the Montmorencies, and to become the nominal chief of their party, which then assumed the significant name of “the malcontents.” Catherine had just contrived a plot for getting the gates of La Rochelle opened to the royal troops. It was discovered in March, 1574, and the inhabitants of the place immediately put themselves on a footing of war, and their example was followed by the whole of the south. Such was the energy and success with which they moved, that a few days sufficed to put the Protestants in possession of more than fifty cities. At the same time, the malcontents organized the famous conspiracy of the *jours gras*. Alençon, Condé, Navarre, the Montmorencies, were to rejoin the Protestants at La Rochelle, and to

dictate conditions to the court, alarmed as it was by so serious a defection. But on Shrove Tuesday, the escort which was to have seized St. Germain, where the court then was, with the King of Navarre and the Duke d'Alençon, having imprudently shown themselves in the fields, Catherine, who felt herself on thorns, gave immediate orders for their departure from Paris. They accordingly set out without loss of time, and their journey was marked by all the disorderly precipitation of a flight. The Cardinals of Bourbon, Lorraine and Guise, Birague the chancellor, Morvilliers, and Bellievre, were all mounted on Italian coursers, which so ill-suited their habits, that they moved forward holding by the saddle bow with both hands, and being not in less fear of their horses than of the enemy.

The brother of the king confessed all that was intended, and was pardoned. Henry of Navarre remained firm to his principles, and was banished on account of them. La Mole and Coconnas, two gentlemen of the Duke d'Alençon, who had encouraged their master in his project of flight, were beheaded. "Gentlemen," said Coconnas to the courtiers, who looked on as he advanced to the place of execution, "you see the humble are taken and put to death, while the great, who are alone culpable, escape all punishment."

The moment would have been ill-chosen to treat with rigour the brother or the cousin of the king. Charles IX. was in a dying state. From the time of the massacre he had been declining, and was latterly compelled to be carried in a litter when he went abroad. There was something mysterious and terrible in his malady. Suspicion pointed to parties who were about his person as having poisoned him. Proof of the fact was never given; but it was by many believed that remorse for that atrocious part he had acted contributed to shorten his days. He had indulged in some excesses with his mistresses in the Château of Vincennes, and poisons of all sorts were known to be kept in the Louvre, to be administered to those whom Catherine wished to remove, but still his death cannot in this way be accounted for. His blood is described to have become inflamed, and to have issued through the pores of his skin, in a manner wholly extraordinary, and before unknown, so that medical skill could afford him no relief. His nights were often sleepless, and when for a moment he closed his eyes the spectres of his murdered subjects presented themselves in dreams, and he awoke, uttering thrilling cries, which filled his attendants with astonishment and horror. He died at two o'clock in the morning. By a remarkable coincidence, he who had signed the order for the massacre of St. Bartholomew, expired on a bed bathed with his own blood, and the dismal spectacle thus afforded, aggravated the ideas of terror inspired by the recollection of his crimes. "Ah! ma mie," he exclaimed, when about to expire, to his nurse, who was a Protestant, "I have followed bad council. May God pardon me. Have mercy on me. I know not where I am going. What will become of me? What shall I do? Alas! I feel too well that I am lost for ever."

Charles IX. died at Vincennes, May 30th, 1574, before having attained

his twenty-fifth year. He was a young man of lofty figure, somewhat *courbé* (the back inclining inwards), a pale complexion, and he had a habit of carrying his head a little on one side. He was a good cavalier, a great hunter, a brilliant fencer, and was so fond of violent exercises, that he forged several casques and cuirasses with his own hands. He had composed a book on sexual enjoyments, which Brantome highly eulogises, and his verses to Ronsard have had some celebrity. His sickly temperament had a bad influence on the events of his reign. The explanation of St. Bartholomew is certainly not to be found in religious passion, nor in political interest. Physiologists think it may be traced to the bile from which the king suffered. History, perhaps, will find it in the influence of all combined.

After so many rude convulsions, it might have been hoped that a new reign would have brought some repose to France. Such was not the case. Still panting for breath, as she was from the last struggle, in which she had been engaged during the long period of fifteen years, the fifteen years which were to follow proved equally stormy.

While Charles IX. breathed his last in agony, his brother, Henry, King of Poland, but indifferently at his ease, remained a foreigner in his kingdom, indulging carelessly in pleasure, and badly disguising the disgust inspired by all around him, he seemed to live but in the hope of seeing St. Germain and the Louvre shortly. Catherine kept her favourite son duly informed of the progress of the king's malady, and on his death he was with all speed informed of the event. In a secret committee, he suddenly resolved on abdicating the crown of Poland, and concerted with his attendants the means of escaping, without slander, from the fidelity of the Poles. One night, courtiers and king, after the fashion of discontented schoolboys, fled with all speed to the frontier, and there, believing themselves safe, commenced a triumphal march by Vienna, the German states, Italy, and Turin, and arrived in France to assist in new revolutions, and to act their parts in the civil discords of the nation [1575].

During the period which elapsed, between the death of Charles IX. and the arrival of Henry III. in France, Catherine, who governed, and wished to govern, took the reins entirely into her own hands for the time being. The political, or third party, augmented their resources daily, and aided by the Calvinists, they had thrown the southern provinces into a flame. Catherine exerted herself to meet all the emergencies of the case. In one direction, she sent her generals to make war, in another, she made concessions to appease insurrection. At the same time, she caused Montgomery to be condemned to death, who had demanded for the reformers protection against the resentments of the queen.

The malcontents had opened among themselves conferences, which were held at Milhau, in Rouergue, of which Condé was the life and soul. They claimed nothing less than that Henry III. should resign the crown in favour of the Duke of Alençon. They had beforehand voted a sort of budget, to



Catherine de Medici.

pay the expence of German auxiliaries, and of such expeditions as might be entered upon. The Calvinists required the free exercise of their worship; and the Catholics called for the liberation of Montmorency, of Cossé, and of others proscribed by their party. Each day new adherents repaired to the conferences at Milhau; while Henry III., going from fête to fête, approached the capital by easy journies.

Catherine went to meet him at Lyons. His first royal act placed in a luminous point of view his ignorance, or his forgetfulness of the past, and also of the present. Believing that, at his word alone, all discord would instantly cease, he sent on all sides an order to the malcontents to lay down their arms. The Lord of Montbrun, whom he had called upon to give up his prisoners, replied to him, as Sully writes, "Since the king addresses me as king, I wish much that he should know that that will be sufficient in days of peace; but in time of war, when the sword waives in the air, and every one is seated in the saddle, all are companions."

Henry wished to undertake the siege of Levron himself. That insignificant place fiercely resisted the feeble attacks of the royal army, which pitifully withdrew after the first foolish effort of the king. Henry was in haste to figure with his court in the procession of penitents at Avignon. There, he and his courtiers appeared, and made what they considered a very magnificent display, in sackcloth, blue, green, grey, and white, according to the taste of that brazen-faced outrage on religion, which had usurped the plan of piety among many members of the court. To all these fêtes, orgies, and spectacles, the king took his brother, the Duke of Alençon, and Henry of Navarre, both of whom were detained as prisoners in his suite. The King of Navarre seemed little to enjoy the disorderly extravagances which were got up by the monarch and his favourites; "Our dear cousin is but little at home in scenes like these," was the remark of Henry III. himself.

About this period, that obstinate prop of the pride of the house of Guise, the Cardinal de Lorraine, died. It was supposed that Catherine had caused him to be taken off by poison; but such a suspicion is almost always sent abroad when any important personage suddenly dies. Another was now, however, rising into life, who was fully to equal his ancestors in power and favour, Guise le Balafre. He was only previously known from being connected with the murder of Coligny; his celebrity commenced with the catastrophe of St. Bartholomew, and finished with the states of Blois.

The death of the Cardinal de Lorraine was followed immediately by the marriage of Henry III. with Louisa de Vaudmont, who was always melancholy, even in the midst of royal splendour and court fêtes [1575]. While the king passed his whole days in arranging his diamonds on his coats, or presided over the toilette of his new queen, the conferences at Milhau closed with a compromise between the Calvinists and the political party, which thus formed a state within a state. Leaders were named to superintend the

administration of justice, and of affairs generally, and to regulate the collection of taxes, the raising of troops, and their discipline. The queen



mother lost her labour in attempting to neutralize the effect of this league; the trickery, the little intrigues of court, served but render matters worse, or, at all events, less favourable to her views, and to bring new supporters to the standard of the malcontents.

While the Calvinists and the third party organized, on the other side of the Loire, a republican confederation, the court and the king, unmindful of important affairs, provided that new pleasures occupied each succeeding moment, passed their time in the most degrading indolence, and in love intrigues, of which Margaret de Valois was frequently the heroine. Her husband, who at a future day was to be Henry IV., remained an indifferent spectator of all that was passing, till at length the moment came when he was to throw off this nonchalance, to act a part more glorious and severe.

The Duke of Alençon had always kept up a communication with the malcontents, and waited impatiently for the moment when he could openly throw himself into their arms. Annoyed by the continual persecutions of the king and his minions, who were accustomed to amuse themselves with his mean aspect, and forbidding exterior, the desire which he had long felt, increased, in consequence of the treatment he received, from day to day. The King of Navarre consented to follow him in his flight, and to return

with him if the attempt should fail. At length a skilful plot was contrived by the confederates, and the duke quitted the court unknown to all the courtiers, deceiving even the vigilance of Catherine, who was apprised of what was to be attempted. The King of Navarre was not able to follow him.

Once in safety among the rebels, the duke lost no time in putting forth a manifesto, full of protestations of fidelity to the king, whom he described to have been blinded by bad councils; but at the same time he hastened the march of the succours sent by Prince Cassimir. The German cavalry passed the Rhine, to effect their junction with the army beyond the Loire. The young Guise took the command of the royal army, and advanced to oppose the passage of Cassimir. The Germans were defeated near Château Thierry, but, notwithstanding, continued thence their march towards the south, the negligence of the king's council having been so great, that no reinforcements had been sent to the Duke of Guise, to enable him to stop their progress. It was on this occasion that that prince received the wound in his face, the famous wound that left the scar, or *balafré*, which gave him his surname from that time.

The useless success at Château Thierry produced a truce, which was most dishonourable for the king, as it gave up to his enemies some important cities, such as Niort, Angoulême, La Charité, Saumur, and Mezieres, besides paying the garrisons which the conquerors placed there. At the same time, Henry III. was declared by the Polish diet to have forfeited the throne which he had left with such disorderly precipitation [1575].

It has been said that with his reign commenced that of the favourites: the first in chronological order was De Guay, the minion who was proud even with the relations of his royal master, which drew upon him the hatred of Margaret de Valois. Not content with laughing at her wanderings as a woman, we read in her memoirs, that he took upon himself the task of ruining her with the king. A poniard gave him his death, under the eyes of his sovereign. The fate of this favourite did not affect Henry any more than the misfortunes of the civil war. To banish care, he ordered pompous religious fêtes, in which he figured with all that extravagance of parade, which he loved so much. By order of the king, Brantome tells, "all the court and the city assisted on this occasion, with the exception of the ladies. They were not required to take a part in the ceremonies, because, as Henry expressed himself, 'where they were, there could be no devotion.'"

While the court was absorbed in its pleasures at Paris, the confederates, never idle, were making great progress. The German cavalry was on the point of joining the Calvinist army, when, most unexpectedly, it was strengthened by the arrival of another ally. This was the King of Navarre, who had fled from the court, having successfully eluded the observation of his attendants, and that of the royal family. "For a long period," remarks D'Aubigné, "he had, in a manner, played the part of Brutus at the court of Tarquin. All at once he threw off his indifference, and appeared in the

midst of his co-religionists, to commence with them those glorious labours, which have gained him the name of the Great Henry." The confederates had at their head three princes of the blood: D'Alençon, Condé, and the King of Navarre. They did not conceal the fact that it was their design to march on Paris; and they could not foresee, at that time, where their success would stop, or to what point their pretensions might eventually extend. Henry III., interrupted in the midst of his fêtes and pleasures, by the announcement that his enemies were approaching, determined at once to put an end to these inquietudes, which were so incessantly renewed. Conferences were opened, and a peace was concluded at Loches, by the efforts of Catherine, which gave the rebels and their allies additional advantages. D'Alençon took the title of Duke of Anjou, by the investiture of that province, of Berri, and of Touraine. Condé obtained the government of Picardy; Cassimir received the pay due to his troops; the massacre of St. Bartholomew was disavowed; and the sentence which had been pronounced against Coligny was reversed; religious liberty was solemnly proclaimed, and the Calvinists were declared capable of sitting in parliament. Finally, in the last clause, the states general were convoked at Blois, for the month of November, 1576, with a view to reform the numerous abuses which had crept into the administration.

The result of this accommodation is a grave fact in the history of the civil dissensions of France. Royalty, instead of having to make head against one party, as had been the case up to that period, had now to find a second rise against its inviolability; heretofore it had been the Calvinists only, now it was the Catholics also, not in concert with the former, but to make an attack on another side.

Some of the clauses of the treaty had given great offence to Catholic France, which for a long period had loudly complained of the incompetency of the government of Henry III. Eager to seize on every means that might offer for elevating themselves, the Guises wove through all the provinces the web of an artful scheme, which had for its object nothing less than a change in the reigning dynasty. The only prince of all the court, who took no part in the licentious fêtes of the day, was the eldest of the race, Henry de Guise, who was the idol of the party. At each new fault committed on the part of the king, Guise complained loudly, and pointed out the course which ought to have been pursued. His agents stirred up discontent everywhere. When the last treaty was concluded, the Catholic faction openly withdrew from the court party, as being Calvinists, and took the name of "the holy league." Civil war threatened to complicate itself with another civil war; and the steps taken by Henry arrested none of the plans which had been conceived.

Guise had united his most skilful and influential partisans in each province. A memoir had been sent forth from the conventicle, which declared that the critical position of the kingdom was such, that it required the most active and disinterested co-operation of all good subjects, as well as

of the government, to oppose the alarming march of reform. This being considered, it became necessary to arm the French Catholics, and to give them an experienced chief, whose faith and courage could not be doubted. It would be necessary, it was further stated, that this leader should have imprescriptible rights over subordinates, and should conduct them wherever the cause of religion might render it desirable that they should appear. This memoir was intended to be presented to the king at the meeting of the states; they calculated on its being accepted full and entire, and that the Duke of Guise would be named chief of the league. Their expectations were only in part realised. The states assembled; the formula of the league which had been voted was presented and accepted; and Henry, in order to disconcert the ambition of Guise, named himself chief of the union [1577]. The King of France was thus seen to make himself the head of a party in his own kingdom. While the states, wholly under the influence of the league, annulled all previous treaties, revoked all franchises lately conceded, various deputations were sent to the provinces by the chiefs of the rebels. Condé wished to hear nothing. The King of Navarre made it appear that he was much affected by the touching picture which the deputies drew of the horrors of a civil war; but said no more. Damville alone suffered himself to be persuaded by their representations. The court viewed his return to their party as an important advantage gained over the Calvinists, and the politicians of Languedoc.

At the end of these negotiations, which were of little use, a powerful force was sent against the rebels. Anjou, and Mayenne, who had been wisely preferred to his elder brother, were at their head. Notwithstanding these hostile demonstrations, the agents of the king wrought so on the minds of the principal leaders, that, after the taking of La Charité and Issoire, both parties were induced to agree upon a truce, which to both was very necessary. Money was wanting to the Catholics, as well as to the Calvinists, and they were in no state long to continue the war. They met at Poitiers to conclude this treaty, which Henry III. was accustomed to recall with pride, terming it "my edict." Freedom of religion was for the hundredth time granted, and nine places were given into the keeping of the rebels as a guarantee; but they celebrated their fêtes privately, and did not in any respect shock the Catholics by the course of their worship. Afterwards, in a last article, which unveiled entirely the royal intention, every sort of union, association, and league, was thenceforward prohibited in the kingdom [1577]. Imagining himself to have gained a great victory, both over the Catholics and Calvinists, Henry gave himself up to joyous follies, of which the palace never ceased to be the theatre. The journal of Margaret, and the pages of Le Labourer, are filled with descriptions of these fêtes. Some time afterwards, a crown was offered to the king's brother, the Duke d'Alençon. The Low Countries were compelled to throw off the yoke of Philippe II., whose ferocious lieutenants left everywhere marks of their footsteps printed in blood. The

duke succeeded Coligny in his projects of war against Spain in the Low Countries, who were scarcely relieved from a foreign yoke, when they again sought a sovereign from another country. D'Alençon laboured actively to gain this crown; he approached it for a moment, but lost it after a few vain attempts to make it his own.

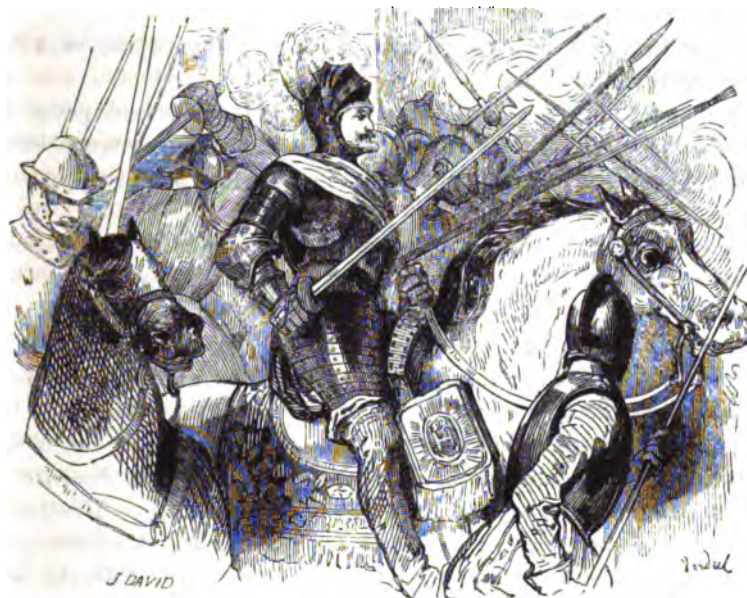
The year 1578 was wholly passed in dramas of the palace, of which the minions of the king were the unfortunate heroes. Honour was at the sword's point. Cayrus and Mangiron fell. The hatred of party shewed itself in the practice of duelling. Henry de Guise found assassination more convenient, and ordered his murderers quickly to remove St. Megrin. A beautiful statue in marble of his lost favourite, dismissed the grief of the king for his death; and Brantome adds, that it passed into a saying at Paris, when they wished for the fall of a courtier, "we must have his figure cut in marble, like the others."

The year 1579 was opened by a revision and extension of the treaty of Poitiers. The king and his mother flattered themselves that they should lead by degrees the discontented to concord by concessions, which, in their final result, proved as useless as all that had preceded them. Catherine, under the pretext of conducting Margaret de Valois to the King of Navarre, her husband, set out with her from Paris, and did not rest till they reached Neroe, where conferences were held on the state of public affairs. Instead of nine, fourteen cities were given to the rebels; the right of building churches was granted, and also that of raising money to pay their ministers. Afterwards, the queen returned to her son. She had hoped to detach from the enemy's party the King of Navarre; but only succeeded in carrying off from a ball, Dussat, the governor of La Réole.

A rupture, as every one had foreseen, soon followed, but the motives which immediately prompted it were such as had not been imagined. Margaret de Valois recounts, at great length, in her memoirs, the voluptuous habits of the court of the King of Navarre, and the intrigues which she continued to carry on beyond the limits of her petty kingdom. Henry III., from the active correspondence carried on with the Duke d'Alençon, feared every moment that a new defection would take off the other lords from his party. He wished to display his skill as a politician, by destroying Margaret in the opinion of her husband; and to that end, gave out that an infamous correspondence was carried on between her and the Vicomte de Turenne. At this report, Margaret was indignant; but she easily set at rest the suspicions of Henry of Navarre, and decided him openly to take up arms against France, the more so, as a great part of her dowry had not been paid; and he prepared immediately to seize on Cahors, which had been named in the contract. Such was the cause of the war, called that of "the lovers."

The King of Navarre immediately marched to attack Cahors; and to make sure of its conquest, the operations were continued without intermission five days and five nights, at the end of which there remained scarcely any portion

of clothing to him or his men. He thus commenced those heroic contests in which the poverty of his army was to become proverbial.



Condé, made for perilous adventures, from La Fère, the city of his government in Picardy, which he had already fortified in opposition to the king, passed into the Low Countries, and thence to England. Returning by the way of Germany, when about re-entering France, he was stopped on the frontier of Savoy, robbed and despoiled, without being known. He was at length suffered to escape, and immediately hastened to put himself at the head of the Calvinists of Languedoc.

Henry III., alarmed at the threatening demonstrations of the rebels, had recourse to negotiations. While the confederates amused the ambassadors, their troops always continued to advance. The court could, however, no longer deceive itself as to the intentions of the aggressors. Three armies were ready to march at a moment's warning. They soon repulsed the Calvinistic columns; when an accommodation was effected at Fleix, in Perigord, 1581. Security was given for the dowry of Margaret; the King of Navarre remained in possession of the places he then held; and thus royalty lost, in the war of "the lovers," some shreds of its authority.

After the conclusion of this new treaty, the Duke d'Alençon confined himself entirely to effecting the conquest of the Low Countries, which were held in military occupation by the general, Alexander Farnese. The taking of Cambrai de l'Ecluse, happily signalled his first operations. To this

ephemeral success the taking possession of the Low Countries by the Duke d'Alençon was limited. What indeed could he hope to effect against the Spanish armies, commanded by the first generals of the age? England caused succours to be sent to him, after the negotiations commenced by a proposition on his part to marry Elizabeth; but it was from France, above all others, that he expected reinforcements, which Henry was far from being disposed to furnish.

He had spent immense sums on the celebration of the marriages of his two favourites, Joyeuse and La Vallette, and his finances were much exhausted after the religious fêtes which invariably followed the pompous follies of the court.

Francis d'Epinay, sieur de St. Luc, whom he married to Jeanne de Cossé, daughter of the famous Marshal de Brissac, cost him less expense. St. Luc incurred disgrace with his master for having wished to withdraw him from his disorderly courses. It was, perhaps, too late for him to amend. Edicts against luxury are futile; those which controul expenditure are felt to be tyrannical; the creating a multitude of idle expenses a scandal. All the parties who now engaged in negotiation, had for their object not to prevent mischief, but to make a profit for themselves. The Duke de Joyeuse wished to succeed the Duke of Guise as leader of the Catholics. His journey to Rome furnished one additional subject for discontent. Montmorency, the governor of Languedoc, who treated with the King of Navarre, and, in concert with him, opened immediately negotiations with England and Germany; Guise drew closer, on his part, the bonds which had long united him to Spain, and gave as a pretext for the engagements formed with a foreign power, the necessity which existed for defending the Catholic religion. For Philippe, he offered to the King of Navarre and the Calvinists money and troops to renew the war in France, in order to prevent Henry from assisting the Flemings; he even went so far as to propose, a divorce being first obtained, to give him the hand of the Infanta, his daughter, claiming for himself that of the princess of Navarre. This was too much to offer even for reasons of state policy.

Henry III. had as yet no child, and from that circumstance the Duke d'Alençon was regarded as his heir. But this prince sunk to the grave before the king, and there no longer remained any one in direct succession to the crown who was a Catholic. The King of Navarre having revoked his conversion, extorted by the events of the 24th of August, 1572, became in consequence disqualified from reigning in France, and the Duke of Guise then found himself next to the throne; but it remained to be ascertained whether, in case of Henry de Valois having no child, Henry of Navarre would quietly surrender his right. The struggle was in future between the two pretenders, and between them and him, who did not wish to leave his place to either of them.

The King of Navarre and the Duke of Guise worked each for himself with



Commencement of the League.

ardour; while the king submitted to the yoke of the stronger, the chief of the league. That faction gained additional strength every day, and the more powerful party did not wish to wait for the death of the king to replace him. Guise had put forward the uncle of the King of Navarre, the Cardinal de Bourbon, who suffered himself to be governed by the artful Lorraine. Entrenched for the moment behind the legitimate right (more legitimate, at all events, than his own) of the old prelate, he made him act, and, under his name, efficaciously. Everywhere in France societies were established, on the model of that of Paris, and an active correspondence directed their operations. The porches of the churches were placarded with statements and engravings, setting forth the pretended punishments that the Calvinists, when victorious, reserved for the Catholics; and the pulpits resounded with fanatic discourses against the king and against the reformers. All those who joined the union signed the formulary, and became the subjects of the Duke of Guise. Their numbers increased hourly; and the duke did not dare as yet to venture on a rupture. "If once," said he, "I draw my sword against my master, I must throw the sheath into the river." He engaged in several intrigues at once, of which that carried on with Philippe II. was not the least active. A secret treaty had been concluded between the King of Spain, whose interest on the other side of the Pyrenees was every day seen to be on the increase, and the ambitious duke, who aspired to become the equal of his ally. Philippe was to furnish money to pay the troops of the league, and the league was to make war against the heretics, publish the decrees of the council of Trent, assist the Spanish armies warring in the Low Countries, and give up to Philippe the town of Cambray. Some historians add, that the royal signature, which was so important a feature in this treaty, exacted from the Duke of Guise an immediate outbreak, under pain of sending to Henry III. the documents by which he would be compromised. It was no longer time to hesitate; to go back at this crisis would have been to lose himself for ever. The Cardinal de Bourbon then withdrew from Paris, and went into Picardy, where numerous leaguers were ready to receive him; the German cavalry passed the frontier, and established their quarters in the cities of Toul and Verdun; all the noblesse of Champagne and Burgundy rallied round De Guise. In the south, the revolvers lost Marseilles and Bordeaux; but carried Angers, Bourges, and Orleans, and advanced into the middle of the kingdom; while, at Paris, the holy union embraced all classes of the great body of the population. The step had now [1585] been taken: the sword was drawn, and, as Guise had expressed it, "the sheath had been thrown into the river."

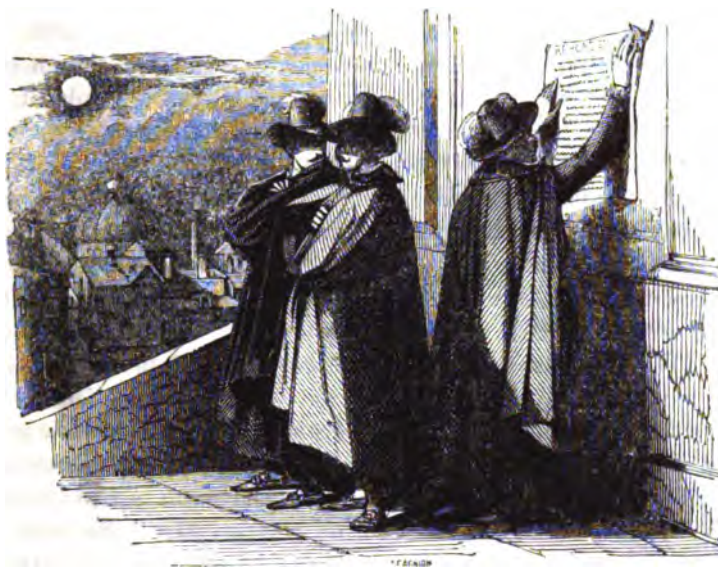
The capital of the kingdom, the residence of the king and his court, the seat of the government, was the central point, whence originated all the plans of operations for the other cities. In the college of Fourtat, afterwards that of the Jacobins, rue St. Honore, and in numerous conventicles, permanent sittings were held. It was thence that "the sixteen" and their

faction were to issue. All were armed, and ready to act at the least signal being given. Pasquier wrote to a friend, "We have now become desperate warriors. By day we guard the gates, by night we form the watch patrols and sentinels. This is a pleasant trade to those who have been apprenticed to it."

The court, however, did not know what part to act in this state of things: to make war against two enemies at once, the Calvinists and the Catholics, would have been too perilous; to unveil officially the projects of the Guises, and to support the reformers, with the young Bearnais, had been to array against them all the Catholicity of France. Catherine, who had been so long neglected, made the advantages of a middle course appear of such importance, that it was resolved to treat with the leaguers. The latter, who had in many instances missed their blow, asked nothing better than that time should be allowed them to adopt more prudent measures. They consented to negotiate. The leaguers, as the Calvinists had done before them, demanded strong guarantees, such as Châlons, Rheims, St. Dizier, Soissons, Ruel, Dinan, Concarneau, Dijon, Toul, and Verdun, an imposing line of cities stretching from west to east. Besides, by some of the clauses of this disastrous arrangement concluded at Nemours, they promised the immediate expulsion of the Calvinists, if they could not be brought to repentance. They did not even mention the royal pretensions of the Cardinal de Bourbon.

It was easy to see, from this pretended peace, that France would be thrown into another war. Guise wished for the extinction of Calvinism, the King of Navarre first, and then of the Bourbons; after that, he should be able to deal with Valois and his people, and then it would be his turn to wear the crown. Immense sums were collected; the rents of the good city of Paris were absorbed; and three royal armies were ready to commence the eighth civil war, otherwise called the war of the three Henries. The king committed, for his first fault, the error of giving the command of his army to the Duke of Guise, and to the Duke de Mayenne, his brother. During these transactions, even before the conclusion of the treaty of Nemours, the King of Navarre assembled all his forces; and when the hour of attack which he had anticipated arrived, he seized on Languedoc, the governor of which, Montmorency, favoured his cause, and also on Guienne, Dauphiny, Poitou, and Saintonge. On the other side, Condé seconded him in Anjou; but his imprudence had nearly been fatal to him there, as he had scarcely time to fly to England, to escape falling into the hands of the royal soldiers. He soon returned at the head of a new force, having been assisted by Elizabeth, and landed at La Rochelle. Frightened by the success of the Bourbons, Guise had recourse to means which had long been forgotten. Sextus V. issued a bull of excommunication; but the parties excommunicated did not fear, for all answer, to fix, even on the gates of the Vatican, a fierce manifesto against papacy and the popes. In France, the King of Navarre addressed many letters to the nobles, filled with strong protestations furnished by the pen of the elegant Mornay, his secretary, [1586].

Theodore de Beza, notwithstanding his age, went through all Germany, to serve still more effectually the cause which he had defended in the conference



at Poissy, and collected soldiers for Henry of Navarre. Germany was excited by his words; and her princes, before taking a more decided part, sent an embassy to the King of France, to remonstrate with him on the injustice of his conduct towards their co-religionists. Henry III. postponed for a long time giving an audience to the deputies from beyond the Rhine. The monarch thought but of satisfying the ambition of his favourites, Joyeuse and D'Epemon, by providing them with two new armies to command. At length, after waiting months, the German ambassadors succeeded in getting themselves presented to the king. Henry replied but by insulting sarcasms to their demands; and they immediately separated: the foreigners to hasten the march of the forces sent to the assistance of the King of Navarre; the king to return to his fêtes.

Some weeks having passed, Catherine, always acting the part of a mediatrix, opened conferences with Bourbon; but the latter, expecting no favourable result, did not on that account abate the hostilities which had been commenced. The crisis was imminent [1587]. Royalty found itself assailed by two enemies at the same moment, the league and the reformers. Would it be politic to yield to the one or the other? What part could it take against itself? The alternative was painful. To play the double game on the part of Henry III., was to risk his crown and his life, with a chance of losing both at a blow, an event which happened within three years from this date.

While the royal armies were engaged in marches and counter-marches, and the Calvinists took a number of cities, a series of intrigues were carried on in the court and the capital. Among all the names which chroniclers have preserved to recall the popular tumults of the time, that of the Duchess de Montpensier is found constantly recurring. There were no assemblies, conferences, or secret conventicles, in which she did not take her place, either by her representatives, or in person. On the other hand, Spain vigorously supported the leaguers, of which it was indeed the only remaining hope. Philippe did not spare his doubloons, but he exacted important guarantees for the faith of his allies. Being on the point of sending against England his invincible armada, he wished to secure Boulogne, as a port of refuge in case of his sustaining a check ; but the winds and the waves took upon themselves the defence of the British shores, and the port of Boulogne was not given up to Spain.

Henry III. seemed at length resolved to shake off his nonchalance, in order to vanquish his numerous enemies. Time pressed ; for more than thirty thousand Swiss and Germans had invaded France, with a view to join the King of Navarre. A royal council had been solemnly assembled, and for the first time, during a long period, it had been seriously occupied with public affairs. The king shewed, on this occasion, what might have been expected from his head, if he had not abandoned it to foolish thoughts ; as at Jarnac and Moncontour he caused it to be seen what might have been looked for from the vigour of his arm. It was decided that a campaign in form must inevitably be undertaken against the King of Navarre. The disposable forces were immediately ordered to the south ; Henry took the command himself ; but, as if he were afraid of giving offence to a favourite, he imprudently joined in it the Duke de Joyeuse. It was, perhaps, too late to think of measuring himself with his robust and warlike antagonists, when he could only oppose to them inexperienced soldiers, and captains enervated by court fêtes. For the rest it was the better part to take, and the royal army advanced to meet the enemy. It was in Perigord, near Coutras, that they met. That day made the chivalrous glory of Henry popular, even among the vanquished. The Calvinist cavalry, however, made easy work of the undisciplined troops of Joyeuse, who, desperate from his ill success, threw himself into the midst of the enemy's squadron, where he found a soldier's death, 20th of October, 1587.

At this news all France was greatly excited ; the league was confounded ; Guise alone remained unmoved, and occupied himself with incessantly harassing the Germans, who continued to traverse the kingdom. He beat them twice, at Vimori, in Gatinais, and at Auneau, in Beauce. At that moment, one decisive blow might have put down all the enemies of royalty ; it was only necessary that the king should throw himself into the hands of the Calvinists, give the command of the forces then on foot to the conqueror of Coutras, and there would have been for ever an end of the league. Henry III. could only

vacillate and enjoy by turns the various projects which his flatterers submitted to him ; while Guise contributed to the entire dissolution of the German army. It was frittered away in actions of small importance, in which the leaguers were uniformly victorious. At the same time, the King of Navarre was forced to disband his troops, when he ought to have followed up his advantage after the battle of Coutras. The King of France swelled into important triumphs the insignificant successes of Guise against the Germans, and made a triumphal entry into Paris, his casque on his head, and his sword by his side. A book was offered for sale, by persons who cried it in the streets as containing "Deeds of arms, performed by the Duke d'Epemon and by the——;" when opened, there only appeared in each page the word "Rien," (nothing) in very large letters. Henry, whom they indicated under the name of his minion, consoled the latter by giving him the situation and emoluments of Joyeuse, "And doing this," says Pasquier, "without striking a blow, he lost more gentlemen than had fallen in battle at Coutras."

While the king abandoned himself to his customary pleasures, believing a pacification to have been effected, because his enemies paused to take breath, and did not march against him, a great event was in progress in the heart of the kingdom, which was to expel the feeble Valois from his capital, never to return. The league, which a single act of vigorous authority could have crushed and extinguished, gained, from day to day, increased power from the wretched incapacity of the government. All their attempts clearly indicated, from that time, subversive plans, long since formed by able chiefs. A final manifesto, issued from the council of a general assembly at Nancy, proved to every one that conciliation was no longer possible.

At the close of the last war, after the annihilation of the German troops, all the principal leaguers had betaken themselves to Lorraine, to Nancy, in the domain of the Guises. There they could more securely receive their subalterns ; and, in the early part of 1588, a most audacious manifesto, one more insolent than had ever been prepared till then, was put forth against the crown. In eleven articles they called upon the king, supplicating him, at the same time, to avow himself the defender of the holy union, to dismiss from the administration all those of whose names he should receive a list, to publish the decision of the council of Trent, and to re-establish, "at least in each capital, one tribunal of the inquisition," to make over to the chiefs of the league a number of strong cities, with garrisons to be maintained at the expence of the crown ; to pay all the debts contracted by the union ; and finally, to organize a war to the knife, to be carried on against the heretics and their supporters.

At court, however, the demands forwarded from Nancy were not known ; but the king, perceiving for the first time what the projects of the Duke of Guise were, sought advice from every one, and knew not after all by what counsel to regulate his course. Of those immediately about him, more than one courtier

secretly inclined to the handsome duke. Noble ladies recognised in him the model of all beauty; and the Marshal de Retz observed: "These princes of the house of Lorraine have such a good mien, that, compared with them, other princes seem to be but common people." What the marshal expressed has been commented on by Balzac with much felicity and truth. "France," said he, "was mad for that man (Guise), for it is not enough to say that she was fond of him." He, in truth, was the only person who at the time could command the Catholics against the King of Navarre; brave, prudent, knowing how to meet adverse fortune, frank, yet discreet, and above all, knowing how to veil the views of interest by which he was prompted, with the pretext of religion. What an antagonist for Henry III., who, without any thought of his pecuniary wants, could throw away immense sums in the funeral of the Duke de Joyeuse! He lamented bitterly the fall of a favourite; but shed no tears for the unfortunate Henry of Condé, who perished by poison, without its being known who was his murderer; he distressed himself by a display of funeral pomp, but shut his eyes to the dangers which menaced his very existence from hour to hour, or the steps taken to organise, almost under the eyes of the government, a fatal insurrection.

Paris was at that time divided into sixteen quarters or districts. For a long period, especially since the origin of the league, the municipal administration had been desirous of isolating itself from all contact with the king's council. Each district had a chief, with the commanders under him. Thanks to the labours of the house of Lorraine, the citizens were in a state to form many well armed legions. During the late troubles, the Parisians had, in obedience to an order which emanated from the secret council, provided within the walls, by the corner of each street, strong chains, which could be stretched across the roads at the least indication of a hostile movement on the part of the government. The people had their banner and their rallying words, and at the first sound of the drum, every citizen was bound to appear in arms at a particular spot. On certain days, it should be added, they were expected to attend in crowds, to listen to the ranting of demagogues, of the sixteen particularly, who loudly accused the king of favouring heresy, a crime which ought to incur the penalty of forfeiture of the crown; at the same time, they did not scruple to say that the Duke of Guise presented himself as Judas Maccabeus did in other times. Henry regarded them with indifference and permitted them to go on.

Encouraged by this impunity, twice the leaguers attempted to seize the king, but as often failed of accomplishing their design. Henry's eyes were at length opened, and he surrounded himself with a body of four thousand Swiss. In broad day, before the excited people, a mass of arms were transported to the Louvre. Everything indicated that the day of vengeance had arrived. The sixteen knew no longer what to do. Courier after courier was sent to the Duke of Guise to call upon him to hasten to the succour of

Paris. Instead of instantly striking a decisive blow, while the enemy was in his power, Henry sent one of his ministers to meet Guise, in order to forbid his approach. The latter, by a skilful policy, regarded the minister as having been sent to treat with him from the king, and desired him to convey to Henry his reasons for taking the course he had resolved to pursue, and continued his march to Paris. Aware of the danger which menaced him, if the duke should once enter the city, Henry determined to send a second prohibition; but unfortunately, the funeral expences of his minion had so exhausted his treasury, that the letter, containing the intimation of his will, was sent by the municipal post, from the want of a few crowns to cover the expence of a special courier. It in consequence arrived too late, or Guise pretended not to have received it; and on the 9th of May, at midnight, he made his entry, his seventh, by the gate St. Anthony. "As a ball of snow is augmented by rolling," says Davila, "and soon becomes as large as the mountains from which it is detached, so did the force of the duke now momentarily increase." At the first report of his arrival, the Parisians left their houses to follow him, and the multitude gained such enormous additions, that before he reached the middle of the city, he had drawn round him more than thirty thousand men. They shouted "Long live the Guise!" as they had never shouted "Long live the king!" Branches of trees were thrown in the road, and his advance was a real triumph. He did not stop till he reached the house of the queen mother, who turned pale at seeing him, and addressed to him but a few words. Afterwards, he proceeded to the palace of the king. As he went forward, the military array seen at the approaches to the Louvre, the solemn air with which his salutes were answered, caused him to experience a sudden alarm. For this he had good reason, as that moment the question whether he should live or die was discussed in the king's cabinet. Guise, however, advanced into the midst of the council with an air of intrepidity. "I commanded you not to come," said the king, in a tone of severity. "I wished to vindicate myself," replied Guise, and immediately attempted to do it. The king was thrown back into his former indecision by the powerful language of the duke; and he, having paid his devoirs, hastened to withdraw. The people who surrounded the Louvre had intimidated the king, and he hesitated to act. On the following morning, the Duke of Guise, surrounded by a numerous cortege, again presented himself at the Louvre, no longer for the purpose of justifying himself, but for that of giving law to royalty. The whole night was passed on both sides in preparing the means of attack and defence. The Hotel de Guise was the head quarters of the leaguers; sentinels were posted in *échelon* in all directions. At the Louvre the like activity prevailed; more than one reinforcement of the Swiss troops came to rally round the king, and the noblesse remained faithful. Guise and the sixteen, for a time, were thrown into consternation, from the view which they took of the forces which Henry was still able to oppose to them. Artful emissaries were then dispatched to

all parts of the city to circulate false whispers, that in a few hours an order would issue from the court to seize the principal chiefs and preachers of the league, seeing that at length the king was resolved to avenge in blood the wrongs of the faithful Catholics. The people of La Grève, of the halls, of the university, of the place Maubert, rose simultaneously, and arrived at the bridges in time to witness the entrance of the Swiss, marching pike in hand, and with drums beating. But a single word was wanting to set the whole capital in a flame; that imprudent word was what Pasquier calls a court rhodomontade, and it was pronounced in presence of the assembled multitude before the Louvre. "There is no good woman," said Henry, "who would not, as a matter of taste, pass for a Swiss."

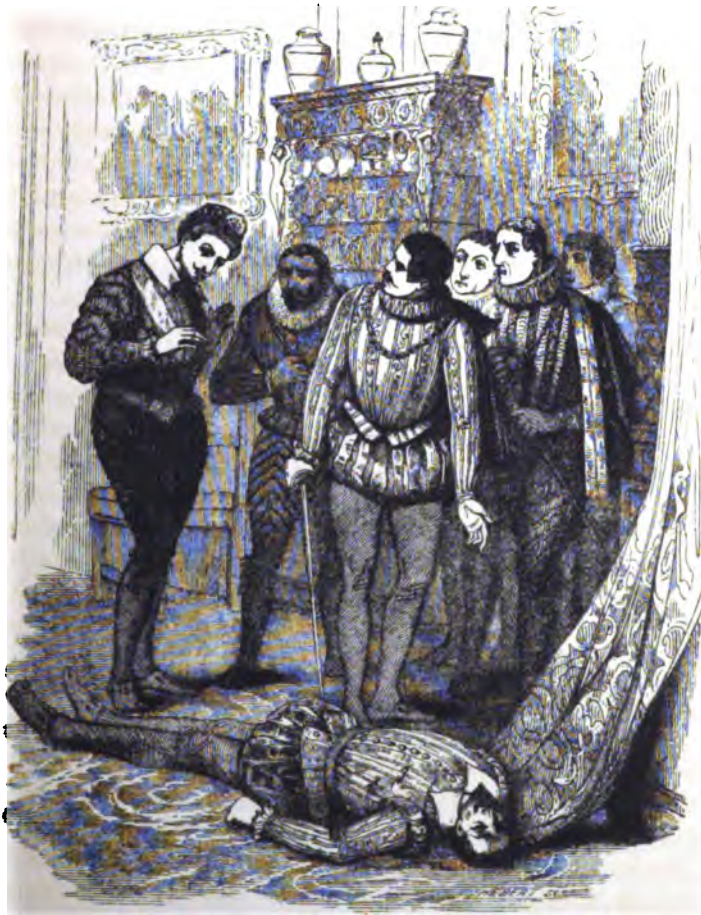
In a moment, the multitude, who had been sorrowful witnesses of the advance of the foreign battalions, began to move. Artisans, butchers, and mariners, ran to arms, and hastened to tear up the pavement in the streets. The drums beat, the tocsin sounded on every side; chains were stretched across the roads, every window was provided with a magazine of huge stones, ready to be poured on the head of any assailing enemy who might venture to appear below; and a formidable barricade was raised immediately opposite the Louvre. Henry sent expresses repeatedly to the Duke of Guise, who calmly governed the movement, and only replied to the king, "The



bulls have broken loose; I cannot now restrain them." A general cry was heard on the first report of an arquebuse; the Swiss were mercilessly

had done on the evening of the barricades. Henry III. humbly gave way. The edict of June was proclaimed in July, 1588. It was nearly a repetition of promises previously made to the leaguers, to which a declaration was added, that a prince who was a relapsed heretic, like Henry de Navarre, could never succeed to the throne. Immediately upon this, the Duke of Guise took upon himself the command of the army, with the title of generalissimo. All the protégés of the court were given up, all the favourites of the king were sent away, a complete reform was contemplated, which should give effect to the vote of the states of Blois. Every effort of the Duke of Guise was concentrated in the proceedings of the great assembly; its emissaries laboured everywhere to secure the election of the devoted creatures of the league. In cases where the leaders could not efficaciously influence the elections, the nobles of Normandy, of Picardy, and of Burgundy, and the citizens of Paris were ready to commit themselves to a struggle with the "men of royalty."

Three months after the edict of the meeting, on the 16th of October, the session was opened in the grand hall of the château at Blois. A hundred and thirty-four members of the clergy, a hundred and eighty nobles, and a hundred and eighty deputies of the third estate, composed that assembly. The king, charmed with the opportunity it afforded for display, appeared there in great pomp. The states of Blois in themselves are only celebrated for the catastrophe which marked the close of their proceedings, as their deliberations only confirmed the edict of the meeting. During the whole of the debates, Guise made an exhibition of vain ostentation and of unbounded authority. Proud of the ascendancy which he had gained, he identified himself with all that affected the government, and all that concerned the private life of the king. Perhaps this despotic interference with the secrets of royalty was more decisive than all the attempts which, for a long period, had been made. Henry now awoke from his apathy; when, on all sides, his ears were stunned with the audacious proposals of the leaguers, from which he could augur what were their ulterior designs. The Duchess of Montpensier constantly wore at her side the golden scissors, to furnish Henry with a crown "*monacale*." At length the king, moved by some lords, who were really devoted to his cause, fixed the moment for decisive vengeance. Guise received various sinister hints. A note, placed under his napkin, revealed to him the fact that Henry had sworn to compass his death. "He dares not do it," said he, in a low voice, and threw the paper under the table. The details of the catastrophe which followed are well known. In opening the door of the cabinet, to which he had been called by the king, Guise was knocked down by four gentlemen of the chamber, who mutilated him dreadfully with their halberds, and put a period to his existence. At the same moment, his brothers and his most distinguished adherents were arrested. Many were put to death in prison, and the rest fled, spreading consternation everywhere. Henry III. was then again to become a king, at



Assassination of the Duke of Guise

least he might have done so, but his habitual indecision caused all to be lost. For a moment the capital was thrown into a stupor; but he failed to profit from it: the imprisoned leaguers were liberated, and their party soon regained courage. The sixteen, and their mouth pieces, raised in an instant all the population, and formed their plans at leisure; while Henry wasted time in pompously closing the sittings of the states, and in giving a magnificent funeral to his mother. The aged Catherine had at length died, after having taken a part in all the revolutions which had marked the reigns of her three sons; and her disappearance from the stage of politics was hardly noticed, among the grave events of a different character which then occupied France.

Paris saw the leaguers successively arrive within her walls, having escaped from Blois, and other cities which had become equally dangerous for them. The people welcomed them with fierce acclamations, and swore to shed the last drop of their blood in defence of the holy union. They offered on all the altars sacrifices, with the mass, for Guise, the cardinal, and the other victims who had fallen. Small figures of wax, likenesses of the king, were exhibited in the niches in all the crossways, and every one who passed made a mark on it with the prick of a pin, of which the counterpart was to strike Henry. Finally, it was desired to consecrate the revolt by the suffrages of the austere Sorbonne itself, and the parliament; the one pronounced that famous revolutionary decree, which released the subjects of Henry from their oath of fidelity; the other declined all participation in the revolt, and followed its president to the Bastille. Mayenne arrived at that period with the Duchess of Montpensier. He was named lieutenant general by acclamation; and this done, he sent immediately to supplicate Sextus V. to excommunicate the King of France, and in consequence, a monitorial bull was soon issued [February, 1589]; and the revolution seemed to be completed.

Henry did not abandon his indecision. He wrote many letters to the different cities, and even wished to enter into an arrangement with Mayenne; but the former unhesitatingly threw him back on the leaguers or on the Calvinists, and the latter gave him, for all answer, that he would never pardon that miserable prince. A reconciliation with the King of Navarre was mentioned; and the greater portion of the court declared that that offered the only means of repairing the evil. Three years before, Henry should have had recourse to the Bearnois and his brave companions. It was too late now for Henry III. to do so, as the time of Henry IV. was at hand. The Bearnois had not interrupted the course of his conquests during the debates, and the catastrophes of Blois. It was in vain that a few battalions of leaguers, under the Count de Nevers, had attempted to oppose his passage; the courage of his followers, and the desertions which thinned the ranks of his enemies, opened to him a passage to the strongest cities. At the news of the favourable disposition of the court towards him, he took an

important step, and proposed a cordial reconciliation with the Catholic royalists. After some new tergiversation, Henry at length decided to treat with the King of Navarre. The interview took place at Plessis-les-Tours; and Catholics and Calvinists, being then frankly reconciled, prepared to march against the leaguers, who had dared to advance to the walls of Tours. They were soon repulsed, and again beaten in the plains of Senlis; and the king was enabled to establish his head quarters, even before his rebel capital, in the Château of St. Cloud.

Mayenne was obliged to shut himself up in Paris. His affairs, it is obvious, could not but get worse every hour; but the city still possessed a multitude of fanatics, who did not cease to preach all day long, that "it was lawful for any one, who pleased to do it, to kill a tyrant, an idolater, and an infamous prince, like the Valois." It was impossible that, in the midst of this delirious crowd, rendered more furious by the impending danger, that a Brutus should not start up, who looked for a noble provision if he survived, and for eternal glory if he should fall, to reward an act of regicide. Such a man was James Clement, a Dominican friar; and his heroic intentions were warmly encouraged by Mayenne, the Duchess of Montpensier, and the sixteen, who turned them to their own account, as such a deed as he contemplated afforded them the only hope of safety, as the wants of a blockaded city began now to be painfully felt on all sides. On the 1st of August, 1589, the young Jacobin went out of Paris, prepared, so he could kill the king, to lay down his own life, and presented himself to the advanced guard of the royal camp, and prevailed on them to conduct him to Henry III., in order, as he said, that he might make important disclosures. When this had been done, the murderer took an opportunity of stabbing the king in the lower part of the stomach. The unfortunate prince had strength enough to seize the assassin's arm, and to wound him. His officers quickly dispatched the assailant. The king soon expired. Henry was thirty-eight years of age, and thus unhappily perished, through not having known his own mind till within the last twelve months of his life.

With Henry III. the race of Valois, by the deed of Clement, was extinguished, as the direct line of the Capets ceased by the death of the three brothers without male issue. The next heir to the throne was Henry de Bourbon, King of Navarre, related to the late king in the twenty-second degree; but the name which he bore as a Huguenot was, in the opinion of many, enough to exclude him for ever from the throne. The Catholics, who would have deemed it a crime to conspire against Henry III., their legitimate king, scrupled not to repulse Henry IV. altogether, or, at all events, till he should have re-entered the bosom of the church. One other thought influenced them generally, or at least a great number of them; they had an idea of making him purchase their adhesion, or, perhaps, of creating small sovereignties, in particular cities and provinces. The Marshal d'Aumont, Givry, and Humières, took the oath to the new king, without making any



Interview between the King of Navarre and Henry III.

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conditions. The nobles, assembled at the house of the Duke de Piney-Luxembourg, required that the king should prepare himself, before six months were passed, to declare for the Catholic religion, to permit the exercise of no other, and to give to the Huguenots no office or employment. To these conditions Henry acceded, with the exception of the proposed proscription of the reformers, and pledged himself to establish the Catholic worship in all parts of the kingdom. Many of the lords, however, still held back. L'Hopital Vivi threw himself into Paris, and became a leaguer; D'Epernon retired to his government. Great exasperation prevailed among the Catholic party and the royal army. Many fanatic people, even in the presence of the king, threw their hats on the ground, cried, groaned, and, with clenched hands, formed plots and made vows, of which the effect was this, that, in their judgment, it were better to die than to have a Huguenot king. Henry, in the midst of these threatening demonstrations, remained perfectly calm. He publicly declared, that all who were discontented had his permission to withdraw; that he would prefer one hundred well disposed Frenchmen to two hundred malcontents, or persons whose attachment could be doubted. A point of honour kept many faithful to his standard. "Sire," said Givry, "you are the king of brave men, and will only be deserted by cowards."

The news of the assassination of Henry III. had been received at Paris with odious joy. It was celebrated by bonfires, and other marks of rejoicing. The Duchess of Montpensier got into a carriage with her mother, and passing through the streets, called out to the people, from time to time, "Good news! good news!" The pulpits resounded with eulogies on the glorious martyr, James Clement. Crowds ran to see his mother, a poor rustic, whom the Duchess of Montpensier had brought to Paris; and the sixteen, in their harangues, applied to her these words of scripture, "Happy is the womb which has borne thee, and blessed are the breasts which have given thee milk." The Parisians, however, demanded a king. Mayenne, not daring to take the crown himself, because he knew the people, as well as the King of Spain, were opposed to his wishes, caused the old Cardinal de Bourbon to be proclaimed, under the name of Charles X. "He was," says L'Etoile, "the true king of the theatre and of painting," and was, at that time, the prisoner of Henry IV. For himself, Mayenne was content to bear the title of lieutenant general of the kingdom, which, in fact, placed in his hands all the power of the state. He then invited the parliament, the provinces and the nobility, to deliver their king from captivity, and to stand forward in defence of their religion. At the same time, he established a secret understanding with the royal army, and endeavoured to gain over both the officers and soldiers. To withdraw his army from temptation, Henry was eager to raise the siege, and proceeded to Normandy with three thousand infantry, two Swiss regiments, and twelve hundred horse, while a portion of his troops moved on Picardy and Champagne. The king received the

submission of Pont d'Arc and Dieppe, and approached Rouen. Mayenne hastened with all his forces to defend that city; and Henry withdrew to Dieppe, so closely pursued, that Mayenne wrote to the leaguers that Henry could not escape, and had no alternative but to surrender or be driven into the sea. The battle of Arques requited this presumption. It was fought on the 25th September, 1589. Henry had but three thousand men to oppose to thirty thousand, under the command of the chief of the league; but flight, under all circumstances, was perhaps not less dangerous than fighting. He waited for the advance of the enemy in the entrenchments which he had raised, under the walls of the Château d'Arques. At the first shock, the German infantry of Mayenne burst into the entrenchments, and had already seized three standards, when Henry advanced into the midst of the Swiss, and said to their colonel, "Brave man, give me a pike; I am ready to fight and die with you." The Germans were repulsed; and the smoke which, concealing the enemy, saved them from the fire of the batteries, having cleared away, Biron opened a tremendous fire on them, and threw them into confusion. On the evening of that day, Henry IV. wrote to Crillon this note: "Hang thyself, brave Crillon! We have fought at Arques, and thou wast not present. Adieu, brave Crillon! I love thee sincerely." Mayenne, defeated, retired into Picardy. The Parisians had flattered themselves that they would soon behold Henry bound and fettered: couriers, dispatched by the Duchess de Montpensier, announced his early arrival as a prisoner; and the windows of the rue St. Denis had been hired by persons wishing to behold the spectacle of Henry led as a captive in the train of the victorious Mayenne.

Great was their astonishment, after cherishing such expectations, to see, on the 1st of November, the army of Henry approach, strengthened by a reinforcement of three thousand English, and take possession of the faubourgs on the left bank of the river. He had negotiated with Elizabeth, who was well disposed to assist him in making head against the Catholic league. The aid she afforded him was most important. She generously advanced him the sum of £22,000, to enable him to pay his Swiss and German soldiers. So much money Henry declared he had never seen before. The sinews of war thus timely supplied, enabled him to confirm the fidelity of his wavering followers. Lord Willoughby, an officer of high reputation, commanded the English troops, which had joined the king's army at Dieppe.

Henry's approach was beheld with great alarm. Having taken the faubourgs, he restrained his soldiers, and forbade them to pillage the inhabitants; and he allowed the soldiers to attend divine worship with the citizens.

The arrival of Mayenne and De Nemours compelled the king to retreat. He marched into Touraine, where he established at Tours a second parliament of Paris, which was presided over by Achille de Harlay. The counsellors, left in the great chamber, gave themselves little concern about this rival creation, and continued to issue their orders, which Henry took care to

abrogate by his. The pope wished, in this state of things, to make an effort at intervention, to which he indeed seemed in a manner invited, by the very nature of the questions then in agitation. But the cardinal, Henry Gaëtan, whom he sent as his legate into France, displayed too conspicuously his partiality. Instead of taking up his abode in some neutral city, he proposed to go straight to Paris, the head quarters of the league; and Henry, treating him as an enemy, sent out detachments against him, which dispersed his escort on the road, in such a manner, that the pretended pacificator, the proud mediator between contending powers, came to the gates of Paris a fugitive. The Parisians, nevertheless, gave a fête on his arrival. They had ornamented for him the archbishop's residence with the decorations of the crown; and the citizen militia, who waited under arms to receive him, welcomed him with joyous salvoes from their arquebusses. We read, in the journal of Henry IV., he was much afraid that some evil disposed persons would load with ball, or that accident might expose him to danger, and on that account he made signs to them to cease firing; but they understanding his actions to be intended for benedictions, continued more vigorously their discharge.

Serious hostilities followed in the train of this little war of orders and ambassadors. Early in May, 1590, Henry IV. re-appeared in the environs of the capital; but he was as yet too weak to threaten it with a siege. After in vain attempting to induce the Parisians to give battle, he retired by Montlhéry, captured Etampes, Vendome, Le Mans, and Alençon, and proceeded to Normandy. In that province he made himself master of Domfront, Falaise, Lisieux, Bayeux and Harfleur, again passed up the Seine to Meulan, which he took, and immediately advanced to lay siege to Dreux.

On hearing of the king's successes, Mayenne assembled his troops, and took the field. He was met by a corps of three thousand cavaliers, which the Duke of Parma sent to him from the Low Countries, under the orders of the Count d'Egmont. It was not that he was disposed to risk an engagement: on the contrary, he feared to expose his fortunes to the chance of a battle; but the reproaches of the Parisians, the persuasions of the legate, and the intrigues of the Spanish faction, had obliged him to march out of the capital. Encouraged, however, by false news, that Henry had retired on the side of Verneuil, and by the bravadoes of the Count d'Egmont, who vaunted that he could beat the royal army with his three thousand men; he passed the Eure by the bridge of Ivry. He soon met Henry, who marched directly towards him, and from that moment a battle was inevitable.

The two hosts encountered each other on the 14th of March, 1590. Before the action, Henry raising his eyes towards Heaven, invoked the blessing of the Almighty, and then, addressing himself to his companions, "My friends," said he, "if you share to-day my fortunes I will also share yours. With you I wish to conquer or to die. Preserve your ranks; if in the heat of the combat you should be forced to quit them, rally near those

three trees which you see yonder ; if you lose your ensigns, trumpets, and standards, do not lose sight of my white plume ; you will always find it in the road to honour and to victory."



The principal glory of that important day was justly due to Henry. He routed the corps of the Count d'Egmont, who was killed with more than a thousand of his men. Mayenne, after having vainly attempted to rally his troops, repassed the bridge of Ivry, and caused it to be destroyed, in order that the pursuit of the victors might be impeded, and precipitately returned to Paris. The king did himself honour by the clemency he displayed after the victory. He came to an arrangement with the Swiss battalions, restored to them their colours, and allowed them to return to their own country. During the contest, his cry had been, "Save the French, but down with the foreigners." He himself had snatched a great number of prisoners from the hands of the soldiers, who were about to massacre them.

The king did not immediately march on Paris, which he might have easily seized in the first moment of alarm. The interested counsel of Biron, as well as that of the ministers and the Huguenot captains, detained him for some time in a state of inactivity, while the Duchess de Montpensier, who had not been able to conceal the defeat of Mayenne, partly destroyed the dismal effect it was calculated to produce on the minds of the Parisians, by circulating a false report of the death of Henry, and taking every necessary step for making a vigorous defence. It was not till after having subjected Lagny, Provins, Montereau, and Meulan, that the king came to blockade Paris. Mayenne was then at Condé, in Flanders, with the Duke of Parma, from whom he solicited aid ; and he had left in the capital the Duke de

Nemours, with eight thousand men in garrison. His embarrassment, however, was great; he equally feared to leave Paris to be taken by the king, and to introduce to the capital Spanish troops, of which the sixteen might avail themselves to overpower him, and to establish a republican government under the protection of Spain.

While these events were in progress, the old Cardinal de Bourbon died in his prison at Fontenay, in Poitou, May 9th, 1590. The agents of Spain, and the sixteen, demanded that a king should be elected; and extorted from Mayenne a promise to convoke the states general. The sixteen did not wait for that. Seconded by the Cardinal Gaëtan, legate of the pope, they obtained, from the faculty of theology, a solemn decree, which declared Henry de Bourbon a heretic, and an abettor of heretics, and therefore incapable of reigning; and they caused this to be ratified by a decree of parliament. It was published from the pulpits; confessors made it an article of faith for their penitents; but, notwithstanding all this, the league had less hold on the victorious king than they had had on the contemptible Henry III.

The remnant of "the political party," condemned to inactivity by the decisive turn which affairs had taken, protested against it, nevertheless, by a dogged opposition; and all sorts of raillery were indulged in to mock the enthusiasm of the fanatics; and the irresistible influence of common sense evidently carried that way all honourable and right-minded men. The Spanish influence, which was felt more and more on each succeeding day, outraged national sentiment; and the faction of the sixteen compromised its moral power by the ridiculous scenes which were subsequently to afford so fine a theme for the satire of "Menippée." To heighten devotion, the zealots projected a military procession, which was put in motion on the 3rd of June, 1590. It was composed of scholars, priests, and members of all religious orders, excepting the regular canons of St. Geneviève and of St. Victor, the Benedictines, and the Celestines. At their head marched William Rose, bishop of Senlis, the prior of the Chartreux, holding in one hand a crucifix, and in the other a halbert. They were followed by monks, in two lines, wearing the habits of their several orders, variously armed, some at all points, others with a cuirass or simple casque, according as they found means to borrow them. Their offensive arms consisted of swords, pikes, sabres, and especially arquebuses. These they handled with all the dexterity which might be expected from warriors of their quality. During their march, they sung hymns and psalms, intermixed with frequent discharges of their fire-arms. The legate thought it a duty to authorise this ceremony by his presence. A domestic servant belonging to his establishment was killed, almost by his side, from one of the salvoes fired by these new arquebusiers. The accident at first gave rise to an injurious rumour; but it was soon set at rest, as it was circulated among the people that, the poor man having lost his life in connection with so holy a ceremony, his soul had taken flight

immediately to Heaven, without stopping at purgatory ; and this every one was to believe, as monseigneur the legate, who knew the truth, assured them that such was the case. The procession advanced through the most frequented streets of Paris, and delighted the thoughtless populace as much as it afflicted sensible people.

However Nemours, who commanded in Paris, neglected no precaution which might enable him to prolong his resistance ; but he had only provision for five weeks. The famine was so great, that the people even ate herbs that grew in the ditches, and animals the most unfit for human sustenance. They subsequently made a sort of flour of the bones of beasts which they killed ; and the legate proposed, as a last resource, that they should grind the human bones which reposed in the old cemeteries. Thirty thousand persons died of hunger. One mother devoured her own child. Moved by pity, Henry IV. caused the useless mouths, which had been expelled from the city by the besieged, to be collected together and fed.



The commanders in his army, imitating the example set by the monarch, sent food and refreshment to their enemies ; the soldiers caused them to be passed up the walls by means of ropes which were thrown over. "Is it

then," said Henry, "left for me to nourish them? Paris must not be made one vast cemetery. I do not wish to reign over the dead."

The Parisians reckoned still on the arrival of Mayenne. It was only at the end of six weeks that he arrived at Meaux, and then he did not dare immediately to attack the royal army. He waited for the Duke of Parma to rejoin him with fifteen thousand men, and a convoy of fifteen hundred chariots, laden with provisions. Henry raised the blockade, and advanced to Chelles to give battle to Alexander Farnese. The Duke of Parma declined the combat, seized on Lagny, and, master of the course of the Marne, sent a great number of boats to Paris, carrying supplies of food. Sickness and famine then invaded the camp of the king. Shut up between the Parisians, who made frequent sorties, and the army of the Duke of Parma, Henry decided to retreat. Farnese, who had only advanced to save Paris from being taken, having fulfilled his mission, immediately withdrew, and directed his steps towards the Low Countries.

The war, however, continued. In the night of the 3rd of January, 1591, the Parisians made a fruitless attack on St. Denis, in which, however, they lost their chief, the Chevalier d'Aumale, a brave warrior, but one who did not know how to preserve in public affairs generally the same countenance which he wore on the field of battle, and who had weakly stooped to be the flatterer of the populace and of the sixteen. He had been surnamed "the rampant lion." The king, on his side, was not more happy in his attempts on Paris, in the battle des farines (of flour). He had disguised as peasants several of his officers, who conducted carts and horses, and asses laden with flour. They went in the middle of the night and asked to enter the city, proposing to throw impediments in the way of closing the gates, till the troops concentrated in the faubourgs should arrive. But the secret was betrayed. The guards at the gates amused, by concerted delays till day-break, the false vendors of corn; and the latter wishing at last to enter by main force, the citizens ran to arms. Henry, whose troops could hope to effect nothing but by a *coup de main*, beat a retreat; and he, to indemnify himself, seized on Chartres. The magistrate who addressed him, on bringing him the keys, spoke of fidelity and obedience, "to which we are bound," said he, "by divine and human laws." "Add, and by the cannon law also," exclaimed Henry, laughing, as he urged his horse briskly forward. Fortune declared for him generally in the kingdom. But his enemies, incapable of continuing the contest by other means, called foreigners to their aid. The president, Jeannin, had been deputed to the court of the King of Spain, who redoubled his intrigues and promises. The Duke of Savoy had seized on Provence; the parliament of Aix, from hatred of a Huguenot king, had almost granted him the rights of sovereignty in that important government, which had served twice for a bulwark to France, in the time of Charles V. Sextus V. died August 27th, 1590; and strange to say, when speaking of the character of a man who had been put in comparison with the popes of the middle ages, the leaguers

openly rejoiced at hearing the news of his death, for that which seemed to be a loss to them. Aubri, the curé of St. André-des-Arts, said, in the open pulpit, speaking of the death of Sextus, "God has delivered us from a wicked pope, and a bad politician. Had he lived longer, good Catholics would have been astonished to hear preaching against the pope at Paris; I, for one, should have been prepared to do it." Urban VII. was chosen to fill the place of Sextus, who only reigned thirteen days, and was succeeded by Gregory XIV. He publicly espoused the cause of the league, raised an army of twelve thousand men, with the treasure amassed by his predecessors, and sent it into France, preceded by a bull of excommunication directed against the partisans of the king. Henry immediately applied himself to obtain aid from foreign powers. The Vicomte de Turenne brought to his assistance an army from Germany, with which he took Stenai, and held in check the Duke of Lorraine. Lesdignières, who commanded for the king in Dauphiny, reduced Grenoble, and repulsed the Duke of Savoy, who had attempted to seize on Provence. There was one circumstance especially favourable for the royal cause, the division which prevailed in the Catholic camp. Nemours, Mayenne, the Duke of Lorraine, and the Spaniards, did not understand each other, and formed so many distinct factions (all entertaining the greatest animosity) in the league. The escape of the Duke of Guise, who, since the death of his father, had been a prisoner in the Château at Tours, occurred at this period, to render matters still more complicated. Mayenne exhibited great jealousy on the subject of the reception given to him at Paris, and the young duke immediately connected himself closely with the sixteen. The latter wrote to the King of Spain to ask for a king; and, as they suspected the parliament, which closely watched their enterprises, they resolved not to be governed in this instance by its decisions. "Gentlemen," said Pelessier, curé de St. Jacques-la-Boucherie, speaking before the assembled members, "we must not hope to have reason and justice from the court of parliament. We must play the game with knives; I am informed that there are traitors in our company; we must expel them, and throw them into the river." A leaguer, who was accused of correspondence with royalists, having been acquitted, the sixteen made their factions take arms, and proceeded to arrest the president, Brisson, and the counsellors, Larcher and Tardif. This done, they conducted them to the Châtelet, where sentence of death was pronounced against them, and it was instantly carried into effect. Brisson, taken by surprise, had been thrown into the prison of the little Châtelet, at the moment when he passed, mounted on his mule, on his way to the palace. He had only time to say to the advocate, D'Alençon, "Let them not burn the book I have commenced, as it will be found a beautiful work." He was hanged, after being hastily confessed, to a ladder placed against a beam. Larcher, who was then brought forward with Tardif, exclaimed, on seeing the dead body of Brisson, "that life to him was a load; and he rejoiced in the thought of imme-

diately rejoining that great man." The bodies of the three magistrates were afterwards carried to the place de la Grève, and suspended in their shirts to three gallowses, which were there erected, and a defamatory writing was attached to each sufferer. Emboldened by the success of this attempt, they resolved to effect Mayenne's destruction, when he suddenly returned to Paris from Laon, with some of his men, and put to death four of the factious. Leuchard, Arnoux, Ameline, and Simmonot, who were likewise condemned to die, saved themselves by escaping to Flanders with Bussi Leclerc. Ainsî fled to Brussels, where he resumed his original profession, that of a fencing master, gave lessons with a long chaplet under his hood, and spoke of the Guises and the King of Spain as having been merely instruments in his hands.

While Mayenne delivered Henry IV. from his most implacable enemies, that prince, by his firmness and address, disconcerted a third party, which had been formed even in his own camp, and which sought to place the crown on the head of the young Cardinal de Bourbon, the nephew of the king of the league. Afterwards, in 1592, he went to besiege Rouen, with the troops which had been furnished by England, and the Protestants of Germany. That place, one of the bulwarks of the league, was defended by Villars Brancas. Mayenne and Farnese advanced to succour it. Henry marched to meet the Spaniards, blockaded them in their camp near Caudebec, and cut off their supplies. The Duke of Parma could not extricate himself from the difficult situation in which he was placed but by crossing the river, and retiring on Paris. He took his route by the plains of Neubourg, and in four days reached the bridge of Charenton, not having had a good sound sleep, as he afterwards declared, since he was in La Brie. He subsequently collected his troops in the Low Countries, effecting a skilful and glorious retreat through Champagne: but he was not able to get cured of a musket-shot wound which he had received in the arm at Caudebec. Farnese went to seek a cure from the waters at Spa, but in vain; and he returned, still in bad health, to preside over a new armament which was prepared in Artois against France, and died on the 2nd of December, having gained, says Lanoue, the fame of being the most dexterous assaulter of cities that had ever been known. Some months before, the king's party had lost a warrior equally illustrious in the Marshal de Biron, the ablest commander of France, who, in making a reconnaissance, had his head carried off by a cannon ball. Lanoue, in his "Military Discourses," calls Biron the greatest captain of France; and Brantome, improving on the eulogy of Lanoue, presents him as the greatest warrior of Christendom. Nevertheless, it is doubtful if his fall was a serious loss to Henry. Biron was to him a servant more useful than devoted; and the way in which he exercised his talents had not always been distinguished for loyalty. It is said that, during the retreat of the Duke of Parma, his son one day offered to cut to pieces the enemy's advanced guard, if six thousand men were confided to him; but the opportunity was lost, and the marshal treated the application as that of an adventurer, and rejected it. "I know

very well," said he, "that you could have done it; but if you had succeeded, the war would have been soon finished, and you and I should have had nothing to do but to go and plant cabbages at Biron." The baron, at a future period, recollected but too well the lesson of his paternal preceptor. Seven years before his death, the marshal gave his name at the baptismal font to an infant, who was to avenge royalty on the misdeeds of those selfish men, who, for their own advantage, were ready to favour treason: that infant was Armand Duplessis, afterwards Cardinal Richelieu.

Meantime, Henry IV. advanced as he could to a throne so violently shaken. Relieved from the presence of the Duke of Parma, whose importunities had annoyed him, Mayenne was, however, not the more master of his actions. The pressing representations of the pope and the King of Spain, and the remonstrances of the great cities favourable to his party, obliged him at length to convoke at Paris a shadow of the states general, that they might proceed to the election of a king. The assembly met in January, 1593. It was composed in a great part of the creatures of Mayenne and the King of Spain. But the Spanish party was the more formidable; and the ambassador of Philippe II., the Duke of Feria, offered to the leaguers assistance both in men and money, if they would hasten to proclaim a king. They were not ignorant that the king desired by Spain was no other than the young Duke of Guise, who was to marry the Infanta, Isabella Claire Eugenia, the daughter of Philippe. Time pressed; and it was urged that Henry IV. must abjure, if he wished to keep a crown on his head. The leaguers, *Spanish-ised*, says Péréfixe, and the rigid Huguenots, were equally apprehensive of the consequences, though from different motives, of any change on the part of the king; and all the politicians of either religion concurred in calling on him not to swerve. In this position, the king announced his determination to send a message to the parliament, all captive and crippled as it was, commanding the Duke of Mayenne to maintain the fundamental laws of the state, and to guard against the crown, on any religious pretext, being transferred to foreigners.

That step gave a mortal blow to the Spanish faction. The capture of Dreux, which fell to the royal army, and the defection of Mayenne, who treated with Henry, preferring submission to him, to seeing himself reduced to serve his nephew, the Duke of Guise, completed its overthrow. Henry IV. no longer hesitated. He repaired to St. Denis, attended by many prelates and doctors, his preceptors, and there, on the 25th July, abjured Calvinism, embraced the Catholic faith, and received absolution from the archbishop of Bourges. This was regarded as a most happy event. The whole country from Paris to Pontoise was illuminated by bonfires; a crowd of Parisians thronged to St. Denis, in spite of the league and the Spaniards, to witness the abjuration, who returned to their homes full of esteem and affection for the king. Mayenne then dismissed the deputies of the states, who withdrew to carry their discontent into the provinces.

To the league there now remained but a small number of places. Vitri surrendered; Meaux, the Compté de Carces, Aix, Provence and Lyons, submitted, after an outbreak excited by Mayenne against the Duke de Nemours. La Châtre put into the hands of the royalists Orleans and Bourges; and at length Paris opened its gates to Henry, on the 22nd March, 1594. Mayenne was in Picardy; the parliament, the prévôt of merchants, and the aldermen, prepared the minds of the populace to receive the king, and triumphed without difficulty over the efforts of a few frantic leaguers. Brissac, invested with the command of the city, introduced into it Henry IV. The king, who, in February, had been crowned at Chartres with the ampoule of St. Martin de Tours, made a triumphal entry by the same gate through



which Henry III. had fled six years before. He went immediately to the church of Nôtre Dame, where he heard mass, and caused *Te Deum* to be sung. Paris had been regained without spilling one drop of blood, notwithstanding the presence of four or five thousand Spaniards, who formed its garrison, and of ten or twelve thousand malcontents. Ridicule had done justice on the foreigners, and rendered their fury impotent. It was to the satire of "Menippée" that this result was in a great degree owing. Everybody knew by rote the speech which Peter Pithou, one of the authors of that celebrated book, had put into the mouth of Aubray, a deputy of the third estate. "By our lady! gentlemen who have laboured to fine purpose! There was previously no occasion for curés, who should preach to us that we ought to be cleansed and well polished. I see, from your language, that there is a great deal to do for the poor Parisians, and it will take much to polish them. It is time that we should henceforth see that the Catholicism

of Spain is a drug, which leads people by the nose; and it is not without cause that other nations call us gossips, since, like poor hood-winked, too credulous old nurses, the preachers and the sorbonists, by their gossiping enchanters, have thrown us into the ranks of tyrants; and we have since been caged, and shut up within our walls to learn to sing." The writer proceeded in a like tone, and in a more comic vein, but full of generous indignation. The satire "Menippée," was for the league what the immortal book of Cervantes was for chivalry, with this difference, however, that in Don Quixote the ridicule was safely directed against an institution which had fallen into insignificance, while that of Passerat, Pithou, and their intrepid associates, boldly attacked the passions still excited, of men long accustomed to all sorts of violence, and who were likely to answer pleasantries by threatening death. "Laugh at our sermons," said Aubri and Boucher, some days before the advance of King Henry to the capital; "you will not laugh when you hear the sound of the tocsin, as it formerly called the Parisians to matins."

The entry of Henry IV. into Paris terminated the epoch of wars for religion. Victory at last remained undecided. To consecrate his triumph, the league had been vanquished, and Henry was forced to abjure the doctrines of Calvin; but, in the result, notwithstanding his tardy conversion, the son of Jeanne d'Albret did not the less remain the head of the reforming faction. As light in his convictions as his father, Anthony de Bourbon, and reformed after the fashion of "that little voluptuous man," the Prince of Condé, who, "from being converted," neither changed his tastes nor his mistresses, Henry is said to have exclaimed, when about to present himself at St. Denis, "that Paris was well worth a mass." At Rome, a conversion so conveniently timed was not a little suspected. Clement VIII. long refused to sanction the absolution given by the monks at St. Denis; and it was not till after protracted negotiations that he consented to receive La Clielle, who brought letters from the new convert. "Though it were the devil himself who demanded to be received as a convert," said the auditor, Seraphin, "your holiness could not refuse to sanction it." It was, however, not till the year following that Henry received his letters of naturalization, to certify that he had been admitted into the bosom of the Catholic church; and it was only the fear that he inspired which at last prevailed. Seraphin, who has just been mentioned, said one day in the sacred college, "Clement VII. lost England by his vivacity; Clement VIII., by his dilatoriness, will lose France. He further added, that "the old leaven of the league would never ratify this forced concession." "The cask always smelt of the herring," as was one day remarked to Henry himself, in the course of those popular excursions, which he so frequently made, and in which the king was lost in the joyous *bon vivant* and the heedless gallant. Those who had celebrated the virtue of the blessed martyr, James Clement, however, soon began to bestir

themselves with a wish to find a successor to his zeal and desperation. The envenomed rancour of the vanquished party had already armed against the heretic, against the tyrant, as he was proclaimed by the band of Pierre Barriere, and, after him, by that of John Chatel, a pupil of the Jesuits, whose crime gained for his masters expulsion from the kingdom. Eventually, there presented themselves no fewer than eighteen aspirants to martyrdom, and the eighteenth was Ravallac.

If, after the manner of Burette, the course of whose history, for obvious reasons, has through the preceding pages been generally followed, another section is here closed, we can hardly abstain from renewing the lament formerly breathed for the slow march of humanity, however great the boasted advance of science, and what is called civilization. A period of great refinement had certainly now been reached. The courts of England and France professed to encourage letters, and some of the most powerful minds, ever bestowed by "the pomp and prodigality of Heaven," had begun to shine on mankind; yet this was the period when human nature was outraged, and the Deity sacrilegiously mocked by the massacre of St. Bartholomew. It is enough to chill the blood, looked at as a simple catalogue of frightful murders; but how infinitely is the horror, which it is calculated to inspire, increased by a knowledge of the melancholy fact, that the work of blood was perpetrated by a miscreant king, who deemed shooting his subjects a fit exercise for royalty, prompted by one of the softer sex, no insane devotee, but a woman who had doubted whether to prefer the Protestant or the Catholic faith, and to sum up all, approved of as a worthy service rendered to the Supreme Being, and approved of by him who claimed to sit in the chair of St. Peter, and was regarded as the head of the Christian world!

Catherine de Medicis would seem to have been willing to favour what, so far as religion was concerned, might be called "liberal ideas." More than once she inclined decidedly towards the Protestants, and the miscarriages of the Catholics seemed to be regarded by her with profound indifference, almost amounting to contempt; yet to relieve herself from the importunities of the reformers, she could sanction that miserable tragedy, which has stamped her name with infamy.

The king who could perpetrate this abomination lived and died among the most miserable of mankind. While his hands were still red with the blood of his victims, he attempted to make what had occurred pass for an accident, which he had vainly, but anxiously, tried to arrest in its progress. He sent to England to excuse the crime; but receiving the contemptible plaudits of some infuriated wretches, who affected to believe that a God of mercy could be propitiated by crime, the wretched man seemed anxious to resume the frightful laurels which, with the timidity of guilt, attempting to escape, he had in the first instance tremblingly thrown away. When his fears were abated, he shewed that the brutality of his heart was unsubdued;

and a medal was struck to commemorate that day of shame as one of glory, on which the effigy of a Christian king was proudly exhibited, surrounded by the ghastly heads of the victims of his unhallowed fury and revolting lust of blood.

While bitter condemnation must fall on the Catholic actors in that dismal scene, truth demands from the historian, that it should be frankly confessed the sufferers thus foully immolated were not blameless. While claiming liberty of conscience for themselves, the Huguenots were all too ready to deny it to others: while asking for toleration, they were disposed to persecute. Where they possessed the power, they used it with severity, little in accordance with those benevolent tenets, the legacy of a crucified Saviour, which they professed to vindicate. The Catholics, in such cases, were outraged to the last degree; and all that they deemed most sacred was treated with the bitterest scorn. Men never seem so much like what we suppose demons to be, as when they suffer their religious passions to engage them to make war on their fellow creatures, as they pretend, to honour God.

France has gratefully remembered the name of Henry IV., who brought the religious contest to an end. It was a great and a beneficent act; but the means by which it was effected are open to more than suspicion. He could only succeed by abjuring Calvinism. If the religion of his mother had indeed been his, he made an awful sacrifice to pacify his people; if he had always been a good Catholic till he disowned Calvinism, he must have been a hypocrite, unless we suppose that his conversion was happily wrought just at the precise moment when he could profit from it, a supposition so accommodating, that it will hardly be admitted for a dead king, though a living one might command it. The general belief in France was, that though he was reconciled to the church, his heart was still with the reformers. Unquestionably, the situation in which he found himself was one of extraordinary difficulty and great temptation, and it is probable that he was reconciled to the course he took by the reflection, that, if it were deficient in sincerity, by extinguishing the flames of civil war, he conferred a mighty boon on thousands, who became his peaceable subjects, and who, but for the scene at St. Denis, would have continued the insane destroyers of each other.





CHAPTER VIII.

FRANCE UNDER THE BOURBONS. A. D. 1594 TO 1788.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.—THE SPANIARDS IN FRANCE.—WARS OF LOUIS XIV.—WAR IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.—REVOCATION OF THE EDICT OF NANTES.—PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPPELLE.—REVOLUTIONS IN ENGLAND.—THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.—WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.—PROGRESS OF SOCIETY.



UNCERTAINTY was now at an end. Once master of Paris, Henry might truly call himself King of France. There, however, remained much to be done, before he could know the full enjoyment of peace. It was necessary to relieve the country from the presence of the foreign troops, which had been called in by the rebels to assist in re-organising the royal administration, and to withdraw by degrees from warlike hands the cities and provinces which various chiefs had seized, on different pretences. On the very day of his entry into Paris, Henry gave a safe conduct to the Spanish army. It marched out in the course of a few hours, accompanied by thirty of the most obstinate of the leaguers. From a window Henry saw them pass. All saluted him with a low bow. He graciously returned the salute to the officers. "Commend me," said he, "to

your master; but return hither no more." The parliament was re-established; the royalist counsellors who had been sitting at Tours returned, with the virtuous Achille de Harlay at their head. Those of Paris had expiated their former transgressions by their recent conduct: they preserved their seats; all orders issued since 1588 were set aside; the powers of Mayenne were revoked, and the late acts of the states general were annulled. The generosity of the king had gained over the minds of the Parisians. On the evening of the day on which he entered the capital, he took part in a



game at cards with the Duchess of Montpensier. The other cities and their governors, after the surrender of Paris, treated separately. Villa Brancas gave up Rouen, of which he held the government; he received, beside that of Caux, the situation of admiral, with 1,200,000 livres *d'argent*, and a pension of 60,000. The submission of Montreuil, Abbeville, Troyes, Sens, Rioux, Agen and Marmaude, produced to their governors all that they could wish. The Marquis d'Elbeuf maintained himself in the command of Poitou. Cambray, Beauvais, Peronne and Amiens, followed the example of the other cities. The Duke of Guise at length detached himself from the party of Mayenne, and gave up the keys of Rheims, Vitri, and Mezieres. The Duke of Lorraine also negotiated, through the intervention of Bassompierre.

Mayenne alone held out. He did not wish to renounce the title of lieutenant general of the crown, always reckoning on the support of Spain. He had withdrawn into his government of Burgundy, and had kept Dijon in a state of subjection by putting its mayor to death, who was disposed to favour the party of the king. Henry resolved to attack the Spaniards by openly declaring war [1595], and to finish with Mayenne and the conspiracies, which were every day being formed. The Constable of Castile had just

arrived from the Milanese at the head of a considerable army, and joined the Duke of Mayenne, with whom he had passed the Saone at Gray. Henry IV. marched to meet them towards Fontaine-Française, not having with him more than fifteen hundred men. The enemy was defeated and put to flight. Mayenne, learning that the principal towns of Burgundy, Beaune, Autun, Auxonne, Mâcon, Auxerre, and even Dijon, had submitted, thought of passing into Savoy, and thence into Spain. The prudent indulgence of the king spared him the disgrace of that exile, which would have left the former chief of the league an exasperated and threatening enemy. Henry IV. assured him of his favourable disposition, and permitted him to retire to Chalons-sur-Saone, till they should have come to a perfect accommodation. The absolution granted by Pope Clement VIII. to the king, at this juncture, in consideration of the representation of the French envoys, D'Ossat and Duperron, determined Mayenne to treat. He obtained, through the intervention of Gabrielle d'Estrees, very favourable conditions. This done, he came to Monceaux to salute the king, who gave him a most gracious reception, and treated him with as much confidence as if he had always been devoted to his service. Then it was, Mayenne remarked, at the close of their interview, that "the king had completed his triumph." The new Duke of Nemours made also his peace, through the intervention of his mother; the Cardinal de Joyeuse effected a reconciliation for the duke, his brother, who had been named chief of the league in Languedoc, and who had obtained, among other things, the baton of Marshal of France. Bois Dauphin received the same recompense for the towns of Sable, and of Château-Goutier, in Anjou.

But the foreign war continued; and the Archduke Albert seized on Calais, Guines and Ardres. The king, who had no money, convoked an assembly of notables at Rouen [1596], to consider of the means of closing the wounds of the kingdom. His speech deserves to be recorded:—

"If I wished to gain a name as an orator," said Henry, "I should have got by rote some beautiful harangue, and pronounced it with imposing gravity; but, gentlemen, I aspire to titles much more glorious than that which I have mentioned. I wish to be called the liberator and restorer of my country; and it is with that desire that I have met you here this day. You know, to your cost, as I do to mine, that when God called me to this crown, I found France not only, I may say, ruined, but almost lost to the French. By divine grace, by prayers, by the good councils of my civil servants, and by the swords of my brave and generous noblesse, among whom, on the faith of a gentleman, I do not hold prince to be the proudest title, by my cares and toils, I have saved it from being totally lost. Let us snatch it now from ruin. Share with me, my subjects, this second glory, as you have shared in the former. I have not convoked you here, as my predecessors were accustomed to do, to ask you to sanction what I have willed, but I have caused you to assemble that I may receive your counsel, desiring to give it due weight,

and to follow it ; in brief, to put myself and my affairs in your hands. Such a desire is felt by few kings, greybeards and conquerors. But the great affection which I entertain for my subjects, the extreme desire I prove to add the two titles I have mentioned to the name of king, makes me deem this easy and honourable. My chancellor will more fully explain my wishes."

The assembly, moved by this singular and touching language, resolved to suspend for a year the payment of officers' pledges ; and, during two years, ordered that a tax of one sous per pound should be imposed on all commodities brought into cities, corn only excepted. These supplies would not have sufficed to meet the necessities of the king, if the wise administration of his friend and minister, Sully, had not provided other resources to meet the expenses of the war. The Spanish governor of Douriens, Don Fernando Tello, had just taken Amiens by surprise. This news was brought to Henry at night. The Huguenots, discontented in consequence of the abjuration of the king, and the favours which he had lavished on the Catholics, caballed, refused their services, and thought of recurring to their former plan of a republic. Paris was in great consternation ; and Britany, in a state of insurrection, threatened to separate from France. The Duke de Mercœur, of the house of Lorraine, the sole and last remnant of the league, wished to be made a duke independent of that country.

Henry IV. hastened to invest Amiens before the Spaniards could firmly establish themselves there. Mayenne and the leaguers served him faithfully. The archduke having vainly endeavoured to repulse the French, withdrew into Artois, and disbanded his troops. Amiens soon capitulated, and opened its gates to the King of Paris. Henry pursued the archduke to Arras, and caused some cannon-shots to be fired at the city ; but not seeing any enemy appear, he returned to France. He then determined to chastise the rebellion of Mercœur ; but the latter obtained his pardon through the protection of the Duchess of Beaufort, Gabrielle d'Estrees, and gave his only daughter to the son of the king, by the duchess, who was created Duke de Vendome.

Peace was at length concluded between France and Spain ; and after ten years of civil war, the treaty of Vervins, signed May 2nd, 1598, gave repose to the kingdom. The Spaniards engaged to restore all the fortresses in Picardy, and the city of Blavet, in Britany ; the fortress of Cambray was given up to them in return. The Duke of Savoy was comprehended in this treaty ; and the affair of the Marquisate of Saluces, which he had held since the time of Henry III., was referred to the arbitration of the pope.

The peace was ratified by Henry at Paris, in the church of Nôtre Dame, in presence of the ambassadors of Spain, and by the Archduke Albert at Brussels, in presence of Marshal Biron, recently created a duke and a peer. This mission proved fatal to the new duke ; the Spaniards knew how to excite his ambition and to flatter his vanity, and persuaded him that the king ought to have bestowed upon him far greater rewards than he had



Henry IV.

received. These were the first circumstances that led the duke to venture into the dangerous path of rebellion.

A month before the conclusion of the treaty of Vervins, the king had closed the abyss of religious discord, by publishing the edict of Nantes [April, 1598]; by which he granted to the Calvinists the full and entire exercise of their worship, made them eligible to be admitted into all public offices, even to those of judicature—the chambers to be equally composed of both parties, with permission to hold general assemblies—and permitted them to tax themselves for the support of their churches; and, finally, beside the concessions just enumerated, many places of security were granted to them. The Sorbonne and the parliament offered strong opposition to these concessions; but the firmness of the king triumphed over all their angry feelings, and the edict was eventually registered in 1599.

The year 1598, so memorable for the edict of Nantes and the peace of Vervins, was rendered still more so by the death of the King of Spain. That redoubtable champion of Catholicism, who had been flattered for a moment with the hope that it would be in his power to dismember France, who, through the whole of his reign, had aimed at the establishment of a universal monarchy, founded on the unity of the Catholic religion, breathed his last on the 13th of September, loaded with the execrations of nations, who had given him the odious surname of “the demon of the south,” and at last leaving Spain impoverished, ruined, and incapable of maintaining that rank among the powers of Europe, to which she had been elevated by Charles V.

Henry IV. profited from the restoration of peace to occupy himself with effecting many reforms that were wanted. He repressed robbery by establishing armed stations; he diminished the number of his troops, and remitted all the arrears of taxes, which were thenceforth to be collected in a more equitable manner. He sent the nobles to live on their estates, who had formed his court by their manners, and who had ruined themselves by their expensive follies. He set them an example of simplicity, for he went ordinarily dressed in grey cloth, with a doublet of satin or of taffeta, without embroidery, and smiled satirically at those who dressed magnificently, and who might therefore be said to have “carried their mills, and their woods, and their lofty trees, all on their backs.”

He also occupied himself in reforming the finances of the state. He had a register made out for his household, one for the marine, one for the artillery, one of the emoluments of the officers of justice and the revenue, and one of the taxes collected in each province; and these he caused to be brought constantly under his observation. After the death of Francis d'O, 1594, Henry had confided the management of the finances to a council of eight magistrates, who had administered them with negligence. Sully, called to this council in 1596, was created sole superintendant. A man of order and great arrangement, without prodigality and pomp, vigilant, laborious, expeditions,

Sully gave up all his time to public business, and discovered the bad faith of the financiers, and detected and checked their depredations. He commenced by visiting four general collections; and within a short period, he caused to be restored to the public coffers four millions and a half. He immediately found the necessary funds to equip a large army, and to bear the expence of a new siege of Amiens. He ordered the under farmers of the revenue to make no more payments to the farmers general, but to send what they had collected immediately to the treasury. By these means he doubled the king's revenue. Such sweeping reforms raised up against him a crowd of enemies; but they afforded general relief to the nation, and he triumphed over all the resentment of the disaffected.

The deranged finances were not the only evil in the kingdom. Henry IV., compelled to satisfy the ambition of so many, and to purchase numerous submissions, had given benefices away to soldiers, to children, and to women. The general assembly of the clergy, held at Paris towards the end of 1598, addressed a remonstrance to the king, calling for a reform of abuses. The king promised to effect such a reform; but he expressed a hope that the clergy would assist his efforts by setting a good example. "You have exhorted me to do my duty," said he; "I call upon you to fulfil yours. We shall do well in this good work to rival one another. My predecessors have given you fine words; but I, with my grey jacket, wish to give you good deeds. I am all grey without, but I trust that I am all gold within."

This rectitude of judgment and firmness of character, which the king displayed in the management of public affairs, were many times on the point of failing him with regard to the details of his private life. The aversion long since inspired by his wife, Margaret de Valois, had increased in proportion to the reciprocal wrongs of both parties, and made them equally anxious for a divorce. Henry IV. was then under the yoke of the beautiful Gabrielle, whom he had created Duchess of Beaufort, and who indulged the hope of one day gaining the title of queen, when this prospect was closed by her sudden death, April 10th, 1599, after dining at the house of the financier, Zamet. The Cardinals d'Ossat and Sillery negotiated at that moment for the divorce of their master with the court of Rome. Notwithstanding the death of the duchess, the negotiations proceeded; and the commissioners of the pope soon pronounced that sentence which was so impatiently desired. The king, determined by the representations of the lords and the parliament, resolved to contract a new marriage, which might securely keep the crown in his family; and in consequence he demanded, through the medium of his envoys, the hand of Mary de Medicis, niece to the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Before this affair could be brought to a satisfactory conclusion, Henry, so great in many things, exhibited a weakness for which it is difficult to account. Captivated by the charms of Mademoiselle d'Entragues, he bestowed on her a gift of 100,000 crowns, created her Marchioness de Verneuil, and caused besides a promise of marriage to be

prepared. The firm and faithful Sully was equally amazed and shocked at this proceeding, and had the courage to tear the important document to pieces before the king's face. "I think you are mad," said the indignant monarch, on perceiving that on which he had set his heart had been treated with so much contempt. "It may be true, sire," the duke replied, "that I am mad; and I could wish to be the only madman in France." Henry felt the reproof, and grateful for the noble frankness of Sully, returned to a sense of what he owed to himself, and a few days afterwards requited his courage by naming him grand master of the ordnance. Henry, however, suffered himself to be won over again, and reproduced the promise of marriage, which he sent to the Marchioness of Verneuil; an act of miserable imprudence, which, at a subsequent period, was to cause great agitation in the kingdom.

In the year 1600, the king married Mary de Medicis; and on the 11th of August, in the same year, he declared war against the Duke of Savoy. The pope was relieved from the task of arbitrating on the question which had been referred to him by the treaty of Vervins, on the subject of the Marquisate of Saluces; and the Duke Emanuel had appeared in person at the French court, to open negotiations, in order to terminate all differences. After two months, passed at Fontainebleau in splendid fêtes and varied entertainments, the duke took his departure, without having accomplished anything, or submitted any proposition to the king, but one to form a league to expel the Spaniards from Italy. He had, however, tampered secretly with the Marshal Biron, by promising him the hand of his daughter, with the duchy of Burgundy. At his departure, Henry had offered him La Bresse in exchange for the marquisate, giving him three months to consider of the offer. At the expiration of that period, and after new delays being granted, which led to no satisfactory adjustment of the existing differences, the king, tired of the subterfuges of the duke, repaired to Lyons. La Bresse was attacked; Duterrail seized on Bourg; Crequi entered Savoy, and took Montmélian. Henry himself marched on Chambéry, and took the Châteaux of Conflans and La Charbonnière, which commanded the entrance of the Tarentaise, and of La Maurienne. The Duke of Savoy, abandoned by the Spaniards, considered himself fortunate that the pope sent his nephew, the Cardinal Aldobrandini, to negotiate a peace. On the 17th of January, 1601, a treaty was signed at Lyons, under which Emanuel ceded La Bresse, Le Bugey, Le Valromey, and the whole line of the Rhone, and also the bailiwick and the barony of Gex. These concessions made, the king gave up to him the Marquisate of Saluces, and restored to him the several conquests which he had made.

On the 27th of September, in the same year, the queen was delivered of a son at Fontainebleau. The king gave to this new born infant the name of Louis, in honour of St. Louis, the founder of his race, and of Louis XII., the father of his people. He invoked on him the blessing of Heaven, gave

him his own, and placed his sword in his hand, praying to God that he would give him grace only to use it for his glory, and the defence of his people.



The provinces of the Loire were now in a very disturbed state. It was found that the tax of a sous on each pound of merchandise brought into the several towns caused great disorders. The king, fearing for the consequences of these discontents, excited and inflamed by the emissaries of Biron, whose conspiracy he had just discovered, repaired, in 1602, to Blois and Poitiers, to tranquillise the public mind by mild remonstrances; and he then abolished that vexatious impost. He next directed his attention to the disaffection of Biron. The principal instrument of the communications between Biron and the Duke of Savoy, was a gentleman named Laffin, who, having little confidence in the promises of the duke, and seeing Biron hesitate, resolved to discover everything to the king, in order to obtain his own pardon. He accordingly gave up to Henry the letters of the marshal, with the details of the whole conspiracy in the hand-writing of Biron. It appeared that he had aimed at nothing less than dismembering France. The Duke of Savoy was to have Provence and Dauphiny; Biron, Burgundy and La Bresse; and other provinces were to be given to different nobles who were comprehended in the plot. All tended to advance the interests of the King of Spain. It was agreed that the Spaniards and the duke should cause an army to enter

the kingdom, and to excite the Huguenots. Biron soon repented the course he had taken, and solicited forgiveness from the king at Lyons. This took place during the war against Savoy ; but, on returning to Paris, excited by the flatteries of his friends, and by the Count d'Auvergne, brother of Henrietta d'Entragues, with whom he was united in ties of the closest friendship, he resumed his former projects, disparaging his royal master in his speeches, and extolling the liberality of the King of Spain.

Informed of all that was passing by Laffin, Henry ordered Biron to Fontainebleau. The marshal, after some hesitation, acting in opposition to the advice of his friends, obeyed the mandate. He loudly protested his innocence, and declared that he would claim satisfaction from his calumniators if the king did not do him justice. Having made three useless attempts on the proud heart of Biron, to induce him to act with manly candour, the king, his patience being exhausted, left him with these words : " You must learn the truth elsewhere ; adieu, Baron de Biron." Shortly afterwards, Biron was arrested by Vitry, captain of the guards, and gave up his sword. Praslin secured the Count d'Auvergne, and both were sent to the Bastille by the Seine. The king remained deaf to the entreaties of the marshal's relations. The trial was brought on before the parliament. Biron acknowledged that the documents produced were in his hand-writing ; but pleaded the pardon of the king, granted at Lyons, which had been revoked. The depositions of Laffin, and of his secretary, Renazé, were, however, overwhelming. To the charges already preferred, they added another, namely, that a conspiracy had been formed by Biron with the governor of Fort St. Catherine, to kill the king when he should go to inspect the place. Biron was unanimously condemned to death. The king permitted, from respect to his family, that the execution should take place in the Bastille, instead of at the place de Grève ; and he accordingly suffered on the 11th of July, 1602, within the walls. The remains of the marshal were taken to the church of St. Paul, in the midst of a sorrowful multitude, who shed tears for the deplorable end of so distinguished a soldier.

Laffin and Renazé were pardoned. The Duke de Bouillon, who was compromised in this affair, retired into his *compté* of Turenne. When invited to return to court, instead of obeying the summons, he fled to Heidelberg, to the Prince Palatine.

In 1604, a new conspiracy was formed against Henry IV. The queen, jealous of the Marchioness of Verneuil, whom the king had established at Fontainebleau, and excited by Leonora Galigai, and by her husband, Concini, whom she had brought with her from Florence, disturbed the king incessantly with her complaints and reproaches. The marchioness wished to withdraw, to save herself from the consequences of the hatred of Mary de Medicis, and, perhaps, also to avenge herself on the king for having frustrated her ambitious hopes. She solicited, and obtained more easily than she expected, permission to withdraw from the court, and to quit the

kingdom. The Duke d'Entragues, her father, and the Count d'Auvergne, her natural brother, sharing her resentment, applied for an asylum to the King of Spain. Their intrigues were discovered. D'Entragues and his son-in-law were arrested, and they were condemned to death by the parliament; but the king commuted this punishment to a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, and even permitted D'Entragues to go at large to live in exile. The marchioness, who had been doomed to seclusion for the rest of her life, was declared innocent at the end of six months. The Count d'Auvergne alone was imprisoned in the Bastille. He was visited with this severity on account of his restless and perfidious character.

The Duke de Bouillon had also been implicated in this conspiracy with the family of D'Entragues. Overwhelmed with favours from the king, who had made him a Marshal of France, and who had obtained for him the hand of Charlotte de la Marck, the Lady of Bouillon and Sedan, he had served him with devoted attachment during the civil war; but since the conversion or abjuration of Henry, the duke had resolved to make himself the chief and protector of the Huguenot party. He had in consequence, as above stated, been compromised by the conspiracy of Biron. To punish him, the king determined to seize on Sedan. He marched to Donchery, where the duke presented himself in order to appease him. Henry proceeded to Sedan, where he only remained three days. He left it after having placed a garrison there. Bouillon soon repaired to court, where greater honours and attention were lavished on him than he had ever received before.

This plot was the last attempt made to disturb the peace of the kingdom during the reign of Henry IV. France, tranquil at home, was respected and powerful abroad. The alliance and the mediation of the king were sought for with eagerness. In 1603, Sully, sent to the court of London as ambassador, had prevailed with James I. to sign with his master a treaty of alliance offensive and defensive against Spain. In 1607, the intervention of the king restored harmony between Pope Paul V. and the Venetians, and induced him to withdraw the excommunication which had been pronounced against the seigniory. In 1609, he concluded between the United Provinces and the King of Spain a truce for twelve years, which was at once a mercantile and political accommodation, by which the freedom of commerce was secured to either party, and the independence of the provinces were recognised.

A new passion interfered for a moment with the prudence of the king, and he was no longer what he had been. It withdrew his attention from those glorious labours to which he had devoted himself, and threw a French prince into the ranks of the Spaniards. The young Henry de Condé, who had just married the beautiful Charlotte de Montmorency, wishing to withdraw his wife from the attentions of the king, went to Brussels, and thence proceeded to Milan [1609]. This weakness on the part of Henry was not, however, of long duration.

A great project now occupied his mind. He proposed to secure the repose of Europe, by destroying the Ottoman power, and by uniting all the states of Christendom in one single body, to be called "the Christian republic." These states were to comprise the pontificate, or the papacy, Great Britain, Hungary, Bohemia, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Savoy, or Lombardy, the seigniory of Venice, the Italian republic, composed of many potentates or cities of Italy, the Belgians, or the Low Countries, and the Swiss. Naples was given to the pope; Sicily to Venice, as a fief of the Holy City; the Milanese to Savoy; Franche Comté, L'Alsace, the Tyrol, and the Trente, to the Swiss; the duchies of Cleves, of Julers, of Berg, of La Marck, and of Ravenstein, to the Low Countries; Transylvania, Moldavia, and Wallachia to the king of Hungary. The Turks were to be confined to Asia, as well as the Russians, if they refused to enter into the grand association. A general council, to be composed of sixty members, to be sent by the fifteen states, was to sit, and to be called "the senate of the Christian republic;" it was to regulate bonds between sovereigns and subjects, and to raise the troops and the subsidies necessary to carry on a war against the Turks and the Tartars.

Such was the gigantic plan conceived by Henry IV., who by this means would have dismembered the Austrian house, and reduced its possessions to the hereditary estates of Austria and Spain. For the execution of this great project, he had an army of forty thousand men, which, with the forces of his allies, was more than doubled. All his troops were paid for three months in advance; his fortresses were in a good state of defence; his magazines on the frontiers amply supplied. He had a reserve of fourteen millions in the cellars of the Bastille, and was in a condition to make war for four years without distressing his subjects. An occasion soon presented itself for commencing the war. John William, Duke of Juliers, of Cleves, and of Berg, Count de la Marck and Ravensberg, had died on the 20th of March, 1609, leaving no children but daughters; and a number of pretenders claimed the succession. Among others, the state of Brandenburg, and the comté Palatine of Neubourg, had been seized by the Archduke Leopold of Austria, bishop of Strasbourg, to whom the Emperor Rodolph II. had given the investiture of it. So important an inheritance, Henry felt, could not be left in the hands of an Austrian prince.

He therefore promised his assistance to the princes of Brandenburg and Neubourg, and occupied himself during the winter in preparing for the expedition. He had resolved to command in person the army destined for the Low Countries, while Lesdiguières should attack Italy. Success to the enemies of the house of Austria was almost certain. A blow from a poniard, writes Michelet, saved it from the danger.

The king wished to leave the regency to Mary de Medicis, assisted by a council of fifteen persons, chosen from among the most competent in the kingdom. Concini and his wife counselled him to cause the queen to be

anointed and crowned before his departure. He consented to it with regret, notwithstanding the sad presentiments which came over him. "My friend," he often said to Sully, "they will kill me. For my enemies there is no remedy but my death."

The coronation took place on the 13th of January, 1610; the queen was to make her entry into Paris on the 16th of the same month. Already had the troops assembled on the frontier of Champagne, and the king only waited for the entry which had been arranged to put himself at their head. We shall here relate what followed in the quaint language of L'Etoile. Like Julius Cæsar, Henry appears to have been warned of his coming fate, but in vain. "On Friday, the 14th of May, 1610, a day sad and fatal for France, the king, at ten in the morning, heard mass at the Feuillants. On his return, he withdrew to his cabinet, where the Duke de Vendome, his natural son, for whom he had a great affection, sought him, to tell him that an individual named La Brosse, a professor of astrology, had told him that the constellation under which his majesty was born threatened him with great danger on that very day, and therefore he advised him to be especially on his guard. 'La Brosse is a cunning old trickster,' said he, laughing, to the Duke de Vendome, 'who wishes to have some of your money; and you are a young fool to believe him. Our days are all numbered before God.' The duke, upon that, went to report what had passed to the queen, who entreated the king not to leave the Louvre for the rest of the day. He gave the same reply to her which he had given to the duke.

"After dinner, the king threw himself on his bed to rest; but not being able to sleep, he rose, sad, uneasy and thoughtful, and walked backwards and forwards in his chamber for some time, and then again laid down on the bed. Still unable to sleep, he rose, and asked the exempt of the guards what time it was? The exempt replied that 'it was four o'clock;' and said, 'Sire, I see your majesty is sad and pensive; it would be better that you should take a little air. That will refresh your spirits.'—'Well said,' replied the king; "order my carriage to be brought. I will go to the arsenal to see the Duke of Sully, who is indisposed, and who takes a bath to-day."

"The carriage was made ready, and he left the Louvre, accompanied by the Duke de Montbazon, the Duke d'Epemon, Marshal de Lavardin, Roquelaure, La Force, Mirabeau, and Liancourt, his first gentleman. At the same time, he ordered the sieur de Vitry, captain of his guards, to go to the palace to hasten the preparations which were making for the entry of the queen, and directed that his guards should remain at the Louvre. Such being the arrangements, the king was followed but by a small party of gentlemen on horseback, and a few valets on foot. The carriage was unfortunately open at each door, as the weather was fine, and the king wished to see, as he passed along, the preparations which were making in the city. His carriage was entering the rue St. Honoré, from that of

Ferronnerie, when it encountered on one side a vehicle laden with wine, and on the other a wagon filled with hay, which caused some obstruction, and he was forced to halt, as the street was very narrow, from the shops coming forward, which were built against the wall of the cemetery of the Innocents.

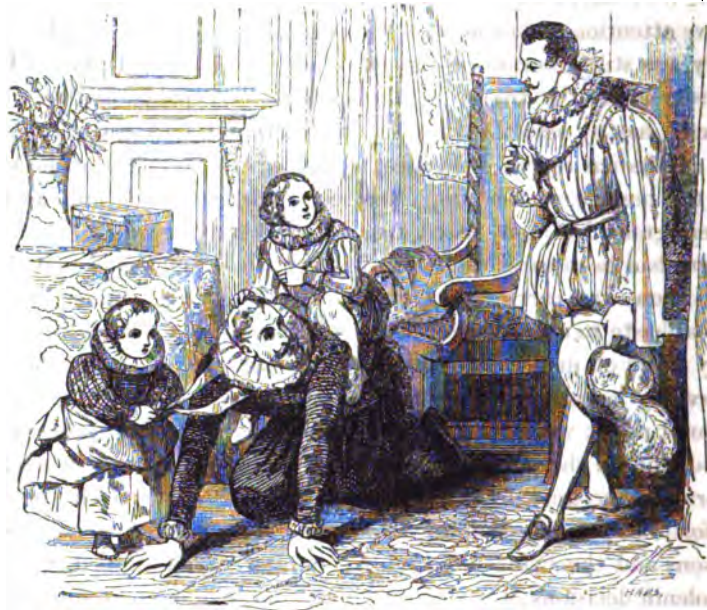
"Being thus impeded, a great portion of the valets passed on foot into the cemetery, to run more at their ease, and to get before the carriage to the end of the street. Of two valets, who alone followed the coach, one went forward to remove the obstruction, and the other was stooping to tie his garter, when a miscreant from hell, called Francis Ravailac, a native of Angoulême, who had had time during the pause which had taken place to note on which side the king was seated, mounted on the wheel of the carriage, and, with a two edged knife, struck the king a blow between the second and third ribs, a little above the heart, which caused the king to exclaim, 'I am wounded!' The villain, without being frightened, repeated the assault, and struck a second blow on the heart, from which the king, having breathed one deep sigh, immediately expired. 'This second blow was followed by a third, so fierce was the parricide against the king; but this only struck the sleeve of the Duke de Montbazon.

"Most surprising to relate, none of the lords who were seated in the carriage with the king had seen him struck; and if the hellish monster had thrown away his knife, it had not been known from what quarter the violence had proceeded. He, however, remained fixed, as if to make himself seen, and to glory in the greatest of assassinations."

Henry was of middle stature, active, inured to fatigue and pain. His temperament was robust, and his health excellent, with the exception of some occasional attacks of the gout, which, however, passed away speedily, leaving no infirmity behind. His forehead was bold, his eye lively and assured, his nose aquiline, his complexion vermillion, his countenance altogether mild and dignified. His beard was broad, and his hair short. They became grey at an early period. "It is the wind of my adversity," said he, "that has blanched them," to those who marked astonishment at the change of colour which has been mentioned.

Among the numerous instances given of the generosity of Henry IV., those are the most remarkable which recall the love which he manifested for his people. We find an infinity of letters to the governors of provinces, and to his parliaments, in which he thus expresses himself: "Take care of my people; they are my children; God has committed them to my care; I am answerable for them." Some troops dispatched by him to Germany, having pillaged the peasants of Champagne, he said to the captains who had remained, "Begone with all speed and restore order. You shall answer for this. If my people are ruined who will support me? Who will bear the burden of the state? who will furnish your pay? Good God! to take from my people is to take from me!" Every one has laughed at the little family scene in which the good monarch was surprised by the Spanish ambassador.

The King of France was crawling on his hands and knees on the floor of the apartment, with his son, the dauphin, seated on his back. On perceiving the visitor, "Mr. Ambassador," he demanded, "are you a father?"—"Yes, sire," was the reply. "Then," said the king, "I may continue my course."



The innocent revenge which he took of Mayenne, the former chief of the league, was also often recalled. He repeated it with regard to the Spanish ambassador in 1608, in order to contradict the false reports which were circulated at Madrid on the subject of his health. Having learned that it was believed that he was disabled by the gout, and incapable of sitting on horseback, he received the ambassador in the great hall at Fontainebleau, and made him take twenty or thirty turns round the gallery, so rapidly, that the latter found himself quite out of breath. "You see sir," said he afterwards, "that I am in pretty good health."

We cannot attempt here the principal features of the administration of Henry IV. Suffice it to say the restoration was complete, and not only were labour and pasturage, "the true mines and treasures of Peru," as Sully called them, encouraged, but a new impulse was given to commerce and to industry, by sending ships to America, and by establishing manufactures of all kinds, as also by opening canals, and other internal communication. Nor let it be forgotten that it is to this king that France owes the ripening and the founding of her charitable institutions, her

hospitals generally, of the military hospital, and numerous other national monuments.

A few brief words rapidly exchanged between the queen and the old chancellor, Brulart de Sillery, on the fall of Henry, immediately after the awful event, silenced all the lamentations of the court. He coldly reminded her that in France "the king never dies;" and that before going into mourning for Henry IV., it was necessary to secure the throne of Louis XIII. The grave attention to business of the minister saved the kingdom. Paris generally was still ignorant of the fatal news, when the Dukes d'Epemon and Guise secured the troops in the name of the queen mother; and the parliament, hastily assembled in the convent of the Augustines, declared "Mary de Medicis regent of France, to administer the affairs of the kingdom during the nonage of the king, her son, with all power and authority." The interregnum had not lasted two hours. It is certainly true that the parliament had been called together in a hurried manner, and that the order resolved upon was carried without deliberation. The council acted also with equal haste to cut short all questions or protests. It appointed for the next day a bed of justice to regulate the somewhat precipitate decisions of the preceding evening. The whole body of the magistracy assembled in their scarlet robes, with the peers, ecclesiastical and military, the princes of the blood, and all the ministers. The king, then eight years of age, was at once formally recognised, and the queen obtained definitively the regency. Thenceforth all proceeded in regular order. The pretensions of the Count de Soissons and the Prince of Condé could not be maintained in opposition to the solemn decisions of parliament. Besides, one of these pretenders, the Prince of Condé, was then out of France, and considered in some sort as a public enemy; the other was content that his silence should be purchased at the price which he put upon it. There was only one man who found himself thrown out of his calculations by the late event, and that was the Duke of Sully, who, having kept himself shut up four-and-twenty hours in the Bastille, did not appear at the Louvre till his assistance was not wanted.

The first care of the regent, after having secured her own authority, and the throne of her son, was to punish the assassin of the late king. This was a duty which she owed to mankind; but humanity shudders to recall the manner in which it was fulfilled. Francis Ravailac, beneath whose hand Henry IV. perished, seems to have been a gloomy enthusiast, who had no great or settled object to gain by becoming a regicide. It was natural to suspect that he might have accomplices. To detect them, if such were in existence, was most desirable. None, however, were discovered; but the wretched prisoner was put to the torture in order to make him disclose the names of his companions in guilt. He was first sworn; and then the dreadful engine called "the brodequin," a sort of boot, was produced. His legs being inserted in the brodequin, wedges were introduced and driven down. The most dreadful anguish was inflicted as they were tightened, and

force continued to be applied till the limbs were crushed, and the sufferer fainted. While he retained his senses, a minister of religion was in constant attendance to heighten the horror of the moment, by telling the victim that the exquisite misery he then experienced was trifling in comparison with that which awaited him in the world to come, when his sinful spirit should be dismissed from this. Not merely once was this attempt made on his conscience, but repeatedly was the *question* applied. No confession, however, could be wrung from him, though he was continually assured that for him there was no pardon in another state of being, unless he named those who had prompted his crime. It almost moves our admiration, to find that, thus pursued, he had the resolution to abstain from seeking a momentary respite from agony by making a false confession; but to this he could not be subdued. Other men, in the like melancholy circumstances, have been unable to resist the brutal importunities of those about them, and in their maddening throbs have breathed accusations against all they were desired to inculcate, and the guiltless have in consequence been sacrificed. In numerous instances, poor wretches have accused themselves of holding communion with the devil, and described minutely the various shapes in which, as they said, he had appeared to them, and the worship they were accustomed to offer to his infernal majesty. Bernard de Gué, it has been seen, produced to his judges, while suffering from being exposed to a fire, two bones, which had, he said, been extracted by magic from his heels; and Americ de Villiers declared to his tormentors, when tortured, that he had personally taken part in the crucifixion of the Redeemer. With equal ease might Ravaillac have purchased a respite from intolerable agony, by naming innocent persons as his accomplices. To this weakness, in his greatest extremity, the unhappy victim was never brought. He was at length sentenced to a horrible death. Justice, throwing aside all moderation and dignity, proceeded with insane ferocity, not merely to destroy the unhappy culprit, but the house in which he had lived was razed to the ground; and it was ordered, that within fifteen days after the promulgation of the sentence, that his relations, who were not shown in any way to have participated in his crime, should "be banished by sound of trumpet from the kingdom, and forbidden ever to return, under pain of being hanged and strangled, without other process of law." The miserable Ravaillac, no longer sustained by the enthusiasm which had carried him away in the first instance to an outrage so dreadful, now recalled the crime he had perpetrated with horror. He was carried in a cart to Notre Dame, there to ask pardon of the Almighty for the dreadful deed he had committed, and thence taken to the Place de Grève, where his right hand was burned from his body by sulphur, his limbs were torn with pincers, and melted lead, boiling oil, and flaming rosin, were poured on his wounds. The infliction was long protracted, and the groans and struggles of the culprit are said to have been witnessed with joy by the populace. He was finally attached to four horses, which, pulling in opposite directions, at

length terminated his existence, by tearing his body to pieces. Fragments of his corpse were then seized by the excited crowd. Portions of it were preserved, but bonfires were made in several parts of Paris to consume the quarters of the criminal, which were reduced to ashes, amidst the furious execrations of the frantic multitude.

Ravaillac thus inhumanly disposed of, attention was next turned to the funeral of the late king. It was remembered that the remains of Henry III., who had been assassinated twenty-one years before, had not yet received the honours of sepulture. The Duke d'Epemon undertook to render late, and not very stately honours to the memory of that monarch. Eight days afterwards, the corpse of Henry IV. was removed to Nôtre Dame, escorted by all the clergy of Paris, by the university, by the parliament, by the chamber of accounts, and by the gentlemen of the chamber, the Prince of Conti, the Count de Soissons, and all the lords at court. On the following morning, when it was to be carried to St. Denis, discussions arose on the subject of the several ranks which claimed precedence. Parties began openly to rally round the regent. Independent of the council of ministers, composed of the Duke of Sully, the sieur de Villeroy, the president Jeannin, and the chancellor de Sillery, the queen had her private council, in which were seen, by the side of the Duke d'Epemon and the Princess of Conti, sister to the Duke of Guise, two personages of very problematical nobility, but who were especially protected by the queen. These were the Florentine, Concini, and Leonora Galigai, his wife. Some great lords held aloof, with a view of declaring themselves according to circumstances. Among these were the Count de Soissons, the princes of the house of Lorraine, the Duke de Bouillon, and the Marshal Lesdiguières, both Huguenots. All waited with impatience for the arrival of the Prince of Condé, on whose attitude the court would decide for peace or war. He arrived, and appeared anxious to conciliate all parties; for himself and his partisans he obtained everything he claimed, and seemed to give his friendship to the favourite of the queen, Concini, now become Marquis d'Ancre.

Peace being secured in France, it was not difficult to arrange with foreign powers, who, for the most part, testified the best disposition towards the new government. The policy of Henry IV. was in some degree modified; the Duke of Savoy was slighted to conciliate the Spaniards. The formidable army which Henry was to have led in person against the Archduke Leopold, was considerably reduced, and put under the command of the old Marshal la Chatre, who could not refrain from taking from the Spaniards the city of Juliers; but he did no more. The coronation of the king furnished an excuse for recalling the army. The ceremony took place at Rheims, according to custom, in presence of the Princes of Condé and Conti, the Count de Soissons, and the Dukes of Epemon, Elbeuf, Nevers, and the ecclesiastical peers. The Prince of Conti received on this occasion the collar of the order of the Holy Ghost from the hands of the young king.

As on all great state occasions, and as had recently been seen at the obsequies of the late monarch, contests arose between certain peers of high rank, as to their right to precedence, springing from rivalry, and prompted by avarice and ambition. Among the discontented, such as the Duke d'Epemon and the Count de Soissons, men of noble birth and vast fortunes, it creates no small surprise to find the Marquis d'Ancre, already so great a lord as to struggle openly with the Count de Belligarde. Happily for the regent, a victim was found at court whom all parties equally desired to sacrifice. This was no other than the Duke of Sully. The Marquis de Cœuvres, his personal enemy, offered to negotiate between the members of the coalition. The Marquis d'Ancre, who acted for the Duke d'Aiguillon, the Duke de Nevers, the Duke de Longueville, and the Count de Bassompierre, carried himself very high in all cases, whether in an adventure of gallantry or an affair of honour, and nothing less would satisfy him than that a prince of the blood should interfere, the Count de Soissons, to effect a reconciliation between him and the Count de Belligarde. At length, all parties were agreed: the royal princes, the Guises, the Duke d'Epemon and his friends, the ministers, and even the Duke de Bouillon himself, Protestant as he was. Never had such a union been seen at court, combining such profound views and fixed principles. The Duke of Sully played the game of his adversaries, and came forward to thrust his head into the snare. He affected a wish to retire. They took him at his word, and forced him to throw up the offices he held of superintendant of finance, and captain of the Bastille. The queen claimed the latter for herself. The administration of the finances was confided to a council, composed of the president De Thou, the president Jeannin, and the Marquis of Château Neuf. Under these circumstances, the late minister of Henry IV. withdrew, to shut himself up at Sully, on the Loire, leaving the field free to his political rivals, "rather," as he himself declared, "from obedience than from choice." Malherbe tells, that on the day after his departure, a satirical squib was posted on the door of the arsenal, which ran thus: "A house to let during the Easter holidays. For particulars, address the Marquis d'Ancre, in the faubourg St. Germain." Certain it is, that the disgrace of the Duke restored peace at court. The most serious affair which then remained to be agitated, was a threatened action against the Marquis de Bassompierre by the sister of the Marchioness de Verneuil, Mary d'Entragues, to compel him to marry her, on the pretext that he had promised to become her husband, and had already made her a mother.

The foreign relations of the country were very pacific. A double marriage was negotiated with Spain, which was to give a queen to France. The Marquis d'Ancre was in such high favour, that he appeared of more importance than the Duke d'Epemon himself. He had just obtained the government of Amiens; he had purchased from the Duke de Bouillon the office of first gentleman of the household, and he, at this period, became a

mediator between the Count de Soissons and the Prince of Condé, his nephew, who had been for some time at variance. The mediator was tricked: Suddenly the two princes quitted the court, not wishing, they said, to appear to approve of so intimate an alliance with Spain, as that which the regent was about to conclude. On the morning after their departure, Mary de Medicis proclaimed openly her intentions, and ordered grand fêtes to celebrate the two marriages, which were to unite King Louis and his sister to the infanta and the infant of Spain. A magnificent carousal was given in the Place Royale, which lasted three days, at which the great lords of the court appeared with infinite pomp. There were five challengers, of whom the Count de Bassompierre was one, who called themselves "knights of glory," and who were engaged in defending the temple of felicity; and they defied their rivals "à la Place Royale de l'abrégé du monde." The princes of the blood, whose absence had not prevented these magnificent fêtes, decided to return to the court while the marriages were being concluded at Paris and Madrid by the ambassadors. The sudden death of the Count de Soissons happened while these matters were in progress, and most opportunely to restore the fortunes and revive the pretensions of the Prince of Condé. For a moment he thought to have prevailed over the Duke d'Epéron; and the murder of the Baron de Luz, killed by the chevalier de Guise, seemed to ensure the disgrace of the Lorraine princes. Twenty-four hours sufficed to change the whole aspect of affairs. The Duke d'Epéron resumed his place by the side of the queen, the Chevalier de Guise received the congratulations of the court, and of the regent herself, for having added to his former murder that of the eldest son of his victim, and finally the Marquis d'Ancre, who had for some time appeared attached to the interests of the prince, received, as the price of his return to the other party, the baton of a marshal of France. Much discontent was manifested; and, almost at the same moment the Prince of Condé took his departure from the court, the Duke de Vendôme and his brother, the Dukes de Bouillon, de Longueville, de Luxembourg, de Mayenne, de Nevers, de Retz, &c. The prince published, in the name of those associated with him, a manifesto, in which he demanded a convocation of the states general. The sieur de Villeroy advised the queen to act with vigour against the rebels; but the Marshal d'Ancre, little acquainted no doubt with the obligations imposed upon him by his new dignity, inclined to peace. Negotiations were opened at St. Menchould. It was there decided that the states general should be convoked. The Prince of Condé gained Amboise and 40,000 livres paid down; the Duke de Mayenne 800,000 livres on the occasion of his marriage; and the Duke de Longueville a pension of 100,000 livres. This was the last act of the regency. Louis XIII. entered into his fourteenth year on the 1st of October; but at the bed of justice, which was held on that occasion, the king prayed his mother to continue always her cares for the welfare of his person, as also for that of his government. At length the time fixed for the convocation of

the states general arrived ; a hundred and forty deputies of the clergy, under the presidency of the Cardinal de Joyeuse, a hundred and thirty-two gentlemen, under that of the Marquis de Beaufremont, a hundred and ninety-two representatives of the third estate, having at their head Miron, prévôt of the merchants of Paris, assembled at the Augustines. On the 17th of October, 1614, the royal sitting was held. The third estate had suffered much from the noblesse. While humbly delivering his speech, the president, Miron, appeared on his knees. It is true that the third estate avenged themselves for any slight which might have been offered to them, by refusing their concurrence to the pretensions of the two first orders, which called for the publication of the council of Trent, the suppression of the king's tax, and the correction of venality proved to exist in the public offices. But there were divisions even in the bosom of the last order. The provinces opposed themselves to the views of the capital, and their deputies were jealous of each other. From that moment, the obstinacy of the third estate was purely negative. Instead of taking the initiatory step, and dragging after it the two first orders to abandon them on the road, it contented itself by simply resisting the demands of the noblesse and the clergy. There was but one point on which the three orders could agree, which was, that they should solicit the king to institute a chamber of justice, to enquire into the malversations committed in connection with the finances of the country. After three months of deliberation, each of the three orders separately drew up its budget of grievances ; that of the third estate was the largest it is true ; but it did not suggest anything of general utility ; it consisted of individual complaints, and a display of provincial hatred put forth against Paris egotism. On the presentation of the budgets, the speaker for the clergy was Armand John du Plessis Richelieu, then twenty-five years of age, who had been Bishop of Luçon since 1609. Contemporary writers remark that the orator insisted on the introduction of ecclesiastics into the councils of the king. Robert Miron, in his harangue, had throughout continued kneeling, and did not fail to call attention to the fact, that "the humble posture, in which he was then seen, had been in other times common to all the orders of the state ; but the clergy and the noblesse had departed from that respectful custom in the last century, while the third order had done itself honour by adhering to it, and therefore that ought not to render it contemptible in the eyes of the sovereign. It may, however, he remarked that it was the last time that the third order did itself "*the honour*" to persist in such humility. The successor of Robert Miron, the president of the third estate in 1789, Bailly, followed the examples which had been set by the clergy and the noblesse, and spoke standing to the King of France. It is known how the last order recovered the ground which the two former had taken in advance of them.

The insignificance, the nothingness of the states of 1614, was so obvious, that no one thought of these decisions any more after the deputies had

returned to the provinces. The court intrigues were recommenced with as much vivacity as ever. The Marshal d'Ancre, newly exalted to the pinnacle of fortune, conceived the hope of governing the young king through a favourite whom he placed about his person, as he governed the queen by his wife. This favourite, the poor eldest son of a mean family, was the keeper of an aviary, or, as he was called, "master of the birds of the cabinet." He was named Charles D'Albert de Luynes. The young king conceived a friendship for him, to the great joy of the marshal, who calculated on his services as one wholly devoted to his will. It is true that a want of support began to be felt by the Florentine, in the midst of the jealousies excited by the high favour of which he was the object. Happily for him, at that moment, another quarrel occupied the court. The parliament, indignant at the suppression of the king's tax, which Louis had granted to the united solicitations of the noblesse and clergy, and seeing every remonstrance useless, thought itself powerful enough to convoke by its own authority a general assembly, at which the princes, dukes, peers, and officers of the crown, were to assist. The resistance of the ministers was unavailing; and if the extraordinary assembly had not taken place, the parliament could at least have made openly at the Louvre its remonstrances, and forced the ministers to justify themselves before the king; but, after having displayed more vigour than the states general, the parliament, by a spirit of egotism which it is difficult to understand, contented itself with some concessions relative to the king's tax, which they very much desired to obtain, and abandoned completely the cause of the people, of whom it had at first appeared they wished to make themselves the firm and devoted champions. If the regent had given way, it was because peace was necessary to her. She felt that it was desirable to bring the marriages negotiated with Spain to a conclusion, and to conduct the young monarch to the Pyrenees, there to receive the infanta on her entrance into the kingdom. The more near a reconciliation appeared, the more the lords, at the head of whom the Prince of Condé was always found, interposed difficulties; and at length it was considered necessary not only to do without their concurrence, but to meet them in open hostility. The prince issued a manifesto, in which he attacked individually the Marquis d'Ancre, the chancellor de Sillery, and the commander, his brother, the counsellor of state, De Bouillon, and another counsellor, Louis Dolé, the intimate friend and creature of the marshal. Of all the great lords, there only remained near the king the Dukes of Guise and D'Epernon. The Marshal de Bois Dauphin was ordered to protect Paris with the Marshal d'Ancre, while the Duke of Guise accompanied the king as lieutenant general of the kingdom. Repulsed by the Marshal de Bois Dauphin, who arrested his progress on the banks of the Oise and the Yonne, the Prince of Condé succeeded in passing the Loire, but was not able to approach Louis, who arrived, without having experienced any interruption, at Bordeaux, where he halted. It was in this town that was celebrated by

procuration the marriage of Madame Elizabeth with the Prince of Spain. The Duke of Guise represented the young prince. On the same day, the marriage of the infanta and the King of France was celebrated at Burgos, the latter being represented by the Duke d'Usseda, the son of the Duke of Lerma. Three days afterwards, the young princess affianced to the infant of Spain commenced her journey, escorted by the Duke of Guise and the Marshal de Brissac, with fifteen hundred horse, four thousand infantry, and four pieces of cannon. The Prince of Condé had arrived in Touraine, his army increased by reinforcements which were brought to him by the Duke de Soubise, the Duke de la Tremouille, and the Duke of Sully himself; while in the south the Duke de Rohan raised Montauban in his favour, and armed the reformers of the Cevennes. This vigorous demonstration did not prevent the exchange of the two princesses being effected with great pomp. Two rich pavilions were erected on the occasion in the middle of the



Bidassoa, where the princesses rested themselves for a short time, and then set out, the one for Bordeaux, and the other for Madrid. On the 25th of November, Anne of Austria was solemnly united to the King of France, and in the evening they were made to repose in the same bed, "but for form only," and their two nurses remained in the chamber of the newly married couple. It was now necessary to think of returning. The same opposition continued to prevail in the council; the chancellor de Sillery urged on the war; Villeroy and the president Jeannin were favourable to peace, in concert with the Marshal d'Ancre. The position was really embarrassing; the Prince of Condé was between Bordeaux and Paris; it appeared difficult to avoid encountering him. They, however, at length commenced their progress. The troops were ready to fight; but it was thought prudent to send before them the Duke de Nevers and the English ambassador to negotiate. They succeeded in the first instance in obtaining a suspension

more than ever attached to her favourite, saw no chance of ensuring his safety but by forming an alliance with the Prince of Condé, to whom she sent a man in whom she could confide, the Bishop of Luçon, who had been established near the court by Barbin. The prince, on the pressing solicitations of the young prelate, repaired to Paris, and favoured the return of the marshal. But the good understanding between them, which had been thus sedulously established, did not long continue; and the marshal, deprived of the only support which the queen had been able to procure for him, retired into Normandy. The Prince of Condé was in fact king at Paris, and it was believed that he had even contemplated assuming the title, at least it was reported that it was given to him by the Duke of Guise, and even by the Duke of Sully himself. Under these circumstances, no time was to be lost. The council of the queen, that is to say, the comptroller, Barbin, Mangot, secretary of state, and a third counsellor, who was careful to avoid public observation, the Bishop of Luçon, proposed an extreme resolution, the arrest of the prince. The Marquis de Thémynes, field marshal, a man of courage, and devoted to the queen, was charged with the execution of this bold design. The Count de Bassompierre received orders to guard Paris, whatever command he might receive to the contrary from the king or the queen. At length, on the 1st of September, the prince having come to the Louvre at ten in the morning, was arrested in the apartment of the queen, when leaving the council, by the Marquis de Thémynes. He made no resistance, and suffered himself to be taken to the Bastille. The Duke de Vendome had already betaken himself to flight; and the Dukes of Mayenne and Bouillon had also left Paris, after having made an ineffectual attempt to raise the faubourg St. Antony. Though this attempt failed, the populace attacked the hotel of the Marquis d'Ancre, and completely gutted it. It was necessary now to prepare for the consequences of the blow which had been struck. The queen called to her aid the Marshal de Brissac and the Count d'Auvergne, whom she had but lately liberated from the Bastille. The Marquis de Thémynes had recently been made Marshal of France, and the Marquis de Crequi duke and peer, being also her devoted creatures. The Dukes de Sully and Rohan had also been recalled to court, with the former ministers; "the Bourbons," as they were called, Villeroy, Jeannin, and De Thou, at length, were ostensibly joined by the Bishop of Luçon, the man who, with Barbin, was the most capable of adopting energetic resolutions. These measures intimidated the princes assembled at Soissons, and rendered them more tractable. An accommodation was hastily made, except with the Duke de Nevers, who refused to come in to any arrangement. It was necessary to consider by what means he could be reduced to take a different course; and some dissensions having broken out on the occasion in the council, the keeper of the seals, Davair, was removed, and his post was filled by Mangot, who gave up the department of foreign affairs to the Bishop of Luçon. The latter, in consideration of his episcopal



Murder of the Marshal d'Ancre.

character, took precedence of his colleagues. All parties prepared for war. The Duke de Nevers, aided by the Dukes of Bouillon and Mayenne, raised troops, and issued a manifesto against the Marshal d'Ancre, in reply to the declaration which the king sent to parliament, declaring them guilty of high treason, if, within fifteen days, they did not acknowledge their offences. The Duke of Guise, who ranged himself on the side of the court, soon took from the Duke de Nevers all his strong places, with the exception of Mezieres. The Marshal de Montigny followed up his successes in Berri, and undertook the siege of Nevers; while, in Picardy, the Count d'Auvergne, after having assembled an army which presented a corps of seven thousand men, paid by the Marshal d'Ancre, proceeded to invest the city of Soissons. An unforeseen event put a stop to these hostilities. The falconer whom the marshal had placed about the king's person, Charles d'Albert de Luynes, had made immense progress in gaining the affections of the young prince. He had bought the captaincy of the Louvre, which gave him a residence in the court, and, without appearing to wish to emerge from his obscurity, he had secretly formed a connection with the revolted princes. He had lately succeeded in making the king regard them as being less his enemies than they were those of the marshal, and caused Louis to remark with what care D'Ancre had, up to that time, withdrawn him from public affairs, and in a manner made him a prisoner; and finally he persuaded Louis XIII. to consent to his being got rid of. The plot was secretly ripened between the king, his favourite, and certain men in humble life of bad character. Only to one man of importance was the scheme made known, the Baron de Vitry, captain of the guards, the declared enemy of the marshal, and to him the execution of what had been resolved upon was confided.

On the 25th of August, 1615, the marshal crossed the drawbridge of the Louvre, when the Baron de Vitry ordered him to surrender. At the same moment, Concini received three pistol shots. He fell from the wounds he had received, and was instantly finished by the swords of the conspirators. The king waited impatiently in his closet for intelligence of what had been done. Informed of the happy success of the plot, he proceeded to the window of the grand hall, and called to those without, "Many thanks to you my friends! Now I am a king." The queen mother was confined to her apartment; the marchioness was taken from her bed, and guarded in the lower hall. A crowd ran to the Louvre; and the king, standing on a billiard table, received all their felicitations. The Bishop of Luçon, who presented himself, was sent away; the seals were resumed from the chancellor; and the comptroller Barbin was made a prisoner in his own house. That evening the spoils of the victim were divided; the Baron de Vitry received the marshal's baton; the sieur de Luynes was made first gentleman and lieutenant of the king in Normandy. The body of the marshal had been secretly buried at St. Germain l'Auxerrois; but the next morning the populace rushed to the church, drew the remains from the

earth, dragged the lifeless form to the Pont Neuf, where they hung it up by the feet. Afterwards, they chopped it to pieces, every one taking a portion of it as a relic, as had been done with the body of Ravallac.

The council then sitting consisted of the former ministers, Jeannin, Sillery, Villeroy, and Davair. Their first care was to circulate manifestos through the kingdom, to justify the murder of the marshal, by preferring against him a formal charge of high treason. "Your master has been killed by ours," exclaimed the besieged at Soissons, to the people under the Count d'Auvergne, who had not as yet received the news from Paris. On all sides hostilities ceased, and the princes hastened to make their submission to the king.

The queen mother had remained at the Louvre, without being able to see her son. She wrote many letters to him, to which he had very coldly replied. At length, on her requesting that she might withdraw to Blois, he consented to grant her an interview for a few minutes. He saw her, but the tears of his mother did not appear to make any impression on him, and she finally left without having obtained any concession, accompanied by the Bishop of Luçon, the only person who appeared to remain faithful to her interest. The princes visited the king daily; and each succeeding day they expected the enlargement of Condé. In this, however, they were not gratified. The prince only received permission to go from the Bastille to Vincennes, and to receive his wife, who was allowed to share his prison. For the other prisoners, Barbin had been conveyed to the Bastille, as well as the Marchioness d'Ancre. Commissioners were named to conduct the trial which was to take place, and which was directed against the memory of the marquis as well as against his widow. In addition to accusations of violence and extortion, charges were preferred of sorcery and witchcraft. They were said to have spell-bound the king. The marchioness, when called upon to repel these absurdities, resumed all her energy and firmness. Many members of the council judged it right to decline voting, others thought to gain favour with the king by condemning the accused. Eventually, Concini and his wife were declared guilty of high treason, of offending against divine and human laws. The memory of the husband was condemned to perpetual disgrace, and the widow doomed to lose her head, while all her property was confiscated. The sentence was carried into effect at the Place de Grève. She died with courage and Christian resignation, much pitied by the populace, who but a short time before had pursued her with the bitterest hatred.

Abroad, France acted a nobler part. She arrested the progress of the Spaniards in Piedmont, and forced the King of Spain to sign, under her mediation, the treaty of Pavia with the Duke of Savoy.

This stroke of policy on the part of the young monarch was very much admired; and the council thought they could skilfully avail themselves of the happy disposition of the nation to further their own views. An assembly of

notables was convoked at Rouen, under the presidency of the Duke of Anjou, the king's brother, assisted by the Cardinals du Perron and de Laroche-foucauld, the Duke de Montbazou, and the Marshal de Brissac. They were to take upon themselves nothing less, such was the language of the king, than to reform all the abuses of the kingdom: civil abuses, military abuses, fiscal abuses, and abuses in the church. It may be supposed that the assembly declined engaging in so laborious an undertaking, for at the end of eighteen days they separated, not, however, without first approving of the magnificent project of the council. Some days afterwards, Du Plessis Mornay wrote from Rouen, "You no doubt have heard of our assembly. Many good things have been proposed in it; nothing bad. The question now is, what good result from it will be obtained? This depends upon authority." Authority contented itself with having made fine promises, and did nothing more. The people showed themselves of so easy a disposition, that they saw without murmuring the prodigious advance of fortune which the brothers De Luynes obtained at court. They forgot the Prince of Condé at Vincennes, and left the queen mother to await at Blois the return of the king's favour. The court was perfectly quiet. Of all the discontented nobles, the Duke de Bouillon alone had refused to give way. "It is still the same auberge," said he; "they have only changed the corkscrew." The Duke de Vendôme, who was not on good terms with the favourites, had just withdrawn; and old D'Epernon, not judging it prudent to make too long a stay, took his departure for Metz. In Italy, the Duke of Savoy continued to act under the protection of the French; and under a formal injunction from the French ambassador, the Spaniards evacuated Verceil. The reformers of Bearn, the secret allies of the Marquis de la Force, their governor, made an effort to gain independence; but the old generals of the court pretended that the object was to leave them to be sacrificed. That which caused most anxiety to the ministers, was the apparent quietude of the queen mother at Blois. The secret of her being so patient was at length discovered. The Lieutenant Barbin was convicted of having carried on a correspondence with Mary de Medicis in the Bastille, and was in consequence given up to be tried by the parliament, with those of his guards, whom he was supposed to have corrupted. Two of them were broken on the wheel, and burnt at the Place de Grève, and two were exiled. Barbin escaped being sentenced to die, by a majority of one; and the king, in the plenitude of his grace and clemency, commuted the punishment of perpetual banishment, to which he was condemned, into perpetual imprisonment. This crime of high clemency found no favour in the eyes of the severe Richelieu. While on this subject, it may be well to remark that the Bishop of Luçon found himself Barbin's companion in misfortunes, being exiled to Avignon, with his brother and his brother-in-law.

This royal severity taught the queen mother that she had no longer any favour to expect from her son. One resource still remained to her; that was to

sound the intentions of the principal malcontents, the Duke d'Epemon at Metz, and the Duke de Bouillon at Sedan. A certain abbé, named Ruccelai, who had been one of the Marquis d'Ancre's creatures, undertook to manage this intrigue, and succeeded so well, that one fine morning the Duke d'Epemon quitted Metz with a military escort, and proceeded without halting to Loches. At Blois, Mary de Medicis escaped from the window of



the château, in the night of the 22nd of February, and found herself, by day break the next morning, at the head of an army sufficiently strong to make head against the King of France. Great was the astonishment of the court when tidings were received of the advance of the duke, and the escape of the queen. The council, not knowing what course to take for the best, prudently caused the negociator, De Bethune, to be followed by a corps d'armée sufficiently strong to support his propositions. Civil war was on the eve of breaking out, when the exile of Avignon was remembered, the young bishop, who was not so remote from the court, but he was enabled to keep up intimate relations with some of its influential members, and, as some said, even with the favourite. Richelieu repaired with all speed to the queen mother; and having evicted the intriguer, Ruccelai, a reconciliation was easily effected. All was forgotten on both sides; and the queen obtained the government of Anjou, with the special controul of the cities, Angers, Le Chinon, and De Pont de Cé. Mary was eventually so well satisfied, that she consented to see her son at Courcières. They embraced each other with apparent affection, fêtes were given which lasted twelve days, and all was amicably arranged. The queen went thence to assume the government of

Anjou; the king returned to Paris, and his return was signalized by the liberation of Condé, whose innocence was solemnly recognised by the parliament. Barbin was only allowed to leave the Bastille, and quit the kingdom immediately. The favourite, De Luynes, who had just married the daughter of the Duke de Bourbon, had also his share of the bounties of the king; as a marriage present, he received the government of Picardy, with the title of duke and peer. For his two brothers, one was made Marquis de Cadenet, Marshal of France, afterwards Duke of Chaulnes; the other, Duke de Piney-Luxembourg, with a royal gift of 600,000 crowns. These favours, lavished on a family whom she had a right to regard as her enemy, disgusted the queen mother, and inclined her to favour the jealousies which prevailed on the subject at court. Suddenly, in consequence of a dispute with the Prince of Condé, the young Count de Soissons, then seventeen years of age, fled from Paris, with the Dukes of Mayenne, De Vendome, and Henry of Savoy, the third Duke of Nemours. This body of discontented spirits proceeded to Angiers with a numerous suite. War was then inevitable. The council sent a deputation to the queen mother, but for no other purpose than to gain time. When all was ready, the king, followed by the Prince of Condé, advanced into Normandy, made a triumphal entry into Rouen, and seized on Caen, D'Alençon, and Du Mans, and thence proceeded to Berri. The capture of Pont de Cé was the *coup de grace* to the queen's party. The bishop was sent once more to negotiate with the court, and once more he succeeded in re-establishing peace. On both sides, it was agreed that they should respect the treaty of Angoulême. The partisans of Mary de Medicis were pardoned for all that they had done, and to the queen mother Louis granted a new interview, which, according to contemporary writers, was most touching. The flattering overtures with which the Duke de Luynes overwhelmed the young bishop, were especially remarked on, he having for a second time saved the country from the horrors of a civil war. The first successes had put the king in a humour to conquer, and he did not wish to return to Paris without first pacifying the Bearn. Supported at the same time by the conquerors and the conquered, the latter desiring nothing better than an opportunity for regaining his confidence, without striking a blow, he advanced to Pau, where he re-established the Catholic clergy in all their rights and privileges. The rebels were punished, even by being deprived of their nationality; a royal ordinance, dated from Paris, declared united to the crown of France the Lower Navarre, and the principality of Bearn.

This military promenade produced the best effects on the Parisians; and such was their enthusiasm, that the king had the modesty to avoid encountering it in all its force, by entering the city incognito. The most perfect understanding appeared to prevail at court between the queen mother and the favourite, who, however, was well liked by the people. Like every one who has suddenly risen, he was reproached with the rapid advance he

had made, and more still with that of his two brothers. There were some malignant observers, who did not scruple to hint that the Duchess de Luynes knew well how to account for the good fortune of her family ; but the rigid regard for decorum of the king gave the best contradiction to such injurious representations. The favourite was of a very suspicious nature. He had the folly to feel jealous of the Count de Bassompierre, who, however eager to serve the king, thought he came of too good a house to seek for what he wanted, and what he called "the favour of an inclination." The count was more generous than the Duke de Luynes, and he withdrew from all competition. There was, however, a rival at court that was more dangerous for the favourite than Bassompierre had ever been, and that was the Bishop of Luçon. The services which he had rendered the queen mother, and her favour, caused him to be considered of vast importance. It was the object of the duke to gain him over to his views, by marrying his nephew to the niece of the prelate. At length, to secure his own fortunes, he caused the constable's sword to be given to him. An occasion soon offered for justifying the choice Louis had made, or rather which the constable had made of himself. A body of reformers met at La Rochelle, notwithstanding the orders of the king, and the remonstrances of the Duke of Sully and Duplessis Mornay. They assembled for the purpose of resuming what was called in the middle ages "their regal rights," that is, they claimed to coin money on their own authority, to impose taxes, and to levy troops. A recent ordinance, dated from Rochelle, divided the kingdom into eight provinces or circles, in which the chiefs, named by the assembly, were to owe obedience to one alone. In a word, it was a Protestant republic which it was desired to substitute for a Catholic royalty. The great patron of these democratic displays, the Duke de Rohan, had armed the south. Such insolence astonished the king, who wished in person to chastise these rebels, as he had done those of Bearn. While the Duke d'Epemon uselessly besieged Rochelle, Louis, accompanied by the new constable, the Dukes de Lesdiguières, de Mayenne, de Angoulême, de Montmorency, and the Count de Bassompierre, triumphantly advanced to the other side of the Loire, without finding any city that dared to offer resistance. There only remained to the rebels Montauban, into which the Marquis de la Force had thrown himself. The royal army appeared under the walls. A first imprudence cost the Marquis de Thémines and the Duke de Mayenne their lives. The constable, entrusted with the carrying on of the siege, managed so indifferently, that, after losing two months before it, and sacrificing the *élite* of the nobility, the royal army retired with the sad and only consolation of having taken from the enemy a trumpery town, called Monheur. The constable was so afflicted at this check, that he died a month afterwards, December 15th, 1621, regretted even by the king, to whom he owed his elevation. Fatigued with a war so unskilfully conducted, Louis now hastened to return to Paris, there to receive the accustomed honours of a triumph.

In some respects, the death of the Duke de Luynes was an event of more importance than the war against the reformers. All was anxiety at court to know who should succeed to his place in the affections of the king, and the direction of affairs. Into the council there had been successfully introduced the keeper of the seals, Mery de Vic, the Cardinal de Retz, and the Count de Schomberg, whose alliance with the chancellor de Sillery, the president Jeannin, and, above all, the Prince of Condé, sufficiently attested the bad feeling which prevailed against the queen mother. The first deliberations of the council realised the political prepossessions which had been indicated. That spirit of hostility was manifested which had constantly raged. Mary de Medicis was disposed to seek a pacification; but Condé and the ministers prevailed, and the king was in a manner torn from the Louvre to put himself at the head of his troops. An advantage gained over the Duke de Soubise at the isle de Rhé, and the sacking of a city near Montauban, called Négrepelisse, and, above all, the gaining over of the Duke de Lesdiguières, and they received on this occasion the constable's sword, frightened the reformers, who now seemed disposed to an accommodation. The Duke de Rohan conferred with the constable, and in a short time peace was signed at Montpellier. The treaty there concluded confirmed the Huguenots in the rights which they had gained by the edict of Nantes. Civil war being happily terminated, the war which was incessantly carried on at court became the great business of the kingdom.

The death of Mery de Vic, the keeper of the seals, that of Cardinal de Retz, and the disgrace of the Count de Schomberg, had deprived the Prince of Condé of the influence which he exercised in the council. The Count de Bassompierre, appointed marshal, refused to profit from the occasion, and the Bishop of Luçon, who had just received a cardinal's hat, did not think the proper time had arrived for him to act a conspicuous part on the political stage. The Marquis de la Vieuville was the last resource of the king. To him was joined in the first instance the chancellor de Sillery, and the Marquis de Puisieux, his son. After a year of dark intrigue, the old chancellor was removed, and his place filled up by Stephen d'Aligre; six months subsequent to that, Richelieu found himself compelled to enter the council. It was the comedy of the "Sixte-Quint" perfectly played by another red robe. Scarcely connected with public business, Richelieu threw away his crutch, and asserted his right as cardinal to take precedence of the Marquis de la Vieuville, who lost himself as his predecessor, De Luynes, had done, in tormenting the inoffensive Bassompierre. Four months had not passed, when the jealous superintendant was himself conducted to the Château d'Amboise. "The king had changed his council, and his ministers their principles." The decision of Richelieu was as remarkable in his words as in his actions. To the King of England he promised the hand of Henrietta, sister of Louis, for the Prince of Wales, (afterwards Charles I.) and that without waiting for a licence from the pope. To the Dutch reformers

he offered assistance, money, and troops, against the Spaniards. In the business of the Waldenses, he wounded, at the same time, the holy see and the Catholic king, by according to the Grisons the protection of France. "You shall see an army in their country which will render the pope less uncertain, and the Spaniards more tractable," were the words of Richelieu, who, in expelling from the cities and strong places the garrisons of the pope, recommended his envoys to remonstrate seriously with the court of Rome, and to represent that all that had been effected was done for the good of Christianity, and even for the advantage of the pope himself. The holy father was obliged to believe it, or at least to appear to believe it.

All eyes were now turned towards the eastern frontier of the kingdom, where the Huguenots thought the juncture favourable for attempting a new insurrection in the southern and eastern provinces. To sustain at the same moment the burthen of a civil war and a foreign war, was a new spectacle for France. Richelieu believed her power equal to the emergency. He caused two armies of six thousand men to be put in motion; one advanced to Languedoc against the Duke of Retz, the other towards Poitou against the Duke of Soubise. These measures, however, did not arrest the negotiations with England on the subject of the marriage of Henrietta of France. The council had just respectfully declared to the pope, who had refused the dispensation applied for, that that difficulty would not prevent the marriage. The difficulty indeed had been immediately got over. The alliance was concluded, not certainly with the Prince of Wales, but with the King of England, Charles I.

James Stuart had just died. The new king was represented at the French court by the pompous Buckingham, who shewed openly that he had conceived a violent passion for the young queen, Anne of Austria, who, it may be said, had no great reason to be satisfied with her husband. Having accompanied her sister-in-law to the city of Amiens, they one morning saw Buckingham run to the palace, and introduce himself almost by force into the chamber of the queen, and there, kneeling near her bed, make before her ladies the most violent protestations of love and admiration. Conduct like this was enough to compromise the interests of the King of England with Louis and his minister. With respect to the pope, they had politely got rid of the legate, who came to claim explanation from the court of France of the course, not very respectful to the holy see, which had been pursued. Still more serious differences occurred with the court of Madrid; and an order was issued confiscating the goods of all French subjects then residing in Spain. The King of France, in his turn, caused all vessels, effects, merchandise, and goods, belonging to Spaniards, Portuguese, Grenadines, Milanese, Neapolitans, and Genoese, to be seized. The cardinal did not continue the less vigorously the war with the reformers in the interior. Chased successively from the islands of Rhé and D'Oleron, the Duke de Soubise sought an asylum in England. Success like this was enough to give

credit to a new minister. Richelieu, however, wanted peace, and was therefore anxious not to offend England and Holland, who interceded for



the reformers of France. A treaty was concluded with the people of La Rochelle, to the great displeasure of the Catholics, who did not fail to attack Richelieu on the occasion. The latter felt little concern on that account; and six months afterwards the malcontents were not a little astonished to learn that Spain and the court of Rome had consented to make peace with "the Cardinal of La Rochelle," "the pontiff of the Calvinists," "the patriarch of the Atheists." The political supremacy of the Grisons in their vallies had also been recognised. They were permitted to enjoy the free exercise of their religion, and the forts erected by the Spaniards were destroyed.

The detractors from the merit of the cardinal were ashamed, and found themselves humbled at the same time by this sudden pacification. The intrigues at court, favoured by a foreign war, could no longer escape the eyes of the minister, once delivered from the Spaniards. They soon prepared a conspiracy against him, at the head of which they placed a youth only eighteen years of age, the Duke of Anjou, who was governed by the Marshal d'Ornano, a creature of the cardinal's, but whose pride was such, that he felt offended even at the benefits which he received. It was in consequence of his advice that the young prince had refused the hand of Mademoiselle de Montpensier, notwithstanding the pressing representations of the minister and the queen mother. One evening, the king caused the marshal to be

called into his chamber, when, instead of the king, the latter found no one there but a captain of the guards, who conducted him to the same room where, twenty-four years before, the Marshal de Biron had been confined. It was Richelieu himself who effected this. The next day he was conveyed to Vincennes. The chancellor d'Aligre, who had had the frankness to confess to the Duke of Anjou that all that had taken place was done without consulting him, was removed, and succeeded in his office by Michael de Marillac, then superintendant of finance. The cardinal thought Paris had been sufficiently astonished by his rigour, and it was now fit to give the provinces their turn. He made the king undertake one of these journeys, of which he gave him the habit, and which might be called "the tourney of assizes." The Duke de Vendome, whom they pretended to have implicated in this conspiracy, was arrested at Blois with his brother, the Grand Prior of France, and both were conducted to the Château of Amboise. The king, meanwhile, continued his travels, without disturbing himself with this stroke of policy; but had no sooner arrived at Nantes than a new victim was denounced to the vengeance of the cardinal. The young Henry de Talleyrand, Count de Chalais, master of the wardrobe, had had the misfortune or imprudence to engage in an amorous intrigue with the former Duchess de Luynes, now become Duchess of Chevreuse, and the personal enemy of the cardinal. On some imprudent step of the count, they got up a capital accusation against him; and the new keeper of the seals, Michael de Marillac, was directed to put him on his trial. While waiting till there should be collected sufficient evidence against De Chalais, the cardinal occupied the king by prevailing on him to preside over the states of Britany, and the court he engaged, with equal address, by bringing about the marriage of the Duke of Anjou with Mademoiselle de Montpensier. He had some vanity to gratify in shewing himself in this triumph, for it was one to have accomplished this union, to which the queen, Anne of Austria, had been opposed, her confidant, the Duchess of Chevreuse, the Duke of Anjou, and, perhaps, even the king. The cardinal with the last was most successful, and the Duchess of Chevreuse was banished the court. As to the Duke of Anjou, now become Duke of Orleans, some presents, a fine livery, a sufficient provision, and a good company of body guards, had been sufficient to gain him over from those who had chosen him to be their leader. On the very day of his being affianced, letters patent had ordered the erection of a criminal chamber at Nantes, to try the conspirator, De Chalais. Three weeks only were given to the proceedings. The Duke of Orleans disclosed everything they wished him to say, and the chamber considered the charge sufficiently proved, and condemned the count to be decapitated, his body quartered, his goods confiscated, and his posterity declared ignoble and plebeian. All that the king thought he ought in his clemency to grant to the tears of the count's mother, was to remit that part of the sentence which degraded his posterity, and was uselessly cruel. The punishment, however,

which was actually inflicted must be viewed as atrocious. He was beheaded with a bad sword, and thirty-four blows were struck before the head was separated from the trunk. When the twentieth blow was received, the victim still uttered cries of pain.

Thirteen days after this judicial assassination, the Marquis d'Ornano died, having been poisoned in prison; the Count de Soissons, the friend of the Duke of Orleans, fled to Neufchâtel, and the Duchess of Chevreuse went to solicit an asylum at the court of Lorraine. The minister of the king; whose business it was to conceal by rigour the weakness of the sovereign, had interdicted the latter from extending mercy to the condemned, and consequently the mother of De Chalais had applied for her son's pardon in vain. The great lords learned definitively to what master they had to look, when a royal ordinance appeared, granting to the cardinal a company of body guards. At this period the Constable de Lesdiguères died, and no successor to him was immediately named. The cardinal at length purchased from the Duke of Montmorency the dignity of admiral, which office he took upon himself to fill under the more modest title of superintendant of navigation. The recent acts of the minister had want of some authoritative sanction to excuse their strangeness, or rather their cruel novelty. He also wanted a guarantee for the future expression of public opinion. An assembly of notables, the impotent shadow of the states general, he caused to be convoked at Paris. It was composed of marshals of France, of twelve prelates, of as many gentlemen, and of the principal officers of the sovereign courts. The keeper of the seals presented to it the accounts of the crown, from which it was seen that, while the revenue was under sixteen millions, the yearly expenditure was no less than fifty. The getting rid of heavy expenses, the ransom of royal domains, which had been alienated at a low price, and the reduction of pensions, were the principal means to be economically resorted to, in order to make the receipts equal the expenditure. The keeper of the seals afterwards proposed the demolition of the fortresses in the interior of the kingdom, and, on the other hand, called the attention of the assembly to commerce and navigation, which had been too long neglected in France. The cardinal laid down the same principles, and concluded by asking the assembly for "few words, but decided actions." In two months the body thus appealed to held thirty-five sittings, in which all the propositions of the cardinal were approved, with one exception, which he *had the pleasure* to see unanimously rejected; it was that which went to moderate the punishment of state criminals, and to reduce it to loss of office and emoluments only. Richelieu had soon an opportunity for making the noblesse feel all the irony of the false pity which he had thought it right to exhibit. Two gentlemen, the Count de Chapelles, and the Count de Montmorency-Bouteville, father of the celebrated Luxembourg, had drawn their swords even in the Place Royale, at the door of the king's apartment, and killed one of their adversaries. Being given up to the parliament, the two offenders were

condemned and sentenced to die, and, notwithstanding the supplications of all the nobility of France, were executed publicly with great parade. This was the course he adopted to invite the noblesse to take part in that war which was now to break out. By a strange political combination, at this period, Spain united her interests with France, while Savoy and England were detached from it, the former on the instigation of the Count de Soissons, the latter at that of Buckingham, who, after his gallant adventure at Amiens, found himself sternly refused all access to the kingdom. At length the Duke of Lorraine, gained over by the Duchess of Chevreuse, a sort of Hannibal in petticoats, who everywhere raised up enemies against the cardinal, appeared badly disposed towards France. On a sudden an English fleet, commanded by Buckingham in person, came to the Isle de Rhé, where the Count de Torrass commanded. This demonstration encouraged the people of La Rochelle to venture on a new outbreak, and they accordingly revolted.

The king hastened to Paris; and a few days afterwards the English, shut up in the Isle de Rhé by Marshal Schomberg, had not even the consolation of making an honourable retreat, and were compelled to surrender. Thenceforth, La Rochelle was wholly abandoned to the vengeance of the king, for a feeble diversion attempted in the south by the Duke de Rohan, scarcely deserves to be mentioned. On the 16th of September, 1627, La Rochelle was invested in form by three corps d'armée, under Marshal de Bassompierre, the Duke d'Angoulême, and the Marshal de Schomberg. Cardinal Richelieu, who commanded in chief, held himself in reserve on the sea shore. His views extended to nothing less than to construct a mole, which should close the entrance of the port. But Richelieu had found an antagonist worthy of him. A native of Rochelle, John Guiton, whose patriotism and firmness were well known, had been compelled to suffer himself to be elected mayor by his fellow citizens. Overcome by their solicitations, and the extremity of the danger, he seized a poniard, and said to them, "You have willed it. I am your mayor; but it is on this consideration only, that I am to be permitted to plunge this weapon into the heart of the first man who proposes to surrender. Let me be dealt with in like manner if ever I consent to capitulate." The poniard thus displayed remained on the table till the end of the war. After four months, the king, weary from the length of the siege, obtained permission from the cardinal to return to Paris, but not without leaving him full authority over the troops and the generals. The embarrassed state of public affairs, which Richelieu maliciously had left the king to strive with alone, soon compelled the monarch to recall to his side the indispensable minister. The mole, which the waves had long caused to rise very slowly, was at length in a very advanced state, when a new English fleet re-appeared on the scene of its former defeat. A battle was expected; but the English contented themselves with an insignificant cannonade, and at length retired, without having had, as in the former case,

the pretext of having been routed. This second abortive display of the military pretensions of the admiral was as fatal to Buckingham as it was to the besieged. In the English House of Commons, the most bitter condemnation of his proceedings was breathed; and the whole nation was in a flame against the unsuccessful commander. The duke, however, was at Portsmouth, and about to undertake a third expedition, when a gloomy desperate man, who had served in the army, and been disappointed in his expectations, sharing the general feeling against Buckingham, repaired to that place with a fixed determination to attempt the life of the duke.

This resolution he failed not to act upon, and with fatal success. Buckingham had been engaged with the Duke de Soubise [August 23rd] and other gentlemen, when, on leaving the room where they had been sitting, while in the passage, he turned to speak to Sir Thomas Fryar, a colonel in the army. That instant he received a blow from a knife, struck with such an unerring aim, that the duke, exclaiming "The villain has killed me!" sunk to the ground, pulling the knife from his bosom, and expired.

Like Ravallac's deed of blood, it was so suddenly, so unexpectedly accomplished, that the assassin might easily have escaped. While all was confusion, a hat was found on the ground, and the owner of the hat it was conjectured was the murderer. Just then a man appeared very calmly walking before the door without a hat. "There is the villain that killed the duke," cried one. He was seized on suspicion, and immediately confessed that the act was his; and when some of the friends of the deceased rushed towards him, he serenely waited their approach, and exposed his breast to their naked weapons. He was, however, eventually secured, and dealt with according to law.

The fleet which was to have sailed under Buckingham, was now to be commanded by the Earl of Lindsey, and he accordingly sailed to attack the mole of Richelieu. Lindsey was not more fortunate than his predecessor. The mole was at this period finished and well fortified, and he could accomplish nothing for the relief of the place. Notwithstanding the patriotism and courage of the mayor, it was necessary to think of a surrender. Deputies from the fleet and from the city (no mention being made of the poniard), met in the cardinal's tent. A conference skilfully managed by Richelieu brought the siege to a termination. The Rochellers were obliged to surrender, even in sight of the English admiral. Of fifteen thousand persons that the place had contained, four thousand only remained. On the 1st of November, 1628, the king entered the city, the people kneeling to receive him, and the keys were presented to him by the cardinal. Guiton, though he could not prevent the surrender, was thought to act a magnanimous part, refusing to retire for safety into England. He preferred, he said, being subject to the king, who had taken Rochelle, than to go to those who could not save it. The fortifications of the rebel city were razed, except on the side towards the sea, the privileges of the place were abolished, and the Hotel

de Ville added to the domain of the crown. The English fleet remained to witness the fall of the last bulwark of the reformers of France. In the south, where he strove still against the Prince of Condé, the Dukes of Epemon and Montmorency, the Duke of Rohan only succeeded so far as to charge his conscience with a new state crime, by demanding for his co-religionists assistance from the King of Spain. The cardinal was not sorry to see occupied in a struggle, which did not permit them to mingle in other intrigues, three chiefs of that noblesse, "who had just been foolish enough," to quote the expression of Bassompierre, "to take La Rochelle." It is true that the Prince of Condé was seriously attached to him, but he could not but perceive that the queen mother, from day to day, treated him with greater coldness, and preferred to his advice that of her two confidants, Cardinal de Berulle, and what was of more moment, the keeper of the seals, Marillac. The queen and the first minister had appeared some time before to have leagued themselves against the young Duke of Orleans, whose heart being left free, by the death of his wife a few months after his marriage, offered his hand to Mary de Gonzague, daughter of the Duke de Nevers.

Vincent II. De Gonzague, Duke of Mantua and Montferrat, had died without issue. His nearest male heir was the Duke Charles de Nevers; but he had a competitor in the person of the Duke de Guastalla, who was protected by the emperor and the Spaniards. The Duke de Nevers had gained an advance over his rival, and found himself in possession of the duchy as an imperial fief, and of which, in consequence, he might expect the investiture. The emperor, who favoured the Duke de Guastalla, was offended at the precipitation of Nevers, and induced the Duke of Savoy to enter into his interests. In a few days the latter seized on Montferrat. The Spaniards, on their side, had besieged Casal. Richelieu, wholly occupied with the siege of La Rochelle, had not been able to send succours to the Duke de Nevers, excepting indeed negociators, who, with all their skill, could not stop the progress of the Spaniards. The taking of La Rochelle gave new hope to those who were besieged in Casal. Richelieu declared himself openly for the Duke de Nevers, to the great annoyance of the queen mother, all whose sympathies for Spain were cooled by his conduct. His triumph was so much the more splendid, as it decided the king to take the field. The first movement beyond the limits of the kingdom was crowned with victory. In spite of the Duke of Savoy, who had refused the king a passage through his states, the pass of Suza was carried by assault, and five days afterwards, the duke engaged to cause the siege of Casal to be raised. The Spaniards adhered to the treaty of Suza, but, nevertheless, remained in arms on the confines of Mantua, ready to advance on the first favourable opportunity. The victorious king concluded, even at Suza, a definitive treaty with England in the estates, and without the knowledge of the Duke of Savoy, who endeavoured by all means to obstruct the negociations. Italy, pacified, or appearing to be so, the cardinal, wishing to profit from the warlike

disposition of his master, led him against the reformers of Languedoc, where the Duke of Rohan had long maintained himself, a rebel on a great scale; who, disdainful of royal favour, had exclaimed, marching to battle, in the words of his famous device, "King I cannot be; prince I will not deign to become; Rohan I am." The reformers were in a short time driven from all their fortresses; and the Duke of Rohan, despairing at length of their cause, consented to treat. He obtained by the edict of pacification at Alais, June 28th, 1629, an amnesty for the rebels for all the past, and a grant of 100,000 crowns for himself. The only condition imposed upon him was this, they did him the honour to require him to leave France. He chose Venice as the place of his retreat. The Calvinists, under that arrangement, preserved the right of freely exercising their worship; but they ceased to form a distinct body in the state, and all their cities were dismantled.

The cardinal divided with the king the honours of a triumph which they had in the main worthily gained. The moment was then badly chosen to treat the minister with indifference. There was such a close identity in the recent conduct of Louis XIII. and that of Richelieu, that the king might naturally have felt hurt by the reproaches which the queen mother directed against the cardinal, on the subject of the war at Mantua. A more serious event interrupted for a time the difference which had thus arisen between them. The Duke of Orleans, finding himself ill at ease in France, had just withdrawn into Lorraine. Upon this, the first care of the cardinal was to seek a reconciliation with the queen mother, who soon lost one of her confidants, the Cardinal de Berulle. As for the Duke of Orleans, they dispatched the Duke de Bellegarde to him, who had a mission to negotiate secretly with his advisers, the president Lecoigneux, and the sieur de Puy-laurens, stipulating that the duke should return to France, on a promise of an appanage of 200,000 livres being secured to him, with the governments of Amboise and Orleans. Higher interests had drawn the cardinal's attention towards Germany. The Protestant league, in a struggle of ten years duration, had used successively the Elector Palatine, Mansfield, and the King of Denmark. Christian had now to oppose to Walstein a more dangerous rival, the young King of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus. Scarcely had Gustavus set foot in Germany, when Richelieu sent an emissary to him in order to gain him over to the French alliance. At the same time, he concluded a new treaty with the United Provinces, and, at least, secured the neutrality of England. Spain, on her side, had called into Italy the Marquis de Spinola, the conqueror of the Protestants, who attacked Montferrat, while the Count de Colalte penetrated into the Mantuan territory with the imperialists. The cardinal set out in haste with forty thousand men, and three marshals of France. Having forcibly entered Piedmont, against the will of the Duke of Savoy, the French army seized on Pignerolle. On receiving news of this, the king left Paris and hastened to Grenoble, where he assumed the command of the army, and rapidly overran the whole of Savoy. Severe

illness attacked him on the frontier of Montferrat, and compelled him to return to France. The army, left under the command of the cardinal, distinguished itself by the capture of Veillane. Never before had the French fury so alarmed the Italians. The Duke de Montmorency was for a moment left alone in the midst of the enemy. Three hundred prisoners of distinction, among whom was a Doria, and seventeen standards, were sent to the king. This last check, and the fall of Palermo, put an end to the resistance of the Duke of Savoy, Charles Emanuel, who died of grief six days afterwards. That event closed the campaign. The cardinal hastened to return to the king, who remained much indisposed at Lyons. The war now approached its termination. At the moment when they were about to attack the enemy at Cerisoles, a place full of memorable reminiscences for the French army, the three marshals, De Schomberg, De la Force, and De Marillac, were met by negotiations, who brought the news that a treaty had been concluded at Ratisbon. But the two armies being then in each other's presence, the Marshal de Schomberg did not wish to lose the opportunity of putting himself against the Marquis de Spinola. The action had commenced, when a young officer, in the service of the pope, rushed into the midst of the combatants. This was Giulio Mazarini, who was commissioned to announce to the commanders the general pacification. The marshal was forced to submit, and a convention was agreed upon, under which the French abandoned Montferrat.

The cardinal hastened the conclusion of peace, that he might watch more narrowly an intrigue got up against him at court. The continued indisposition of the king at Lyons had brought to that place the two queens, his wife and his mother. Their affectionate attentions made a great impression on him, and he felt extreme anxiety to see Mary de Medicis reconciled to the cardinal. It was determined that they should return to Paris. The king, who had taken up his residence at Versailles, sought his mother there, where they held a secret conference. Suddenly the cardinal made his appearance. "You spoke of me," he coldly remarked ; and he bore without emotion the injurious reproaches breathed against him by the queen mother. The next morning the king returned to Versailles, having given orders, shedding tears at the time, it is said, that the cardinal should be sent to Brussels. Richelieu, being promptly informed of this by the Cardinal de Vallette, lost no time, but followed the king to Versailles. There, in a few minutes, he regained the confidence of the monarch, caused the keeper of the seals to be arrested in a neighbouring house, and sent an express to the queen mother at the Luxembourg, to make her acquainted with what had taken place. When it arrived, the palace was crowded with courtiers, who attended to congratulate her on her supposed triumph. In a few seconds she was left alone. This affair received the appellation of "the day of dupes."

It remained to proceed against the guilty. The keeper of the seals was already in the power of the cardinal ; his brother, Louis de Marillac, was

arrested in Italy, in the midst of his troops, by the Marshal de Schomberg, at the moment when he was rising from table. The seals were given to Charles



Laubespine, Marquis de Châteauneuf. At the moment when he inflicted punishment, Richelieu wished it should be seen that he knew how to pardon. The Marquis de la Vieuville, who had escaped a year before from prison in Amboise, received permission to return to France; the Duke de Vendome, who had been detained in confinement since the affair of Chalais, saw the gates of Vincennes thrown open, but on the condition that he should withdraw from the kingdom, as the price of obtaining his liberty. Most unexpectedly, it transpired that the Duke of Orleans had indulged in a new freak, and had suddenly fled from Paris to Orleans. The queen, suspected of having prompted this ridiculous outbreak, was rigorously punished. The king made a pretext for journeying to Compiègne, whither he was accompanied by his mother. Scarcely had they rested there, when one morning Louis set off in great haste, leaving her a prisoner under the care of Marshal d'Estrees. The same day Bassompierre was sent to the Bastille; but, before this had been effected, he had taken the precaution to burn more than six thousand love letters! On receiving intelligence of this step, the Duke of Orleans thought he could not better protest against it than by retiring a second time to Lorraine. The king followed him to Burgundy, and caused the parliament of Dijon to register a declaration, that all who had accompanied his brother in his flight were guilty of high treason. The principal

parties accused, were the Count de Moret, the Dukes d'Elbeuf, de Bellegarde, de Roannois, and the president, Lecoigneux. On the return of the king, the parliament of Paris refused to register this declaration. Irritated at this, Richelieu exiled a president and three counsellors, and ordered the members to attend him at the Louvre. The magistrates passed through the city bareheaded, and were forced to kneel before the king, who threatened to place seven or eight of them in a regiment of musketeers, in order to teach them obedience. This done, the leaf of the register in which their refusal to comply with his mandate had been written, was torn in their presence. The parliament withdrew submissive and humbled. From that time, all the packets, notes and justifications, which were addressed to them on the part of the queen mother, were faithfully transmitted unopened to the king or his minister. Richelieu was not a little embarrassed by the position of the queen mother, Mary de Medicis, at Compiègne, a prisoner in the kingdom of her son. She was so ill advised as to play his game, by flying to Brussels. Doubtless, it was a great misfortune for the family that the king should see a foreigner withdraw from him his mother, his brother, and his wife; but the cardinal's system of politics once adopted, it was necessary to follow it up, cost what it might, and, regardless of incompatibilities, to sacrifice the family to the kingdom. It was not difficult to decide whether De Richelieu or De Medicis would render most service to France. The justification of the cardinal was found in the past embarrassments which had been excited by the queen mother; and in the direction which he was to give thenceforth to his policy, freed from her interference. It will be seen in this sequel how he carried his object.

Richelieu had sent into Germany a man whose obscurity and apparent meanness could not diminish his historical importance. Historians, in their inability to assign to each his proper share in the great political victories which signalised the reign of Louis XIII., have commonly given Richelieu credit for everything, without bringing into view the cardinal's other self. This mysterious personage was a Capuchin, known by the name of Father Joseph; but the people, who well comprehended what they ought to think of him, surnamed him "his grey eminence." This man had thrown on the Emperor Ferdinand the disgrace of Walstein, and had, at the same time, dexterously succeeded in ruining the prospects of his son as a candidate for the title of King of the Romans. In fine, he had secured to France the alliance of Gustavus Adolphus. In Italy, the treaties of Chierasco and Millefleurs, gained by the skill of an equally celebrated politician, Giulio Mazarini, re-established also the Duke of Mantua in his estates, and gave Pignerol to France. To recompense so many important services, Cardinal de Richelieu was created duke and peer, and governor of Britany in the place of the Duke de Vendome.

The cardinal thought he could not better shew his gratitude to the king than by pursuing his enemies with new vigour. A commission, called "du



The Parliament humiliated by Louis XIII.

domain," (of the domains) was appointed to take cognizance of the confiscations and grants that should be made. In the course of a few days, it had added to the king's domain the Compté de Muret, and the duchies of Elbeuf, Bellegarde, and Roannais; and had also seized on the office of the president Lecoigneux. The greatest offender, however, who remained to be punished was the Duke of Lorraine; the finest property to confiscate was his duchy, the conquest of which would carry the frontiers of France to the banks of the Rhine and the Meuse, on the other side of which was the battle field where the King of Sweden, the ally of France, then fought, and by which the French themselves, on the first occasion, might carry their already victorious arms into Italy. More than one annoyance turned the wrath of the king against the duke. It was known that the Duke of Orleans, having withdrawn from his court, had forgotten the charms of the Princess Maria for those of the Princess Margaret, sister to the duke, to whom he had been privately married. It was also known that considerable levies had been made in Lorraine, and in the country of Liege; and this was all done under the pretext of covering the frontiers of the duchy, then menaced by the King of Sweden. The king did not avenge the injury, but advanced to Metz; while Gustavus Adolphus, who had just surprised a body of Lorraines, encamped at Mayence. Marshal de la Force, commanded by the king to open the campaign, seized on Vic and Moyenvic, which offered no resistance. Alarmed at this, the Duke of Lorraine hastened to Metz to make his submission to the king, giving up the city of Marsal to guarantee observance of the treaty on his part, while the Duke of Orleans went to rejoin his mother in Flanders. Victorious, Louis XIII. now seemed the arbiter of Europe; on all sides Catholic and Huguenot ambassadors came to implore the friendly interference of France. It was in the midst of this magnificent development of royal power, that, in the depth of winter, a deputation from the parliament of Paris arrived, not to congratulate the king on his successes, but humbly to receive his severe injunctions, and to exhibit before the representatives of foreign nations the absolute submission which the King of France exacted from that body. After this, satisfied with having caused the ambassadors of Germany, and the most important personages of the kingdom, to behold his parliament paraded before him, Louis returned to Versailles, there to furnish a new spectacle of terrible vengeance, in the proceedings against the Marshal de Marillac.

Instruction had been given two years before to the proper legal functionaries, the sieur de Moncy, and the sieur de Laffemas, the latter of whom was commonly called "the cardinal's hangman." The intervention of parliament, which he desired to invoke, was more injurious than useful to the marshal. The attorney general, Molé, who had shewn the hereditary courage of his family, which was too rarely seen at that period in the magistracy, was interdicted from appearing. The cardinal even refused to the wife of the accused an audience which she solicited from him. Being brought to trial,

the marshal was accused of malversation and extortion, committed by him, as the general commanding the army in Champagne. There is hardly a doubt that Marillac was not entirely innocent in this respect, but, "to look at the evidence on which this charge rested, it seems," said he, "that these proceedings are carried on, not by the usual officers of the crown, but by a horse archer, or a miserable trooper. They only complain in my case of the abstraction of hay, straw, wood, stone, and lime, and do not pretend that anything has been appropriated, for taking which a lackey would be flogged." On his return from Metz, the king caused the tribunal to be convoked at Pontoise; but in a short time, the judges representing that their deliberations could not be free in a walled city, in which there were so many military men, they were removed to Rueil, where they held their sittings in the very house of the cardinal. The deliberations lasted two days, and notwithstanding the neighbourhood of the minister, and the presence of the keeper of the seals, the sentence of death was carried against him but by a majority of one. Two days afterwards, the marshal was removed to the Place de Grève, at Paris, and there decapitated. His brother died of grief in exile. The queen mother was informed at Brussels of the death of her faithful servant; she understood that the affected rigour of Richelieu was meant to extend beyond the marshal, and that the indefinite prolongation of her banishment had been decided upon at Rueil, at the same time when the death of Louis de Marillac was carried. As to the Duke of Orleans, he lived very joyously at Brussels, without disturbing himself about anything that his partisans might be doomed to suffer in France, or allowing them for a moment to interrupt his pleasures. It demanded all the skill of the duke of Lorraine, menaced more seriously than ever by France, to accomplish this. Pont-a-Mousson was taken by the Marshal de Effiat and De la Force; Bar-le-Duc and St. Michael opened their gates to the king, who soon presented himself before the walls of Nancy. The Duke of Orleans, his friend and most faithful ally, thus pursued, threw himself into France with some indifferent regiments, the refuse of the Spanish army. The news of this strange invasion saved the Duke of Lorraine from utter ruin. The king consented to spare him once more, in consideration of the cession of the cities of Stenay and De Jamets, with the Compté de Clermont, in Argonne. The Cardinal Francis de Lorraine, brother of the duke, came to place himself in the king's hands as a hostage, until the treaty should be entirely carried into effect.

Louis then directed his attention towards the Duke of Orleans, who rapidly traversed the kingdom, everywhere repulsed, and always closely pressed by the Marshal de la Force. He did not halt till he reached Lodeve, in Lower Languedoc, two months after his departure from Nancy. By a deplorable fatality, the only man whom he succeeded in getting over to his party, was one of the last who ought to have been seen implicated in such intriguing buffoonery, which inevitably leads to a tragical result. Henry

de Montmorency was governor of Languedoc. Humbled by the favours of Richelieu, who had just caused the marshal's baton to be given to him, he aspired to gain the constable's sword, which, as it had been held by five of his ancestors, he was inclined to consider in a manner coming to him almost by hereditary right. Set against the cardinal by the emissaries of the Duke of Orleans, he gave his word to serve the cause of that prince, and made every effort to carry it through with honour. The states of Languedoc assembled at Pezenas were devoted to him, and, notwithstanding the Archbishop of Narbonne, who presided over them, he obtained subsidies. Beziers, Alais and Alby, declared in his favour. "At any rate," said he, to the Duke of Orleans, "if we beat the king's army, we shall not want cities; but if defeated, we must be forced to pay our court to Brussels." It was necessary to hasten forward, and engage the Marshal de Schomberg before he could effect a junction with the Marshal de la Force. On all sides preparations were made to carry on against the rebels war to the knife. The parliament of Toulouse annulled the decisions of the states, the king himself caused to be registered, by that of Paris, a new ordinance against the servants and adherents of his brother, declaring the Duke de Montmorency especially guilty of high treason, and forfeiting all his posts, honours, and dignities. His trial was ordered to take place in the parliament of Toulouse, notwithstanding the privilege of the peerage, of which he was declared unworthy. To these manifestos, the duke replied by war. The Marshal de Schomberg besieged Castelnaudary; the Duke of Orleans and Montmorency marched rapidly to its assistance. Both armies met about half a league from the city. The Duke de Montmorency, who mounted that day a grey horse covered with feathers of the colours of the Duke of Orleans, party coloured, blue and *isabelle* (yellow), hearing some firing on the side of the Count de Moret, who commanded the left wing, rushed forward at the head of a squadron, as at Veillane, into the midst of a detachment of the king's light horse. On this occasion he was less fortunate than before. Attacked on all sides, he fell beneath his horse, his blood flowing from ten wounds, and spirting on all those who eagerly surrounded him, at hearing the name of Montmorency. Scarcely a gun had been fired when Gaston threw down his arms, declared he would fight no longer, and caused a retreat to be sounded. The army, deprived of its chief, for the Count de Moret had received a ball in his stomach, immediately dispersed; and that of the Marshal de Schomberg, victorious without fighting, continued its route towards Castelnaudary with his prisoner, lying on the cloaks of the king's guards. The Duke of Orleans, who had in a manner so cowardly abandoned his friends on the field of battle, thought he had done all that it was incumbent upon him to attempt, by addressing to his brother a series of extravagant proposals, at the head of which was a demand for the liberation of the Duke de Montmorency. These ridiculous bravados only inspired contempt. They forced the prince to sign an amended list, in which he was bound to

assist the ministers, and "especially the Cardinal de Richelieu," and to live in such place and with such people as the king should be pleased to name. After that he withdrew to Tours, leaving the parliament at Dijon to condemn



to death, for contumacy, his friends, the president Lecoigneux, the sieurs D'Estissac and De Montsigot. Happily, the cardinal had not to deplore the absence of the greatest culprit. The Duke de Montmorency had been first transferred from Castelnaudary to the Château de Lectoure, so much were the magistrates afraid of the love borne for him by the inhabitants of Toulouse.

The king repaired in person to the last named city, where he directed that the trial of Montmorency should take place under the presidency of the keeper of the seals, Châteauneuf, "who, being an ecclesiastic," says the president Henault, "might have claimed to be excused from assisting at this trial, and who ought to have remembered that he had been a page in the house of the duke's father. The duke preserved, in presence of his judges, all the courage of the soldier; and expressing to them the regret of one who had wandered, who had been misled, he declared that he confessed the fault into which he had been betrayed more through imprudence than malice. For his offence he had many times asked forgiveness from God and the king, as he would do again presently. But he did not humble himself to ask pardon. "My part is taken," said he, "I do not wish to save my life by trickery." He was not kept long in suspense. The duke was condemned to lose his head on a scaffold erected in the Place de Salins, and his goods

confiscated to the king. He received the news of his condemnation with perfect calmness, slept soundly after it for several hours, and held himself ready to march to the place of execution. All the court, even the aged D'Epernon, went on their knees to the king, and all the churches were filled with people praying to the Almighty to save the good duke. The clemency of Louis XIII was this: "The king, having regard to the prayers of some of his special servants, that the execution of the Duke de Montmorency should take place privately, as was formerly granted in a similar case to the Marshal de Biron, by his much honoured father, whom God absolve, has been pleased to grant that the said duke shall not be beheaded in a public place, but in the Hotel de Ville, at Toulouse." The duke met his fate with great tranquillity. He advanced with a firm step to the scaffold, and, reconciled to the thought of laying down his life, had no anxiety but for appearances. With this feeling, he made it his request to those who were to be about him in his last hour, that "they would not suffer his head to roll on the ground." The work of death was performed by means of a machine, which in the next age attained a terrible celebrity. He suffered in a sort of guillotine, being compelled to kneel near a block, over which a knife was suspended between two pieces of wood. A cord was attached to the knife, which being cut or detached when the fatal moment arrived, left the knife without support, which of course instantly descended on the neck of the victim. Thus ended the life of the fearless Montmorency.

After the execution, the doors were thrown open, and the crowd rushed into the yard, and collected the blood of the first Christian baron there beheaded, as if it had been that of a martyr. At the news of this execution, the Duke of Orleans, in whom fear supplied the place of remorse, took refuge in Flanders. The cardinal remained at Bordeaux much indisposed, and glad to allow the responsibility to fall on the king for this act of high justice, *a la Louis XI*. Suddenly, he learned that Gustavus Adolphus had been killed at Lutzen. Upon this, Louis hastened to Paris, and sent the Marquis de Feuquières to Germany, to gain over the Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar, the best pupil of the King of Sweden, whom Bernard had just buried in the standards taken from the enemy. The duke was also instructed to win over the famous chancellor, Oxenstiern, to re-assure the failing courage of the Elector of Saxony, and, if possible, to triumph over the pacific disposition of Holland. To accomplish all this was but the work of a few days. To acts of exterior policy we must add the discovery and punishment of a new plot, got up in the bosom of the court, in the council even, by the keeper of the seals, the secret friend of the Duchess de Chevreuse. M. de Chateauneuf, who had just condemned to death the Duke de Montmorency, ought to have known how prompt and skilful the cardinal was to detect and punish. His life was spared, but he was imprisoned in the Château d'Angoulême; the president, Peter Seguier, succeeded him in the council. The new keeper of the seals soon found means to court the favour of the cardinal by humbling

the parliament of Paris. He exerted himself to prefer accusations against the president, De Lecoigneux, Montsigot, the master of the accounts, servants of the Duke of Orleans, and the counsellor, Deslandes-Payen, servant of the queen mother, who all three had been solemnly charged with high treason. Louis assumed to himself the right of instantly declaring their offices to be forfeited from that moment. Remonstrances of the parliament moved the indignation of the king, who convoked a bed of justice, at which he wished to be received with all the submission anciently required by the monarchs of France, that is to say, he required four presidents and ten counsellors should come to meet him, and that the great chamberlain should lie down, not sit, at his feet, and the keeper of the seals receive his commands on his knees. All this was done as Louis had ordered; after which, the king being satisfied, he filled up, on the spot, the offices which he had suppressed, or rather made vacant. To the situation of the president, Lecoigneux, he named Christian de Lamoignon. This name, which figured obscurely near the apogee of royal omnipotence, shone with more éclat at a later period, in connection with the last trials of expiring royalty.

To unite in the same ceremony the punishment of the guilty with the recompense of the faithful, the cardinal caused the king to make numerous promotions in the order of the Holy Ghost. All the former members who had failed in their duty were degraded in full chapter. Their escutcheons, broken and publicly trampled under foot, were replaced by a black tablet, on which was written, in white letters, the order for this degradation. The list of new knights, at the head of which figured the Cardinals Richelieu and de la Vallette, comprehended forty-nine gentlemen, who were received with the greatest solemnity. A few days after that, the king announced the renewal of hostilities in Lorraine. Three times the Cardinal Francis came to the duke to bring to him the submission of his brother; the king was inflexible. Lorraine joined Germany, and Germany was thenceforward the battle field on which the great questions affecting France were to be decided. The duchy de Bar was seized, St. Michael and Luneville surrendered, Nancy was besieged. Closely pressed in his last entrenchments, the Duke of Lorraine obtained a conference with the cardinal, when he submitted to all the conditions prescribed to him, and consented to break off the marriage of his sister with the Duke of Orleans, and to deliver to the king Nancy, and a part of Lorraine. Louis made a short sojourn in his new conquest, and entered his capital, after having passed some days at Château Thierry. On his arrival, the parliament was assembled as a bed of justice, to hear the wishes of the king on the subject of the marriage of his brother with Margaret de Lorraine. Docile enough to obey the command of their master, that body proceeded to condemn, for contumacy, Charles, Duke of Lorraine, liege vassal of the crown, Nicholas Francis de Lorraine, his brother, Annette de Lorraine, his sister, Princess of Phalsbourg, and, on account of the outrage committed by the Duke of Orleans, they annulled his marriage.

The duke, Charles VI., to elude the engagements entered into with the King of France, yielded his estates to his brother, Cardinal Francis; and the latter, without waiting for the dispensation of the court of Rome, which he thought would be given to himself as cardinal, married, to secure his rights, the Princess Claude, his cousin. In France they had from the first been treated as a "feint visible without spectacle," the renunciation of the Duke of Lorraine; but at the news of the marriage of his brother, the Marshal de la Force, constituting himself the avenger of the violated laws of the church, surprised, in their residence, the newly married pair, with the Duchess Nicola and the Princess de Phalsbourg, who were conducted to Nancy. The princess first succeeded in making her escape; the cardinal and his wife, taking advantage of the negligence of their guardians, induced by their amusing themselves with the idle farces of the 1st of April, the duchess as a page, and the duke as a porter, escaped from their prison, and went out at last from the city in the costume of peasants. The governor, informed of their flight, was, like every one else, at first incredulous, and could only satisfy himself of the fact by drawing aside the curtains of the bed in which the cardinal and his wife had slept, but in which they were no longer to be found. There only remained the poor Duchess Nicola, who preferred a peaceable retreat in France, to the trade of a vagabond princess. From that moment, all Lorraine was conquered by the Marshal de la Force, who in this war had under his command the young Viscount de Turenne, younger brother of the Duke de Bouillon. By way of reprisal, the Duke of Orleans endeavoured, by a second ceremony, to render valid his marriage at Brussels, and to conclude a treaty with Spain, the object of which was the cardinal's overthrow. The cardinal, however, did not wish at any price to leave the brother of the king in the hands of the Spaniards. At the moment war was expected, he contrived to sound Puy-Laurens, the intimate adviser of the duke, and offered conditions sufficiently advantageous for his master and for himself. The affair was the more easy, as Puy-Laurens had quitted the colours of the Princess de Phalsbourg, in order to assume those of the young Princess de Chimay. The duke obtained an amnesty for his followers, with the exception of Lavienville, Lecoigneux, and Montsigot. He was permitted to retire to Auvergne, to Bourbon, or the principality of Douches; finally, the cardinal offered to Puy-Laurens the hand of one of his nieces with a duchy-peerage. The bargain was agreed to. Gaston returned to France; his favourite was created Duke d'Aiguillon on his marriage with Mademoiselle du Pont-du-Château, the niece of Richelieu. But he did not long enjoy these honours. One day, when the prince went to witness the rehearsal of a ballet at the palace, Puy-Laurens was arrested, and conveyed to Vincennes. He died there at the end of four months, quite forgotten by the master whose confidential adviser he had been. At about this period, the cardinal, ambitious of being considered the patron of literature, established in his own house an assembly, whose business it was to render the French language not

only elegant, but capable of treating all subjects connected with the arts and sciences. This assembly being authorised by the king, was called "the French Academy," and it was placed under the direction of the cardinal, who was to dictate the statutes. It was composed of forty members, with exemption for them from guardianship, from watches and guards, with other rights and privileges, commonly enjoyed only by the servants of the king. Among the first members of the academy, we find the court buffoon, under the title of a cardinal, Francis Metel-de-Boisrobert, by the side of the keeper of the seals; a secretary of state, and many counsellors of state, and masters of requests. The first officers were M. de Serizay, director, M. Desmarets, chancellor, and M. Courart, secretary.

The same year, the garden of plants was established at Paris, under the care of De Bouvard, first physician, and of Gui de la Brosse, physician in ordinary to the king. This garden is called the king's garden. The first meridian was fixed in the Island of Fer. In the midst of the political events, no mention scarcely was made at Paris of the condemnation of Urbain Grandier, curé of Loudun, a man of talent, who was suspected of being the author of several virulent libels upon the cardinal. Attainted and convicted of the crime of magic, in 1633, but by a private commission, over which Laubardemont presided, the accomplice and the rival of Laffemas, he was burnt alive at Loudun. It was asked of La Peyrère, author of "the Pré-adamites," but who besides had written a history of Groenland, which was much esteemed, "how it happened that they had so many sorcerers in the north?" "It is," said he, "because the effects of pretended sorcerers put to death are confiscated partly for the benefit of the judges who try them." We cannot have a better explanation of the secret of the condemnation of Urbain Grandier.

War was openly declared against Spain. The defeat of the Swedes at Nordlingen had proved after all more favourable to France than a victory; and already, by a treaty signed at Paris, and ratified at Worms, the King of France had promised to the confederated princes of Germany to maintain twelve thousand men on the other side of the Rhine; in return they put under his protection Alsace, on this side of the Rhine, and Brissac to defend as his own. A similar treaty had been concluded with Holland. The negotiations with Sweden were crowned with the greatest success. The famous Oxenstiern wished to come himself to France to confer with Richelieu. The Swedes had just saluted the king at Compiègne; their interpreter was also a great man, Hugo Grotius.

The victory of Arein, gained over Prince Thomas of Savoy by the Marshals de Chatillon, de Breze, and the grand master of artillery, La Meilleraye, gave the best augury at the opening of the campaign; and some time afterwards the sanguine anticipations of the public were realised by the battle of Montbeliard, where the Cardinal de Valette distinguished himself, and the young Vicomte de Turenne. The cardinal warrior, moreover,



Richelieu and the Parisians.

succeeded in compelling the imperialists to raise the siege of Mayenne, and General Gallas that of Deux Ponts. At the news of this success, Richelieu, who had always protected him, publicly declared that he was the only man in France to whom the command of large armies could be confided. A most astonishing circumstance occurred : a banished man, the Duke de Rohan, preserved the Waldenses to France, and defeated the Spaniards near the Lake of Como. The campaign was opened under happy auspices. The Marquis de la Force had beaten and taken Colloredo prisoner, while, in Italy, the Marquis de Crequi triumphed over the Marquis de Leganez. All at once, the operations of the Prince of Condé fixed general attention on Franche-Comté. Paris learned that the enemy had forced the frontier of Picardy, and that La Capelle, Fervaques and Le Catelet, had fallen into their hands, and they had passed the Somme, and taken Roye without striking a blow. Immediately the citizens armed, the lackies were enrolled with the infantry, and the artillery was drawn, and the cavalry mounted on horses kept for pleasure. Each house took upon itself to furnish a soldier completely equipped. The enemy, however, continued to advance, and seized Corbie. Richelieu was for a moment alarmed ; and it required all the firmness of Father Joseph, to make him decide on shewing himself in the streets of Paris on horseback, and without a guard. The people received him with acclamations, and courage soon revived in the whole nation. The enemy was repulsed. Corbie was retaken by the Count de Soissons and the Marshal de Fervaques, under the orders of Monsieur. The cardinal, without knowing it, had just been exposed to the greatest danger at the siege of that city. His death had been conspired by the Duke of Orleans and the Count de Soissons. Four confidential agents were to murder him at a given signal. The fatal day on which the attempt was to be made arrived. At the breaking up of the council, Richelieu found himself between the two princes, the four accomplices being near at hand and behind him. At the moment when the signal was expected, the heart of the Duke of Orleans failed him ; he fled to take refuge in the hall of the council, and the cardinal's life was saved. The conspirators, fearing to be discovered, retired, each in a different direction. On arriving at Blois, the duke anticipated the questions of the cardinal, and purchased his pardon by making confessions which were not required from him. The Count de Soissons, less confiding, believed himself in greater security at Sedan, in the house of the Duke de Bouillon, than at court in the power of the cardinal. It was on this occasion that, in consideration of the danger which France had just escaped, the idea struck the king of placing his person and his kingdom under the protection of the Virgin Mary. "This vow of Louis XIII.," say the writers of that period, "was the work of Mademoiselle de la Fayette, who had just succeeded to the king's favourite, Mary de Hautefort, whose purity, however, was never doubted.

The war continued with various fortunes. The Count d'Harcourt had retaken from the Spaniards the Isles of Hyeres ; the Cardinal de Valette

followed up this success in the north, by the taking of Landrecies and La Capelle. On the other side, France lost the Duke of Rohan and the Marshal de Crequi. A check, which recalled the disaster of Picardy, threw the whole kingdom into consternation. The Prince of Condé undertook, with the Duke de Valette, the siege of Fontarabia. The duke suffered himself to be surprised by the Spaniards, and was pursued for some hours. The unfortunate general, fearing the vengeance of Richelieu, passed into England, while the cardinal caused his trial to proceed in the very cabinet of the king at St. Germain. The members of the parliament protested against this monstrous innovation. The king, who had been well taught his lesson by the minister, took a menacing tone; and when the moment for carrying a decision arrived, he wished to take it upon himself. The magistrates, and especially the presidents, De Noveon and De Bellièvre, being of opinion that the trial of La Valette ought to have been left to the parliament, "Reconsider your decision," said the king in a threatening manner; "If you do not, I know what I ought to do."—"Sire," replied the president, De Bellièvre, "I can form no other opinion." The chancellor attempted to insist on his changing his course. "Sir," replied Bellièvre, if you come here to give me instructions as to the performance of my duty, you will lose your time. I adhere to my former resolution," The Duke de Valette was condemned, and an order transmitted to Mathew Molé, the attorney general, to cause him to be executed for contumacy in effigy. Molé refused to degrade the office he held by obedience to this mandate; and it was with difficulty that an inferior functionary was found to act the part which he had been required to fulfil. An event of higher importance now furnished a diversion to the uneasiness caused by the long duration of the war. The queen, Anne of Austria, after being married twenty-three years, gave birth to a son at the Château de St. Germain-en-Laye, in presence of the Duke of Orleans, the Princess de Condé, the Countess de Soissons, and the Duchess de Vendome. *Te Deum* was sung at Paris, the thunder of artillery announced the joyous event, bonfires were made in all the public places, and the public joy was the greater, as the happy birth of a dauphin took place just at the moment when news was received of the retaking of Catelet, and the capture of Brissac by the Duke Bernard of Saxe Weimar. Mary de Medicis thought the occasion favourable to obtain from her son some amelioration of her misfortune. She was offered a pension if she would reside at Florence. This she refused to do; and, escaping from Brussels, passed through the Low Countries and went to England, to visit her daughter, Henrietta, the queen of Charles I. At St. Germain a great council was held, to decide on the admissability of her pretensions. A declaration against them was unanimously voted. The chancellor, Seguier, and the secretary of state, Desnoyers, undertook to vindicate the conduct of the king, by likening it to that of Jesus Christ, "who was also separated from his mother!" Towards the end of the year, Father Joseph died at Rueil. The jealousy of Richelieu had

kept from him the cardinal's hat, which he had long solicited. Mazarin, the Italian, who succeeded him in his intimacy with the cardinal, was more fortunate in this respect, and found Richelieu well disposed to give him his powerful support at Rome.

La Valette succeeded to the command of the army of Italy, in consequence of the somewhat sudden decease of Duke Bernard. His death was considered an event of importance to France at that period, as his army, then under the Count de Guebriant, afterwards Duke de Longueville, was regarded as her inheritance. The cardinal, La Valette, did not long enjoy his advancement. He died at the Château de Rivoli, near Turin, whither he had repaired to treat for peace with the pope's nuncio. In the north, the grand master of the artillery, La Meilleraye, took Verdun, the king being present, who requited the important service by giving him a marshal's baton. Unfortunately, the check which the Marshal de Feuquières received, his lines having been forced near Thionville, would have caused this success to be forgotten, but for the raising of the siege of Mouzon, which the grand master had skilfully defended against the imperialists. In the south, the military reputation of the Prince of Condé experienced a severe shock. His army, when advancing to attack the Spaniards, was dispersed by a violent tempest, which rendered it impossible for him to keep his men together. Richelieu, who had decided to be the protector of the Prince of Condé, manifested no anxiety to call him to a severe account for what occurred on this occasion. In the midst of the difficulties and embarrassments caused by war, revolts were again witnessed in France, revolts, however, of a nature more offensive than dangerous, like those which had broken out two years before. "It was," Bazin remarks, "a rising of people, who complained of suffering great distress, who objected to pay taxes, and who were little disposed to value the honour won for them by the armies engaged in carrying on the contests in Italy, in Flanders, in Artois, in Lorraine, and near Rousillon." The worst feature of all was, the parliament seemed resolved to set an example of resistance. To obtain money, the cardinal had created four hundred new situations for attornies, and fifteen new offices for counsellors of the parliament of Paris. That body refused to recognise the one or the other. In vain, says M. de St. Aulaire, the king attended in person to install the counsellors in their seats; the force of the *esprit de corps* was so great, that the presidents with whom it rested to appoint cases to be tried could not be prevailed upon to transmit anything to the intrusive counsellors, and would not consent to deliberate with them. Matters wore a different aspect in Normandy. The parliament, and the Court of Aids, at Rouen, having caused to be fixed up in all the market-places, and on the church doors, and on the city gates, notices for bidding all persons, under any pretext whatever, to attempt making a levy without letters patent, duly registered, a rebellion immediately broke out in Lower Normandy. On this occasion, the insurgents gave themselves the name of "the bare-footed," and put forth a sort of manifesto, couched in the following terms :

"By the general of the 'barefooted,' it is ordered that all Parisians, and inhabitants of whatever quality and condition, shall provide themselves with arms and munitions of war for the service of the king, and the defence of his kingdom, that, at the first notice or command, they may repair equipped, and in good order, to any place where their services may be required, for the safety and defence of the country, at present oppressed by farmers of the revenue and tax collectors."

On a day which was appointed all the province flew to arms. In the city of Rouen the receiving offices were pillaged, and the collectors murdered. The parliament manifested little anxiety to protect those who had continued to receive payments of taxes in contempt of their orders. It was necessary to dispatch troops to arrest the progress of the revolvers.

Gassion was sent against them with an army of five thousand men; and with difficulty he succeeded in restoring tranquillity. Many chiefs of the revolt were executed; the parliament and the Court of Aids were interdicted; and the magistrates were exiled from the province. The following year the parliament was re-established, but made *half-yearly*. This was the most dreadful punishment, the French historian remarks, that could be inflicted on a deliberative body. The appearance of two new actors on the court stage, seemed in some measures to divert attention from this sad event. Mazarin was established near the cardinal; and Mary de Hautefort was displaced from the hold she had on the mind of Louis by the young Marquis de Cinq Mars, second son of the Marshal D'Effiat, who soon succeeded the old Duke of Bellegarde in the post of the grand master of the horse. The deportment of Louis towards the other sex was not a little remarkable. Though inclined to indulge in female society, a bashfulness oppressed him which he could not subdue, and to conceal it he affected indifference or dislike. His queen regarded him with contempt, and visited his seeming coldness with unsparing ridicule. Mary de Hautefort received his distant homage, and seems to have had the same feeling with regard to him which the queen evinced. He then turned his attention to Mademoiselle La Fayette, and in this instance succeeded in conquering his diffidence; but the result served but to confirm it. La Fayette fled from his love to a convent. He wept for her loss, but sometimes visited her in her retreat; and her voice was supposed to influence his conduct in state affairs.

Cinq Mars was placed near the king by the cardinal, on account of his agreeable person, his ingenuous character, and his love of gaiety, in the hope that he would prove a useful instrument, and one that could never become dangerous. The trifling occupations of the king soon wearied Cinq Mars, and he wished to be released from his appointment. This wish was increased by a passion which he conceived for Mary de Gonzague, in which he was thwarted by the cardinal. This, added to the opposition he experienced from the same quarter when he had prevailed on the king, as he persuaded himself, to admit him to his council, made him the bitter enemy of Richelieu.

Favourable intelligence was received from Italy. The Count d'Harcourt had relieved Casal and laid siege to Turin, which had, after a brief resistance, been compelled to surrender, though the French were, in their turn, besieged in their lines by the Marquis de Leganez. The king having conquered the Duchess of Savoy, generously consented to treat with her, and restored her capital. Elsewhere, it was announced that Arras had been given up to the French, within sight of the infant cardinal. These successes were celebrated by Richelieu at court in his usual way; that is, by a new state trial. The Duke de Vendome had fallen into disgrace with him since the affair of Chalais. He had about him a spot which, in the eyes of the cardinal, nothing could ever efface; that was, the position in which he stood, as brother to the king. Cost what it might, his total ruin was resolved upon. He was accused of having wished to procure the assassination of the cardinal; and notwithstanding his innocence, he deemed it more prudent to retire into England than to remain in the power of his enemies to take his trial. He was proceeded against for contumacy, as had been done in the case of the Duke de La Valette. His judges, to the number of twenty-eight, were with the king, the Prince of Condé, the Dukes d'Ures, de Ventadour, de Luynes, de Chaulnes, and de la Force; the Marshal de Chatillon, the grand master of the horse, D'Effiat, de Cinq Mars, the chancellor, two presidents of the parliament, the superintendant of the finances, Boutillier, six counsellors of state, and ten counsellors of parliament. The chancellor accused the duke of having said to the queen mother, on landing, "You see, madam, a poor exile, accused of an enterprise which it would have been well to have accomplished rather than to have contemplated." The king rose to speak to the truth of that charge. Of all the judges, he it was who was the most bitter against his brother. He wished that he should be condemned to death without pity. Upon this, Richelieu, who had acted his part, though he did not appear in this famous commission, wrote a letter to the chancellor, in which he entreated the king to pardon the Duke de Vendome. All the indulgence the king was content to grant was, to suspend the judgment, without prejudice to the proceedings which had proved the heavy punishment the conduct of the Duke de Vendome had merited, and the tribunal was dismissed. In effecting what had been done, one object of the cardinal was to alarm the Count of Soissons, who, in Sedan, had got up a new plot against France, with the Duke de Bouillon. To these two chiefs, Henry of Lorraine, Archbishop of Rheims, was added, who had recently become Duke of Guise; and a fourth personage, of whom one historian of the reign of Louis XIII. has left us the following portrait: "There was then at Paris an abbé of a good family, six-and-twenty years of age, an ecclesiastic against his will, a noisy person, who had fought many duels, and had many mistresses, but still capable of severe study, and of exhibiting retiring modesty to distinguish himself, when nothing more congenial offered in that career from which he could not tear himself. This abbé had written, at the age of

eighteen, the 'History of the Conspiracy of Fiesque,' which gave him a sort of authority among those who dreamt of movements, and of sudden enterprises. The Count de Soissons, who had admitted him to his friendship before quitting France, and who afterwards had often consulted him frequently, thought it advisable to invite him to Sedan, at the moment when he was called upon to declare himself. This individual was the Abbé de Retz, who hastened there immediately; and when the question was laid before him, gave it as his view of the case, that that was not the moment for commencing a civil war. The contrary opinion prevailed. The Duke de Bouillon, in the end, triumphed over the indecision of the prince, and put himself in direct communication with the minister of Spain at the Luxembourg, who held himself always ready; and then the Abbé de Retz, wishing to repair the error of having shown himself more wise, took charge of the correspondence with Paris, whither, it was said, he carried more letters than would have sufficed to put on their trial two hundred men. Upon this the princes issued a manifesto, in which the Count de Soissons, as a prince of the blood, attacked the cardinal, "whom, after mature deliberation with the Dukes de Bouillon and Guise, he denounced to all France, and to his good friends and allies, as the greatest and most dangerous enemy of the king and his subjects." To this declaration, the king replied by directing the Dukes of Bouillon and Guise to be put on their trial, and by an order of parliament directed against those who assisted the Count de Soissons. But the imperial army, under the Baron de Lamboy, had already formed a junction near Sedan with the partizans of the count. Richelieu, having tried in vain to pacify De Soissons, or to entice him to court, thought it necessary at last to send an army against him, under the Marshal de Châtillon. He attacked the enemy on the borders of a wood called Marsée; and though Châtillon was neither deficient in energy nor skill, he was so badly supported by his troops, who were seized with an unaccountable panic, that the royal army was completely routed. Soissons was then in such a position, that it seemed nothing opposed his immediately marching to Paris. But the star of Richelieu was still in the ascendant, and averted the dreaded consequences of this disaster. In the ardour of pursuit, a cavalier belonging to the imperialists had been remarked separated from his people, near a small squadron which had rallied, composed of the gendarmes of the queen and the Duke of Orleans. A pistol shot brought him down. In the skirmish which followed this incident was forgotten when, in the evening, it was announced by a trumpeter from the enemy's party, that the individual who had thus fallen was no other than the Count de Soissons. It appeared that he had fallen by his own hand; while riding over the field of battle, he pushed up his vizor with his pistol, which, going off by accident, instantly deprived him of life. It was reported that he was assassinated, and at the instigation of Richelieu; but for this there was no foundation. From that moment the fate of things was instantly changed. The results of the battle were the opposite of what had been

expected ; and Louis, who, on receiving the news of the defeat, was prepared to sacrifice his minister, now bowed with superstitious awe before the continued



good fortune of the cardinal. The victorious foe was at once arrested ; the Dukes of Bouillon and Guise made their peace, and France was again on every side triumphant.

It may here not be improper to mention, that between the events which have been related, and those still more important which followed, at this period the Dukes de Sully and d'Epernon died, and the queen mother retreated to Cologne.

The Duke de Bouillon had not effected such an accommodation with the cardinal that he had nothing to fear from his vengeance, and, in his opinion, it was better policy to meet than to wait for it. In order, however, to set at rest all suspicions, he had quitted Sedan, and consented even to take the command of the army in Italy. Passing by St. Germain, he found an opportunity for exchanging a few words with the queen, Anne of Austria, the personal enemy of the cardinal, who wished, it was said, in the event of the king's death, to exclude her and the Duke of Orleans from the regency, which must then be formed during the minority of his successor. The confidant of the projects of the queen was a man who, from the extent of his capacity, and the elevation of his sentiments, had worthily sustained the éclat of a name justly celebrated in the magistracy : it was Francis Augustus de Thou, the son of the historian.

While the Duke de Bouillon came to an understanding with the queen against the cardinal, to be acted upon only in the case of a regency, another conspiracy was formed, the object of which was more clear and defined, and presently to be carried into effect by the assassination of the minister. At the head of those who had adopted this plan was the young Cinq-Mars, who,

weary of the insipid recriminations of the king, preferred passing his nights in the brilliant meetings of the Palais-Royal, at the house of Marion Delorme. This young man was, however, passionately in love with the Princess Mary de Gonzague, and love in his bosom had given birth to ambition. He wished to command an army, and to be created a duke and a peer. The cardinal refused to comply with his desire; and from that time he became the mortal enemy of Richelieu. Monsieur Le Grand, as he was called, in reference to the post he filled of grand master of the horse, vowed eternal hate against his early patron. Through De Thou, his intimate friend, he soon found himself in communication with the Dukes of Bouillon and Orleans, and became the very soul of their plot. The virtuous De Thou denounced with equal horror the proposal to assassinate the cardinal, and the project of a treaty with Spain, towards which the Dukes of Orleans and Bouillon seemed to incline. From that time they resolved not to admit him to a knowledge of all their schemes, not that they doubted his fidelity, but they stood in awe of his remonstrances. Things were in this position when the king, the cardinal, and the grand master of the horse, set out for the siege of Perpignan, January 25th, 1642. The queen detained De Thou at Paris; the Duke de Bouillon went to assume the command in Italy; while one of his emissaries, the Count de Fontrailles, repaired to Madrid, provided with instructions in furtherance of the views of the conspirators. The Count Duke d'Olivarés appeared perfectly satisfied with the information offered, and in four days he had prevailed on the council to adopt a treaty, in which they declared that it was not wished to attempt anything against the christian king, anything to the prejudice of his kingdom, or anything against the rights of the queen regnant. The King of Spain bound himself to furnish twelve thousand infantry and five thousand horse as soon as possible. All places taken during the war were to be given up to his Royal Highness the Duke of Orleans, or those of his people. Fontrailles returned to France with the treaty stitched up within the lining of his coat, and hastened to rejoin the Count at Narbonne, where Mazarin had just received the cardinal's hat.

Richelieu remained sick at Narbonne, while the king arrived under the walls of Perpignan with his favourite. The latter made imprudently a parade of that which it ought to have been his business to conceal; and a few days afterwards Mary de Gonzague wrote to him from Paris, "Your affair is as well known here as it is known that the Seine flows under the Pont Neuf." De Thou proceeded with all expedition to Perpignan to join Fontrailles, who entreated Cinq Mars to provide for his own safety. Monsieur already spoke of withdrawing to Sedan; Cinq Mars refused to do so. Fontrailles, upon this, took his departure alone, for De Thou would not abandon his friend. Suddenly the king set out for Narbonne, and the next morning the grand master of the horse was arrested, with M. de Thou. Richelieu had succeeded in procuring a copy of the treaty from Madrid. In Italy, the

Duke de Bouillon was seized in the midst of his army, as the Marshal de Marillac had formerly been.

While these matters were in progress, Gaston wrote to the cardinal that "he was utterly astonished at the villainy of Monsieur Le Grand, who had been so depraved as to displease his eminence. He congratulated himself that he had known how to resist all the overtures of that ingrate, and to have preserved entire his esteem and admiration for his cousin the cardinal." In answer to this, the cardinal gave the following, "Monsieur, since it is the will of God that men should have recourse to ingenuousness and full confession, to be absolved from their faults in this world, I will indicate the road which you ought to take in order to extricate yourself from your present embarrassing situation. Your highness has begun well. You must go on to supplicate the king, through his servants, to extend in the present instance his clemency to you. This is all that he can say to you, who is really anxious for your welfare; and who has always been, and still wishes to be, &c. &c." By advice of the Abbé de la Rivière, who had succeeded to Puy-Laurens, the duke meanly submitted to take the course prescribed to him by Richelieu, and indited two confessions, minutely recounting all that had passed between him the Duke de Bouillon, the grand master, and M. de Thou. Possessed of the important documents, Richelieu took steps for bringing the parties to trial. Monsieur and the Duke de Bouillon agreed in declaring that they had concealed from De Thou the mission of Fontrailles to Spain; and the chancellor caused it to be announced to the cardinal that he did not see that there were any means of causing him to be condemned. "M. Chancellor, to speak frankly," replied the cardinal, "it is necessary that M. de Thou should die." Then, having set Laubardemont to make search for some ordinance which might serve for a precedent, he succeeded in producing one dated December 22nd, 1477, which provided that "Those who should have knowledge of any conspiracy that might be in progress should be punished as principals, if they did not reveal the same to the king or his judges in that part of the kingdom in which they might happen to be, as soon as possible after gaining knowledge of such conspiracy." This was sufficient to seal his fate.

Having detected their plot, the cardinal immediately regained all his ascendancy over the king. He did not hasten to court, but Louis paid him a visit at Tarascon, though, at the time, he was so unwell, that on his arrival he was obliged to be laid on a couch, by the side of that on which the cardinal, also a sufferer from illness, was extended. In this posture, the king and the priest, menaced by death themselves, doomed the conspirators; and Louis did not fail to betray all the schemes which the grand master had formed against the minister.

Richelieu invoked the legislation of Louis XI. In one respect he failed. He could not force the Duke of Orleans to repeat his accusations in the presence of the prisoners. Gaston stipulated that he was not to be confronted

with the victims. Richelieu, to avoid the fatigue of travelling by land, passed up the Rhone from Tarascon in a boat, and gratified his revengeful feelings by feasting his eyes on the unhappy prisoner, De Thou, who followed him in another boat. The king at Paris, affected to be greatly disturbed by the severe part which justice and the welfare of the kingdom compelled him to act.

The trials took place at Lyons, whither Cinq Mars was conveyed by land. Both the prisoners were confined in the Château of Peter Encise, while the tribunal was in the course of being formed, before which they were to be tried. Laubardemont did not fail to convict both. With mean perfidious address, he made Cinq Mars believe that he had been betrayed by De Thou. Cinq Mars requited this supposed treachery by an overwhelming accusation; and though, on being confronted with his companion, he retracted in a great measure what he had said, De Thou was unanimously, one voice only excepted, condemned to die. "Well, sir," said he, when the fatal decision was pronounced, turning calmly to Cinq Mars, "I have some right to complain of you. You have accused me; you have caused my fall; but



still God only knows how much I love you. We will die together—we will die bravely, and we will seek Heaven together." From the same desk on

which the sentence had just been signed, the chancellor wrote to inform Richelieu of the result. "The chancellor," he coolly remarked, "has taken a great weight off my mind," and this was said with a satisfied air, which proved how welcome the decision was to the unrelenting minister.

Towards five in the afternoon the prisoners were conducted to the place of execution. "The grand master," says a chronicle of the time, "was attired in a beautiful coat of brown cloth, covered with gold lace two or three fingers broad. He wore a scarlet mantle, and a black hat turned up à la catalane, with green silk stockings ornamented with lace above. De Thou wore a mourning coat and a short mantle. They embraced before submitting to the fatal blow. The grand master first laid his head on the block; De Thou was deplorably mangled by the executioner, as Chalais had been."

The Duke de Bouillon, who feared a like fate awaited him, was allowed to escape on making a cession of Sedan. At a later period he received considerable estates for it in exchange. During the progress of this horrible drama, the mother of the king died in indigence at Cologne, July 6th, 1642, at the age of sixty-eight.

The cardinal left Lyons on the very day which witnessed the execution of Cinq Mars and De Thou. He was carried in a great chamber hung with red damask, which contained his bed, a table, and a chair for the page, who wrote from his dictation. This immense machine was borne on the shoulders of eighteen *gardes du corps*, bare-headed; and when the gates of the cities and villages through which he passed were too narrow to admit it, portions of the wall, and even entire houses, were thrown down to give it a passage; "so that," said the sycophants of the cardinal, "he seemed everywhere like a conqueror entering by the breach which he had made." This was his last triumph. On the 12th of December, three months after the death of Cinq Mars and De Thou, he breathed his last, leaving to the king the Palais Cardinal, and the greater part of his fortune, and advised him to call to his aid Cardinal Mazarin to save France. "Richelieu," says St. Aulaire, "performed with decency his religious duties. He humbled himself before Heaven, protested that he had never known any enemies but those who were the enemies of his country, and recommended himself, with a firm voice and serene countenance, to the prayers of the bishops, who were greatly edified by the fortitude and indifference of his deportment. One of them, animated by a better spirit than the rest, received from this spectacle a different impression. 'In truth,' said he, 'so much indifference made me fear.' *Profecto nimium me terret magna illa securitas.*" The cardinal was buried in the church of the Sorbonne, which he had built. His mausoleum is the *chef d'œuvre* of Girardon.

The king was himself dying; he, however, displayed more activity in his latter days than he had manifested during the whole course of his life. His first care was to make Mazarin a member of the council, seating with him Messieurs de Chavigny and Desnoyers, secretaries of state, and the chancellor,

Seguier, and Claude de Bouthillier, superintendant of finance. Afterwards, recollecting that his mother lay dead at Cologne, he caused her remains to be brought back to France, and there gave them the honours of a royal funeral.

At length he felt it was necessary to secure that throne which he was about to leave to his son. By the advice of Mazarin, Louis caused a declaration to be prepared for creating a council of regency, to consist of the queen, the Duke of Orleans, appointed lieutenant general of the kingdom, the Prince of Condé, whose son, the young Duke d'Enghien, took the command of the army of the north, the Cardinal Mazarin, the chancellor, Seguier, De Boutellier, and De Chavigny. Desnoyers, the declared servant of the queen, was excluded from it. By this, ministers were made a sort of co-regents, and the queen and the Duke of Orleans were bound to submit to the opinion of the majority. The queen was outraged by such an arrangement, but she dissembled her indignation, with a view of letting the king die in peace. Louis strongly insisted on this declaration; he desired that it should be *irrevocable*, and as firmly secured as the Salic law. He signed it, and caused it to be signed by the queen and the Duke of Orleans, and wrote himself below, "the above is my express will, which I desire may be carried into execution." Afterwards, on transmitting it to the president, Molé, he said, "I have settled the affairs of my kingdom. This is the only satisfaction I can have in dying."

His last moments were disturbed by the renewed discontents of the Fronde. At St. Germain even the partisans of the queen, and those of the ministers, were every day ready to come to blows. In the midst of these disorders, the king, left almost alone, wished for death, and often repeated, in the words of Job: "*Tædet animam meam vitæ meæ.*" A few days, however, before his death, the young dauphin having said, while playing in his apartment, "My name is Louis XIV.," the monarch started up in surprise, and exclaimed with anger "Not yet." On the 14th of May, 1643, twenty-three years to a day after the decease of his father, he expired, leaving his crown to his son, then in his nonage, as he had himself received it from Henry IV.

Historians are not agreed, remarks the president, Hénault, on what grounds Louis XIII. received the surname of "the Just." Facts do not justify it as they do the epithets of Henry the Great and Louis the Great. It was not enough that Louis XIII. should have had a minister like Richelieu; to merit it, he should have personally assisted, as Henry did Sully, as Louis did Colbert. His character was essentially feeble in many respects, but where blood was to be shed, he placed himself under a stronger mind, and Richelieu, with an unflinching hand, "shut the gates of mercy." That he himself did not concur in the character given of him to posterity, is obvious, from the shrinkings which he experienced in declining life. Once being at Ecouen, a palace of which the Montmorencies had been despoiled, the conscious Louis saw, or thought he saw, the ghost of the decapitated

duke approaching him in anger. The monarch, appalled, attempted to save himself by flight, and never returned to the place.

While Louis still breathed, everybody flocked round Anne of Austria, as Queen of France, for nine years at least, as her son was then but five years of age. Whether it was from real grief, or merely a matter of convenience, she sent orders for every one to retire with the exception of her brother-in-law, the Duke of Orleans, whom she entreated to remain with her. It so chanced that this command was conveyed by the Duke of Beaufort, the second son of the Duke de Vendome, and consequently the grandson of Henry IV., who, since the death of Richelieu, had become the chief of a party composed of all the former exiles, the three princes of Elbœuf, the Duke of Guise and his brother, the Duke d'Epemon, the Dukes de Bellegarde, De Retz, Messieurs De Fiesque, De la Chatre, De Montresor, De Chandénier, &c., in short all the former victims of Richelieu. The old Marshals, Bassompierre and De Vitry, they having but recently been liberated from strict confinement in the Bastille, kept prudently aloof. It is, however, certain, that the king had scarcely been dead an hour, when the Château de St. Germain became the scene of a serious contention. The Prince of Condé found himself included among those who were expected to withdraw, in consequence of the intimation given by the queen through her organ, the Duke de Beaufort. He felt himself piqued at it, and fiercely exclaimed "that he would yield obedience to orders transmitted to him through the captain of the guards; but he would not receive them through the Duke de Beaufort." To this the latter replied, that "he gave no orders, but no one should prevent him from carrying into execution those of the queen." They were, happily, soon appeased, *at least for the moment*.

Three days after the entry of the queen into Paris, she brought the king to hold a bed of justice to the parliament. The new regency opened exactly in the same manner as that of Mary de Medicis had done. The parts were given out before hand. In few words the queen deplored the loss of her husband, after which the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé agreed to recognise the regency entire as due to the queen, and said, "they desired for themselves to take no part in affairs of state, but that which she might be pleased to assign to them, and claimed no advantage to themselves from any of the clauses contained in the declaration. The chancellor and the advocate general, Omer Talon, came to the same conclusion, and at length a resolution was carried, to the effect, that, the queen, the mother of the king, was declared regent, to have the care of the person and of the education of his majesty, and the entire administration of the country, while his uncle, the Duke of Orleans, should be his lieutenant general in all the provinces, under the authority of the queen and the presidency of the council; by the same authority, it was further provided, that, in his absence, that duty should devolve upon the Prince of Condé, reserving to the queen the power of making choice of such persons as should seem good

to her, to deliberate in the said councils on public affairs which might come under discussion, without being obliged to be governed by the decisions of the majority." This was passed on the 18th of May, four days after the death of the king, and three weeks after the solemn promise, made under the obligation of an oath, taken by the queen and the Duke of Orleans, had been placed in the hands of the dying Louis, to respect his famous declaration. In these proceedings neither M. de Chavigny nor Cardinal Mazarin had taken any part. They were supposed to be in great disgrace, and every one aspired to fill their places, which were understood to be vacant, when, on the evening of the day which witnessed the adoption of the resolution just described, the Prince of Condé received an order from the queen, to offer to the cardinal the presidency of the council and the superintendence of the education of the king, with a portfolio for M. de Chavigny. The party of Beaufort, or "the importants," as they were called, were greatly offended at this; but the cardinal had the address to appease the first transports of their indignation, by declaring that he had no intention of continuing in public life after the conclusion of a general peace, when he proposed to retire to Rome. He further gratified them by introducing to the council the old Bishop of Beauvais, Augustin Potier, the man whom the cabal wished to be minister to the regent. All this was done with the approbation of the Prince of Condé, who for himself had no reason to be hostile to the late ministers. His attachment to Richelieu was well known. It was besides not forgotten that Mazarin had caused to be given to his young son, the Duke d'Enghien, then but twenty-one years of age, the command of the army in Flanders. A brilliant victory soon justified the choice which had been made by imprudent favoritism.

When Louis died, Rocroi was besieged by the enemy. D'Enghien then acted a part which at once rendered his name illustrious in the eyes of all France. Ambition might have tempted him to hasten to Paris, with a view of getting himself included in the regency, but a sense of duty compelled him to march to the relief of Rocroi. He sent Gassion before him to throw succours into the place. It was his determination to give the enemy battle; but this resolution he communicated to no one but Gassion. From the Marshal de L'Hopital he studiously concealed it, lest the presence of that experienced commander should endeavor to repress his ardour, which indeed he believed he had been instructed to keep within bounds. The cold prudence of age would, however, he feared, in him wear the appearance of cowardice; and when Gassion returned, and reported that thick and almost impenetrable woods, marshes, and defiles, opposed his design, and served as a rampart to the Spanish army, and seemed to render it almost impossible to save Rocroi, he nevertheless persevered. A council of war being called, the eloquence with which he advocated the policy of giving battle was so congenial to the character of the French, that all who listened to him were carried away by the enthusiasm of the prince, not even excepting

the old Marshal de L'Hopital, who hoped that the Spaniards, by a vigorous defence of the defiles, would prevent a general engagement. Don Francisco, however, did not consider such resistance necessary. He is supposed to have felt confident of victory if attacked, and to have looked to these defiles to ensure the total ruin of a defeated enemy.

On the 18th of May the defiles were passed without resistance. L'Hopital now wished to persuade the prince to advance no further; but the latter refused to shape his course by this counsel, and declared he would be answerable for the result. The passage of the defile was long and difficult; and had the Spaniards then attacked Condé, it was believed they might have almost destroyed the French army. He advanced within view of the enemy, and drew up in order of battle his right wing, supported by woods; his left resting on a marsh. The two hosts were now only separated by a valley. Each opened its artillery on the other, but the day drew near to a close, and the commanders were content to defer the grand struggle till the following morning. The rash zeal of La Ferté Senneterre exposed the French to great danger. Though not authorised to do so, he put his cavalry in motion, with the intention of throwing additional succours into Rocroi; several battalions passed the marsh, leaving the rest of the squadron exposed to the enemy. D'Enghien saw De Mello was preparing to take advantage of this error, and sent orders to La Ferté instantly to return; and to remedy the effects of his imprudence made the second line advance to take the place of the first. De Mello, observing the movement, halted; and this enabled La Ferté to recover his station. But for this, the consequences would have been very serious to the French.

That night, wrapped in his cloak, the duke took up his quarters with the regiment of Picardy, and having issued those orders which he deemed necessary, was presently buried in a deep sleep. He rose at break of day, mounted his horse, and rode through the ranks, haranguing the soldiers on the great part they had to act, and the glory reserved for them and France. His animated language cheered and affected those to whom it was addressed. He first attacked a wood which had been filled with Spanish musketeers, whom he instantly routed; and that done, ordered Gassion to fall on the flank of the Spanish cavalry, under the Duke d'Albuquerque. In this, being completely successful, he next fell upon the German, Walloons, and Italian infantry, with like good fortune. Victory was faithful to France wherever the duke appeared; but L'Hopital was not equally happy. He had experienced a severe repulse from De Mello, who, falling on the infantry, threw it into confusion with great slaughter, took the artillery, and penetrated to the reserve under the command of Sirat. The duke was engaged in the pursuit of that portion of the enemy's army which he had routed, when news of this disaster was brought to him. He immediately formed the daring resolution of passing with his cavalry behind the whole line of the Spanish infantry; and fell on the rear of the cavalry of Mello, who was

pursuing the French. This unexpected attack threw the enemy into great disorder; and the impetuous valour of the French could no longer be resisted with a chance of success. The whole of the Spanish infantry, under Fuentes, who, though assailed by infirmity, preserved all the courage and talent which had distinguished him in his younger days, remained unbroken, and breathing defiance to the French. Six thousand men, under General Beck, were at that moment advancing to join them. The duke, informed of their approach, resolved to attack the infantry before the meditated junction could be formed. He was obstinately resisted. On being charged by the French cavalry, the Count de Fuentes opened a fire upon them from some batteries previously masked, which made horrible ravages in their ranks. Thrice did the cavalry charge, and as often were they foiled. In this situation of things he ordered the reserve to advance; and the Spaniards, surrounded on every side, at length waved their hats, and offered to surrender. The duke, upon this, went forward, with a view of putting an end to the effusion of blood. Unhappily his object was mistaken. The Spaniards, supposing him to be directing further hostilities, made a new and terrible discharge of artillery. That the duke escaped seemed a miracle; and the French, in resentment of the supposed treachery of the Spaniards, rushed forward with greater fury than ever; a horrible carnage ensued, and it was with difficulty that d'Enghien could prevail upon his troops to give quarter at all.

While this strife was in progress, General Beck had come up, and been defeated. On learning this, Condé fell on his knees, and devoutly returned thanks to the Almighty for the great victory that had been gained; and embraced the generals who were the companions of his glory. The enemy lost sixteen thousand men, a vast number of officers, twenty-one pieces of cannon, and three hundred flags or banners. The Count de Fuentes was found dying by the side of the litter in which he had been carried to the field.

The queen took advantage of the popular enthusiasm which prevailed, and in order to show that it was far from her wish in giving her confidence to the successor of Richelieu, to renew the persecutions which had been sanctioned in his day, she publicly recalled those he had formerly exiled, who had not yet returned to France. The negociators of the celebrated treaty of Madrid, in connection with the conspiracy of Cinq Mars, Messires de Montressor, d'Aubijoux, and De Fontrailles, were of the number; but the exile, whose re-appearance all expected with impatience, more especially "the importants," was the beautiful, and intellectual Duchess de Chevreuse. Unfortunately for her, the situation of things was changed. The queen, being now in power, had no longer an opposition to create, and wishing to avoid any appearance of coldness or ingratitude, she dispatched her old friend, the Prince de Marillac, afterwards Duke de Laroche-foucauld, to dispose her to prudence and moderation. The duchess soon arrived at court. The queen embraced her very affectionately, but did not suffer her to penetrate the secret dispositions of her mind consequent on the altered situation in which she found

herself. To the newly returned duchess, Cardinal Mazarin made some extremely conciliatory advances. On the following morning he waited upon her, and remarking that, after so long a journey, she might want money, he presented her with 50,000 crowns. Two days afterwards, he bluntly demanded of her if he might count her of the number of his friends, protesting, at the same time, that if her answer should be in the affirmative, there was nothing which he should not do to afford her satisfaction.

The duchess was exorbitant in her demands. She demanded at first that Boutillier and Chavigny should be dismissed, and that they should be succeeded, Boutillier, in the finances, by the Italian, Particilli, who called himself M. d'Emery; Chavigny, as secretary of state, by M. le Tellier. Madame de Chevreuse demanded further, that the chancellor, Seguir, should make way for her old friend, Chateauneuf. All that, up to this moment, had been granted to him, was, that he might remain quiet in his house at Montrouge, not being permitted to enter Paris. The cardinal proved inflexible on the subject of the former keeper of the seals, and the negotiations were broken off. Each party sought to strengthen itself by other aids. Certain promises drew to the party of Mazarin the Abbé de la Riviere, who carried with him the Duke of Orleans, in spite of all the efforts of Bethune and De Montressor.

The intrigues of a female rekindled the war. An insult had been offered to the Duchess de Longueville on the subject of an amatory letter found by the Duchess de Montbazon, mother-in-law to Madame de Chevreuse. The Duke d'Enghien, who had now visited the court, sent a challenge to the Duke de Beaufort, the lover of the Duchess de Montbazon; and the Count de Coligny, on the subject which had given annoyance to Madame de Longueville, called out the Duke of Guise. The meeting of the former parties



was prevented, but Coligny and the duke of Guise fought at the Place Royale, with sword and poniard, attended by their seconds, d'Estrade and

Bridieu. Coligny, wounded and disarmed, in the presence of Madame de Longueville, died a few months afterwards. Notwithstanding the efforts of Madame de Chevreuse, the queen took part with the house of Condé, and demanded from the Duchess de Montbazon, that she should make Madame de Longueville satisfaction in public. The terms of the apology were dictated by Mazarin. He wrote with his own hand the official phrases on the papers which the Princess de Condé and the Duchess de Montbazon attached to their fans. By this forced reconciliation the quarrel was but the more envenomed. A graver offence, which affected the queen herself, was committed a few days afterwards against the princess by her rival. The Duchesses of Montbazon and de Chevreuse received orders to quit the court. The latter returned to her exile in England, from which she had scarcely been withdrawn. The Duke of Beaufort was conducted to Vincennes; the Duke and the Duchess de Vendome, the Duke de Mercœur, and the Duke of Guise, were exiled; the Bishop of Beauvais was sent back to his diocese; the Counts de Bethune and de Montessor were sent to the Bastille; the Marquis de la Chatre, deprived of his post of colonel general of the Swiss. After this they heard no one speak any more of "the importants." The queen had had no little trouble in disposing of this business. It is said that, on the very evening of the day on which the Duke of Beaufort was arrested, she wept bitterly in her apartment in the presence of her ladies.

The court, so long agitated, found at length, during four years, a calm so perfect, that no one could recollect to have witnessed anything like it; and the poets of the time sought for comparisons with the present tranquillity, by referring to the regency of Blanche of Castile; and the greater number of them went back even to "the golden age." The armies, under D'Enghien, Turenne, D'Harcourt, and Gassion, triumphed in Spain, in Flanders, in Italy, and in Germany, Thionville fell to the French, after the battle of Rocroi. In the following year the Duke d'Enghien, and Turenne, a field marshal at the age of thirty-two, gained over the Austrian general Mercy, the battle of Fribourg, a contest which lasted three days. Fribourg had fallen to the enemy, an event which D'Enghien, in concert with Turenne, panted to revenge. A rugged country, covered with woods, rocks, morasses, and ditches, opposed his design. Depending on the nature of the ground, the Austrian commander had made fewer entrenchments on his left flank, which was thus less defended than any other point. Redoubts, chevaux de frise, and trees cut down, fortified the other parts of the camp. To attack the left flank it was necessary to pass a dangerous defile, and to make a long circuitous advance. This operation was confided to Turenne, who was to attack the part indicated, while Condé simultaneously fell on the enemy's front. At five o'clock in the evening, the duke concluded that Turenne had reached his destination, and he immediately climbed the mountains, crossed the lines under the enemies' fire; and attacked the entrenchments with such vigour that the Bavarians, by whom they were defended, were com-

pelled to retire. His troops, having accomplished so much, seemed to be exhausted. They paused, when the duke coming up, put himself at the head of the regiment of Conti, advanced to the enemy's entrenchments, and threw his baton of command over them. The soldiers, beholding this daring action, rushed forward, that such a trophy might not remain to the enemy, with courage and determination that nothing could withstand. The French prevailed; but the Bavarians still maintained their post in one of their redoubts. Night came on, and no intelligence had been received of Turenne. Condé ordered the military band to strike up on the top of the mountain. Turenne, who had been detained by greater obstacles than had been contemplated, heard the welcome sound, and knew it to be the signal of D'Enghien's success. He attempted to force the last entrenchment which he had to carry, but met with such a vigorous reception, that he was compelled to retire. The night was dark, the rain descended in torrents, and under these disadvantages the French were compelled to defer renewing the attack till the morning. General Mercy, however, during the night, retreated to the black mountain, on the summit of which he entrenched himself, extending his right wing almost to the cannon of Fribourg. When this movement was known to D'Enghien, he would have attacked the rear guard of the enemy, but for the enfeebled state of his troops, who were sinking from extreme fatigue. The following day was spent on both sides in active preparations to renew the struggle. A night's repose restored vigour and confidence to the men, and on the succeeding day the battle recommenced under very remarkable circumstances. D'Enghien and Turenne went forward to reconnoitre, having ordered that no movement should be made in their absence. Notwithstanding this, D'Espenon, a brave officer, attacked a redoubt defended by the Bavarians. L'Echelle, upon this, considering the moment had arrived for renewing the combat, assailed the enemy at once, and thus the two armies were actually engaged, without the command having been given by their respective generals. The duke returned immediately, but all he could do was to support the blunder which had been made. L'Echelle was killed, his musketeers were destroyed, the Bavarians advanced, and the overpowered French, with Tournon, Marsin, and Grammont, began to fly before the enemy, leaving the duke almost alone, within thirty paces of the barricade. His example had not the effect of rallying the discomfited fugitives, and he next turned to the side where Espenon continued to fight. The strife was most desperate; and victory, almost won by the French, was still held in suspense by the determined valour of Gaspard de Mercy, the general's brother. The gloom of night again fell on the combatants, yet still the struggle was continued with unabated animosity, and physical exhaustion alone caused a brief cessation of the mutual slaughter. In this perilous situation the duke felt he had been placed by the rashness of D'Espenon. It annoyed him greatly; but the sincere regret of the erring commander soon appeased his anger. Though

mortified at the position in which he found himself, far from regarding defeat as certain, he occupied himself at that critical moment in taking measures to cut off the enemy's retreat. The army rested three days. De Mercy perceived what D'Enghien was aiming at, and withdrew to Fillinghen. To cut off or annoy the Bavarians on their way, the Count de Rose was dispatched by D'Enghien. De Mercy, concluding that, from the state of the country, it would be impossible for D'Enghien to come up in time to support De Rose, attacked the latter, who made a stubborn resistance, but was at length obliged to fall back on the army advancing to his relief, when Mercy was obliged in turn to give way, and continue his retreat to Fillinghen, and that with such precipitation that his baggage and artillery were necessarily left behind. De Mercy, closely pursued by the duke, did not think himself safe even at Fillinghen, and did not halt till he had got twenty miles from the field of battle. In this series of battles the enemy lost ten thousand men, and six thousand Frenchmen were slain.

The recapture of Fribourg, it was expected, would be the consequence of the victory, but the duke was of opinion that Phillipsburg, though distant, would be a more useful acquisition. To that place he advanced, made himself master of Guermesheim and Spires, and finally forced Bamberg, who defended Phillipsburg, and who was one of the best generals in Europe, to capitulate. Worms, Oppenheim, and Mentz, fell before him; Berghen, Creutzac, and Landau, were taken by Turenne. A check was sustained at Mariandol, but this only led to the triumph of Nordlingen. On this great day the Duke d'Enghien differed from Turenne, who thought the enemy were in so strong a position that to attack them would be dangerous. The former resolved to give them battle. The right and left wings were commanded by Grammont and Turenne, and Marsin led the infantry in the centre, which was destined to attack the village of Alterem. At first the enemy's artillery had greatly the advantage. Its tremendous fire swept away whole ranks. The duke determined with all possible expedition to assail the entrenchments of the Austrians. Marsin pushed forward with determined courage, and obtained possession of the village. Mercy, aware of the importance of that position, sent fresh troops to regain it; Marsin was severely wounded, and the French were repulsed. A fierce struggle was long maintained for the village, in the course of which D'Enghien received a slight wound, and Mercy lost his life. The French gained ground, but could not drive the enemy from the church and one house, which they obstinately retained. Notwithstanding the injury which he had received, the duke hastened with his right wing to attack Jean de Wert, who commanded the left of the enemy; but a deep ditch prevented the advance he contemplated. He then flew to the left, where he found Turenne pressing severely on the imperialists, who were led by General Gleen, and who succeeded in repulsing the French. Jean de Wert crossed the ditch, and Grammont was unable to resist the impetuosity with which he was

assailed. Chabot, who led the corps of reserve, was equally unfortunate, and fell to rise no more. The day was lost for the French, had not De Wert committed the error of pursuing the right wing, which he had broken, instead of falling on the centre or the left wing. An attack on the enemy's infantry proved completely successful; Gleen was made prisoner, the village stormed, and the captured artillery having been turned on the Bavarian infantry, forced them to give way. Jean de Wert, deeming further resistance useless, retired to the heights of Allerem, and during the night made a precipitate retreat to Donawert. In this contest the enemy lost six thousand men in killed and prisoners, the whole of their artillery, and forty flags or standards. The French had four thousand killed or wounded; among the latter were Turenne, Grammont, and many officers of distinction. The duke, it has already been seen, did not escape uninjured: That he suffered so little was matter of astonishment. He had two horses killed under him, and three wounded; he received a violent contusion on the thigh, a pistol shot in the elbow, and more than twenty bullets were found in his clothes.

The fall of Treves to Turenne was among the consequences of this victory. The Duke of Orleans himself undertook to direct the war in Flanders. Acting under him, the Marshals Gassion and Meilleraye took Gravelines; the Count de Rantzau received the baton of a marshal for the capture of Mardick. It was retaken during the winter by the Spaniards, but afterwards fell to the prince, as did Bergues, Courtrai, Furnes, and Dunkirk. France was no less worthily represented in the conferences opened for a general peace at Munster, of which the preliminaries had been signed at Hamburgh. Servien, the Count d'Avaux, and subsequently the Duke de Longueville, prepared for Mazarin the glory of the famous treaty of Westphalia, the happy conclusion of which Europe owed to him.

All was gaiety at the court of France. Gallantry, banished by the coldness and severity of Louis XIII., and the sanguinary austerity of Richelieu, revived under the reign of a Spaniard, and the administration of an Italian. "By a singular coincidence," says one historian of the *Fronde*, "all the most considerable men of that period were young, and a great number of the eminent women beautiful. The Dukes d'Enghien, de Beaufort, de Guise, de Nemours, the Vicomte Turenne, the Prince de Marsillac, the coadjutor Gondi, afterwards the renowned Cardinal de Retz, were scarcely thirty years of age. The Duchesses de Longueville, de Montbazou, de Bouillon, de Chatillon, de Chevreuse, and de Nemours, have left behind them a great fame for beauty. All the fêtes given at court, the pensions, and the banquets, however, cost much gold, and the treasury was replenished by means of taxes, notwithstanding the complaints of the people, and the murmurs of the parliament. In many respects the minister displayed great ability, and he had succeeded in gaining over to his party the severe Omar Talon himself. The comptroller general, who was an Italian, though known by the French name, D'Emery, had, with other

members of the administration, been much perplexed to devise a new impost suited to the emergency ; but at length he had the good fortune to discover an old ordinance of the year 1548, under which was forbidden the building of new houses in the faubourgs of Paris, on pain of having the same demolished, the materials all confiscated, and amends to be made besides. This edict, called that of the Toise, it was now proposed to enforce. It had long been regarded as a dead letter ; hundreds of erections had risen on the prohibited sites ; and the alarm of the proprietors, when it was announced that the ordinance was to be revived, as might be expected, was great in the extreme. La Grand Chambre considered it a duty to interfere ; and by degrees the resistance of the step contemplated by the government, became more general. This state of things led, in its consequences, to a singularly ludicrous scene. The chamber had wished to deal with the question alone ; the chief president, who favoured the idea, refused to assemble the inquests and the requests which ordinarily acted with it. The latter, in consequence, resolved to do themselves justice ; and accordingly they entered the chamber, and seated themselves as if they had been convoked in a general assembly. After the preliminary forms had been gone through, the chief president alone had the right of opening the business on which they were to deliberate. He did not open his lips, and the whole body remained in profound silence during four days, without bending the resolution of the president, and without any of the young counsellors suffering their impatience to commit them by speaking first.

In this situation of things the queen judged it prudent to interfere, and the edict was suspended. The obnoxious demand was subsequently reduced. Of the fines which had been imposed, nine tenths were remitted, and a loan of eighteen millions was to be obtained from the notables in lieu of what had been claimed. The parliament was to have the power of distributing the loan ; and that being held out to them by Mazarin, induced them to regulate the decree.

Richelieu had not been content merely to humble the noblesse. To use the language of a modern writer, " he had passed over heads wearing the coronets of count, duke, and marquis, a terrible leveller, and ruled them with the rod of Tarquin." The queen, Mary de Medicis, banished from France, had died in miserable circumstances at Cologne. Gaston d'Orleans, brother of the king, had only obtained his pardon as the price of the most cowardly treachery. The Count de Moret, the natural brother of the king, who was proscribed, had fallen. He was killed at the battle of Castelnaudry. The Duke de Vendome, natural brother of the king, also proscribed, had found an asylum in England, as had the Duke de La Vallette, brother-in-law of Louis XIII. His father, the Duke d'Epemon died, having been exiled to the Château de Loches. The Prince of Condé himself had been humbled by the cardinal. The Count de Soissons was no more. Of the princes of the house of Lorraine, the Duke de Guise, and the Duke d'Elbœuf, his

cousin, condemned to death, had fled into Flanders, while the Duchess de Chevreuse had retired to England. The Duke of Rohan died in France, but in exile. The Duke de Bouillon was forced to give up Sedan. The Prince de Marsillac, Duke de Larochefoucauld, was exiled to Angouleme. Henry de Montmorency had perished on the scaffold, as had his cousin, the Count de Montmorency Boutteville, Chalais, Cinq Mars, and many others. The lists of the proscribed were immense.

By the side of the noblesse, the magistracy seemed of little importance ; but these individuals, who had gained office by purchase, now became an important body in the state. Forty families, holding judicial situations, and some of them allied to the noblesse, had the advantages of a corporation subject to certain general regulations, in an union, purely feudal, of the lords, making it their pride to remain isolated and independent, without mingling their interests, or that which they called their rights. At the head of this corporation was the parliament of Paris, and the chamber of accounts. Feeling how necessary they were to the state, more even than any other body, except the noblesse, the magistracy did not fear to address the king in language like this : " Your parliament of Paris, sire, born with the state, claims a place in the council of the princes and barons, who, from remote antiquity, were always near the person of the king ; to prove this, the princes and peers of the kingdom have always a seat in it, and a deliberative voice. The laws, ordinances, and edicts, offices created, treaties of peace, and the other most important affairs of the kingdom, are sent before it to be considered, that their merits may be examined, with liberty to make in them all reasonable modifications." These were high pretensions to advance, and the time was not yet come when they could meet with a cordial reception. Richelieu saw in them but the offensive pride by which they were marked, the humiliation of which seemed to him an inadequate punishment. All matters in which the state was interested were thenceforth interdicted to the parliament ; and more than that, the scope for its judicial operations was considerably circumscribed. In law, many instances occurred in which extraordinary commissions snatched from their hands the most important trials. The parliament, however, on being thus dealt with, did not manifest that indignation or *hauteur* which might have been expected, looking at the position which they claimed to occupy. It is seldom that courageous names are met with among them, like those of Matthew Molé and Omer Talon. The latter, the advocate general of the parliament of Paris, and, to use the language of Guy Patin, " the noblest instance of the common sense of his time," was forced to confess the weakness of his colleagues. " I," said he, " have had the misfortune to find, on entering parliament, that the maxims of courage were sleeping ; my colleagues, who were illustrious men, commenced by abating something of their ancient severity, by which I have been a great loser, because I stood much in need of good masters to instruct me in the maxims of a situation which was to

me one of novelty, having never before that day applied my mind to the study of public business."

What resulted from all this? after the death of Richelieu, the reaction was as violent as the constraint had been severe, while he held the magistrates in subjection. Ashamed of having exhibited to France so many instances of cowardice, they wished to regain, at any price, a reputation for courage, and in order that they might obtain popularity, they became seditious; and besides, they thought they had better opportunity for establishing their own importance at the commencement of a new reign than was open to them before. The great consideration manifested for them when it was necessary to form a regency, had prevailed upon them even to disregard the last wishes of a king who had closed their mouths, seemed to them a favourable prelude to their entering on a new political career. Stultified by the new situation in which they found themselves, they hastened to join the train of certain factious nobles, expecting to march at their head. They, however, only succeeded in depreciating the magistracy in the eyes of the people; the parliament did not recover from this blow which it received from the *Fronde*.

The first concession of Anne of Austria, had encouraged the parliament to go further. Compelled to abandon the fine claimed under the old edict, against building in the faubourgs, the controleur, D'Emery, had an idea of raising a present supply by the sale of 1,500,000 livres of rents, to be taken out of the produce of the taxes. To prevent complaints from the parliament, Mazarin had the address to implicate them in the transaction, by leaving it to them to distribute the sums thus raised as they should think proper. But the great chamber alone kept on good terms with the cardinal. The councillors of inquests and requests, conceiving that they had a right to effect reforms in the state, met in the hall of St. Louis, and summoned the grand chamber to join them, in order to take into consideration what was proper to be done in the then state of the country. Irritated at this, Mazarin arrested some of the most turbulent members of that body, which gave him so much uneasiness. The presidents, Barillon and Gayant, and the councillors Lecomte and Queslin were thus dealt with [March 25th, 1645]; some were committed to prison, and others exiled. This ill advised proceeding had the effect of causing the parliament to act with unanimity, and they went in a body on foot through the streets of Paris, and demanded the liberation of their friends, the four magistrates who have been mentioned. Mazarin wanted the firmness of Richelieu, and deemed it necessary to give way. Those of the individuals who had been arrested were set at liberty.

With this concession the magistrates were by no means satisfied. Barillon, who had been detained in custody, was regarded as the court victim, and this gave him immense popularity. During two months the sittings of the courts of justice were suspended. The queen was utterly amazed at the sensation created by the step which had been hazarded. "What!" she exclaimed, "we have seen the greatest and noblest of the kingdom imprisoned, exiled, and otherwise punished, and no one has stirred in their behalf; and now it

would seem, because I have caused two presidents to be arrested, the people wish to bring me to trial." The death of the president put an end to the embarrassment of the court on this question ; but it gave rise to dark suspicions, which malice knew how to turn to account.

From that day the chambers were united by one common interest, by a spirit of hatred against the minister. Mazarin was compelled to seek other means, than those on which till now he had relied to uphold his authority. He had the young king brought to the parliament to hold a bed of justice, and in his name certain fiscal edicts were registered. In the august presence of royalty, singular and irrational as was the course pursued, the parliament were not as yet bold enough to complain.

New financial embarrassments compelled the minister to have recourse to fresh expedients. D'Emery resolved to impose an octroi on all articles of consumption brought into the city of Paris. The duty was to be paid by every one without distinction of persons, conformably to a tariff which was prepared at the same time. This measure had in it nothing that could be denounced as illegal or arbitrary ; and the Court of Aids had no difficulty in registering it. The parliament, however, was startled at seeing a novel impost established, and one over which they had no jurisdiction. They in consequence solicited and obtained a conference with the minister, in August, 1647. The president Lecoigneux, on the occasion, very skilfully sustained the interests of the magistracy ; and in the end the cardinal declared himself ready to adopt preferable measures, if such could be pointed out to him, and to abandon the octroi of the tariff. The parliament thus prevailed against the minister, and took from him all the money which had been desired for replenishing the treasury.

Driven to extremities by the difficulties of his situation, Mazárin at length established dissension in the bosom of that body which had so sternly opposed his measures, by creating new offices of judicature for sale ; and in particular twelve masters of requests. To ensure the success of the measures, he determined to procure their registration by a bed of justice. On this occasion Matthew Molé himself, and Omar Talon, leagued themselves with the rest of the magistrates against the cardinal. The advocate general, obliged, by virtue of his office, to require the registration, did not perform his task without addressing some bitter remonstrances to the government. " Such a despotic and sovereign administration," said he, speaking in reference to Mazarin, " might be endured among the Scythians and the barbarians of the north, who possess but the forms of men ; but in France, sire, the most enlightened country in the world, the people have always claimed to be free ; born free, they claim the privilege of living free, as true Frenchmen." Notwithstanding this, Mazarin carried his point. His triumph, however, was but momentary. On the very next day, the chambers again assembled ; and, to vindicate their character, declared against that proceeding which had so recently received their solemn sanction. The first president gave his opposition to " that which had been made law after due deliberation." The

queen was not a little incensed at conduct so inconsistent, and ordered those attached to the king to wait at the Louvre, as Mary de Medicis had previously done under like circumstances. There the chancellor Seguier, the Duke of Orleans and the Prince of Condé, overwhelmed the offenders with sharp reproaches; and the queen, carried away by passion, declared her great contempt for the robe, and was indignant that such rabble (*canaille*) should take upon themselves to meddle and reform the state. This occurred on the 15th February, 1648. Intimidated by such severity, the parliament manifested a disposition in some measure to retrace their steps, and to make important concessions; but it was too late, and the edicts were held to be formally set aside. "The course which had been pursued," to use the words of Cardinal de Retz, "had raised the veil which ought ever to cover all that they might say, and all that they might think, of the rights of the people, and of those of kings, who can never be so well protected as by silence. The hall of the palace had profaned the mystery."

Mazarin, wishing to repair the errors into which his weakness had caused him to fall, committed a fault still more serious by venturing on a display of audacity. He demanded from all the sovereign courts, with the exception of parliament, the amount of four years' salary, in the form of a loan. Upon this, the court of aids, the court of accounts, and the grand council, united with the other magistrates in the chamber of St. Louis, and voted the celebrated order or resolution of union [May 13th, 1648]. It did not touch private interests, but interfered with matters of much greater importance—with the reformation of the state, the administration of public business, and the dilapidations made by courtiers. Outraged at this, the queen declared her minister "*too good*." Mazarin, in his turn, replied to her majesty, "You, madame, are valiant as a soldier who knows not the danger in which he stands." All the orders of the court were inoperative. The assembly, in the chamber of St. Louis, continued its sittings, sustained and encouraged by the public voice. Many members of the parliament boldly asserted the principles of liberty. "There is no one," said De Retz, "but God, who can subsist alone. The firmest monarchies, the most despotic of kings, can only be supported by men and laws united." The kingly authority, he asserted, had ever been limited in France, being held in check by the aristocracy and the parliament. "Each counsellor," says Motteville, "appeared to the people an angel descended from Heaven, to save the nation from the tyranny of Cardinal Mazarin. Matthew de Molé was charged to notify to the queen the resolutions adopted by the parliament. Anne of Austria was overpowered. She passed the night in tears; and the next morning submitted to their decision. "My God," she exclaimed, "I am arrived at that point when every one seeks to gain honour for himself, by overwhelming me with dishonour." D'Emery was removed from the superintendence of the finance, and his situation was given to the Marshal de la Meilleraye, with whom was joined the counsellors of state, D'Aligre and Morangies.

The few friends who remained to the queen exacted numerous sacrifices as the price of their fidelity. The Duke of Orleans claimed the government



of Languedoc; the Duke d'Enghien, from the death of his father become Prince of Condé, that of Champagne. He moreover made for himself a party which received the name of the *petits maitres*. To complete the queen's misfortunes, the Duke de Beaufort, the idol of the people, "the king of the halls," at this period escaped from the Château de Vincennes.

Indignant at the language held by the body assembled in the chamber of St. Louis, the queen demanded, "Did it believe itself to possess the right of setting limits to the king's authority?" They replied to this by steadily pursuing their political enquiries, with a view to effect the reforms which they deemed essential to the well-being of the nation. Between the 30th of June and the 25th of July, twenty-seven articles demanding administrative reforms were voted. The passions of the populace were inflamed and flattered by propositions worthy of the proudest days of the republic. The queen appeared to submit; but secretly she caused the regiments of guards to be reinforced. In the plan of reform submitted to her, the reduction of the *taille*, an impost levied on the poorer classes, was called for; all taxes were declared illegal, unless sanctioned by the sovereign courts of law; and every state prisoner was thenceforth to be interrogated within twenty-four hours after his arrest, and brought before his proper judges for trial. "Bold claims like these," says De Retz, "touched the court in the apple of its eye."

The queen could not refrain from new expressions of rage, while she seemed to acquiesce in such demands. "I am about," said she, "to strew roses on their heads; but having done that, if they do not return to their duty, I shall know how to make them repent their conduct." The minister, fearing to deny, determined, by every means in his power, to avoid complying with the claims advanced. A bed of justice was resolved upon. The evening before, the young king rode on horseback through the principal streets of Paris. He was everywhere received with gloomy and portentous silence. On the following morning, the chancellor read to the chambers a declaration which remitted a fourth of the *taille* for the ensuing year, revoked the edict relative to the sites in the faubourgs on which houses had been erected, and many of the duties which had been successively imposed on merchandise; and it suppressed the twelve offices of masters of requests. It proposed at the same time regulations of finance, which seemed to have for their object to check the cupidity of the farmers of the revenue; and it further announced, that a court of justice should be immediately established, to enquire into past depredations. It finished by strictly forbidding, in the name of the king, the holding of any assemblies from that time in the chamber of St. Louis. When the moment arrived for coming to a vote on the declaration, many counsellors of the inquests called to the chancellor, "We will give you our decision to-morrow, when the king will no longer be present, and we can use our suffrages without restraint." The next day new resistance was offered, notwithstanding the efforts of Gaston, the old counsellor. Broussel, who was irritated at not having obtained for his son a lieutenancy in the guards, carried with him a majority of the voters. The Duke of Orleans at length found himself reduced to ask that the general assemblies should be suspended, till the commissioners who were appointed to report to parliament on the royal declaration should have performed their task. The assembly then consented to an adjournment.

While these scenes were passing, the Prince of Condé rejoined the army, and ran a new career of glory. The battle of Lens filled all France with joy. On the 19th of August, that celebrated plain was entered by the French army, fourteen thousand strong, with eighteen pieces of cannon. The town of Lens had surrendered to the archduke Leopold. It was the object of Condé to draw the enemy into the plain; and the prudence which he displayed on this occasion was equal to the ardour which he had on former occasions manifested. Leopold was on his guard, and was not easily induced to quit the position which he had chosen. The prince at length directed a retrograde movement; and General Beck was ordered by Leopold to advance with the cavalry to fall on his rear-guard. Condé, exulting in the success of his stratagem, ordered Chatillon, who commanded the cavalry, to support the rear-guard, while the left wing of the army was placed under Grammont. The enemy, at first routed, bravely rallied, and attacked the French with such fury, that they were broken, and began to fly in disorder. Condé

pursued the fugitives, halted them, and again brought them to face the enemy. Beck paused, waiting for Leopold to join him. Condé harangued his troops, reminded them of the glories of Rocroi, and other battles in which he had led them to victory. The armies again met; the shock was awful, and the slaughter great. Two pages were killed by the side of Condé; and at length ordering the reserve, which was under D'Erlach, to advance, he put himself at its head, and routed the opposing force. The left wing, under Grammont, had been equally successful. The two commanders met on the battle field, each pursuing the foe he had defeated, when they joyfully flew into each others embrace. The archduke, under these circumstances, retreated towards Douai. Condé ordered the town of Lens to be invested, and then returned to the battle-field. The French guards, having carried everything before them, by their eagerness to pursue were in danger of being cut to pieces, but the timely arrival of Condé averted the danger. The whole of the Spanish infantry remained in one unbroken mass, which seemed impenetrable. Desroches, the prince's lieutenant of the guards, was ordered by Condé to advance against them. A desperate attack was accordingly made, which, though sternly resisted, ended in the Spaniards throwing down their arms. On this celebrated day, the loss of the enemy amounted to ten thousand privates and eight hundred officers, while a hundred and twenty standards, thirty-eight pieces of cannon, and all their baggage, fell into the hands of the victors. General Beck was among the slain. In achieving a triumph so extraordinary, the French lost but five hundred men!

When the news of the battle reached Paris, the first words of the young king were, "Ah! the parliament will be sorry for this!" Six days afterwards, a grand *Te Deum* was announced to be sung at Nôtre Dame. The magistrates went thither in a body, without feeling any alarm at the lines of soldiers through which they had to pass, nor at the numerous detachments which were posted in all parts of the city. On quitting the church, the queen approached De Comminges, the lieutenant of her guards, and whispered in his ear, "Go forward, and God will assist you." She had scarcely returned to the Palace Royal, when Comminges caused the president Blancmesnil to be arrested. He himself proceeded to the abode of Broussel, and made him a prisoner in the middle of his dinner. The people were incensed at these proceedings. On the bridge of Pont Neuf, the carriage in which Broussel was being removed broke down. Comminges immediately seized on a coach which was passing, and continued his route, fighting as he went forward with those who obstructed his progress in the rue St. Honoré. Broussel at length was safely carried to St. Germain. Charton, the other counsellor, who was to have been seized, had saved himself by flight. But the people would not submit to witness these proceedings in silence. "The movement which now occurred," says the Cardinal de Retz, who to the immediate authors of it was perhaps no stranger, "was like a violent and sudden fire, breaking out at the Pont Neuf, and extending through the whole

city. Every one, without exception, took arms. Children but five or six years of age appeared with poniards, and mothers were seen placing such



weapons in their hands. More than two hundred barricades were established in Paris in the course of two hours, surmounted by flags, and all the arms which had been preserved since the days of the league." The Palace Royal was besieged; and the loud cry of the populace was heard by those within of "Broussel and liberty!" The Marshal La Meilleraye came to the relief of the royal family, and drove the crowd back to the Pont Neuf. The marshal had just hit with a pistol-shot an old man, and was himself in great danger, when suddenly De Retz, the coadjutor of the Archbishop of Paris, appeared in his sacerdotal robes, and throwing himself on his knees in the kennel, confessed the wounded person, and, by haranguing the people, saved the marshal. He then accompanied him to the queen at the Palace Royal. Anne of Austria suspected the coadjutor of having prompted the outbreak, and gave him no gracious reception. When he spoke of the hostility of the Parisians, she replied, "It is in itself rebellion to suppose the people will rebel." When he implored her to give way, "I hear you, Mr. Coadjutor," said she, her eyes sparkling with fury, "you would wish that I should give up M. Broussel, but I would rather strangle him with these hands." While thus speaking, she raised her hands to the prelate's head.

Night, however, interrupted the movement. The next morning, notwithstanding the commands of the queen to the contrary, the parliament met at

the palace, deliberated some moments, and then proceeded to the Palace Royal. The barricades were thrown open before a hundred and sixty



magistrates as they advanced, and the populace shouted "Long live the king!" "Long live the parliament!" while, on the other hand, they wished to massacre the chancellor, who had taken refuge in the hotel de Luynes, and whom the Marshal de la Meilleraye with great difficulty rescued from the malcontents. The parliament having arrived at the palace, Matthew Molé became the spokesman; but Anne of Austria would not hear him to the end, and left the apartment, shutting the door as she went out with violence. The magistrates withdrew; but on arriving at the barricade placed at the Croix du Tivoir, at the corner of the rue de St. Honoré and the rue de la Mounie, they were obliged to retrace their steps. Some of the mutineers had laid violent hands on the first president, and they declared they would allow no one to pass till Broussel were given up, or Cardinal Mazarin and the chancellor Seguier given as hostages for his safety; and the parties named, they added, were not at all to be thus detained. Molé, upon this, took an authoritative tone, and addressing the queen, told her that "that was no longer a time for dissembling; it was necessary to act for the preservation of the crown, for the safety, for the life even, of her majesty, and that of her son." This language made little impression on Anne of Austria, when the door opened, and she saw the unfortunate Henrietta of England, the widow of Charles I. Beholding her, Anne hung down her head, and said with a deep sigh, "The parliament then must determine what is necessary to be done for the safety of the state." The magistrates held a sitting in the gallery of the Palace Royal, with the Duke of Orleans, the princes, dukes, peers, and grand officers of the crown

A resolution, carried by a majority of seventy votes to fifty, simply declared that "the queen was very humbly thanked for the recal and liberation of the prisoners."

Blancmesnil shewed himself that evening on the Pont Neuf, but the people waited in arms all night for the return of Broussel. On the following morning he entered Paris in triumph. He was carried to Nôtre Dame, and thence to his house, where he was forced to appear at the window. The parliament sent to compliment him on the occasion, and wished that he should resume his seat before they proceeded to business. These seditious demonstrations saddened the heart of the right-minded Molé. "M. Broussel," said he, "merits much, no doubt; but he is not the whole state."

The queen could no longer venture to remain in Paris. Since the day of the barricades she never appeared in public without being grossly insulted. The populace now only called her "Lady Anne," or if they gave any addition, it was one of malevolence and scorn. At length, in the morning of the 28th September, 1648, she secretly quitted Paris, and withdrew to Rueil with her two sons, the Duke of Orleans, Mazarin, and the Prince of Condé. The next day M. de Châteauneuf was sent into exile, and Chavigny to Vincennes. The deputies of parliament who came to Rueil to protest against this seizure were harshly repelled by the Prince of Condé. On their return, that body framed a sort of formula of public safety, after the manner of the *caveant consules*. The court wished to have on its side the advantage of moderation, and, in consequence, proposed to the parliament a new conference on the subject of the articles proposed by the chamber of St. Louis. The pride of the magistrates would not bend, and the queen was obliged to grant the liberation of Chavigny, and order the recal of Châteauneuf, and that of all other exiles. A few days afterwards, she re-entered Paris with her son; but it was easy to see that the peace which had been just concluded was but a hollow truce, which could only be relied upon to give each party time to reconnoitre their ground, and collect their forces for a more important trial of strength.

Placed between the queen and the coadjutor, who sided with the parliament, the Prince of Condé found himself in a difficult position. He equally despised Mazarin and his adversary; but his heart revolted at the pretensions of the magistracy. The queen in tears entreated him to give her his powerful support, and the young king embraced and implored him to secure the safety of the state and his royal person. "I cannot endure," said Condé, "the insolence of these citizens, who pretend to govern the kingdom. They would fain exercise royal authority. There is no wise man who would engage to support the pretensions of a mob like this, and for my part I cannot bring my mind to be the general of an army of madmen. My name is Louis de Bourbon, and I will never lend myself to shake the pillars of the state."

He was for the adoption of measures of more than ordinary vigour. His



The Duchesses of Longueville and Bouillon entering the Hotel de Ville.

plan was to bring the army to the gates of the capital, place the cannon in battery, so that it would command the principal streets of the city, and, being in that situation, to require the chief of the malcontents to quit Paris. Le Tellier deemed this step too violent, and proposed a blockade instead, which met with the approbation of the queen.

The coadjutor was disappointed by the course which Condé judged it right to pursue. He advised with his cabal of ladies on the steps necessary to be taken. In their conferences, the Duchess de Longueville stipulated that certain advantages should be secured to her brother, the Prince of Conti, who was jealous of the fame of his elder brother, as also for the Prince de Marsillac and the Marshal de Turenne, who were both her lovers, and the Marshal de Lamothe-Houdancourt. Nothing was more easy than to gain the Dukes de Beaufort and de Bouillon; and the Duchess de Chevreuse promised assistance from Spain. The Prince of Condé, having been offended in the presence of the parliament by the counsellor Quatre-Sous, declared war against the whole assembly. So threatening became the aspect of things, from the progress of the insurrection, named that of the Fronde, (from its having been, as it was said, commenced by boys with slings, and who were called frondeurs or slingers) that the queen and court believed the danger to be most serious. At midnight, on the 6th of January, 1649, Anne of Austria left Paris with her son, the Duke of Orleans, and the minister, and arrived at St. Germain so unexpectedly, that the court, and even the royal family, were obliged to sleep on straw. At this news the city of Paris armed, the citizens took upon themselves to guard the gates, and all the magistrates were invited to deliberate with the parliament. After some negotiations had been attempted, which led to no result, the magistrates issued, on the 8th of January, a resolution directed against the Cardinal Mazarin, which ran thus: "This court declares the said cardinal to be a disturber of the public repose, an enemy to the king and the state, and enjoins him to withdraw from St. Germain in the course of twenty-four hours, from the kingdom in eight days, and, after that period, all subjects of the king are commanded to arrest him wherever he may be found."

The young Prince of Conti now arrived in Paris, and gave his countenance and support to the Frondeurs. At the same period, the Duke de Longueville, the Prince de Marsillac, the Dukes de Bouillon, d'Elæbuf, de Beaufort, de Chevreuse, de Luynes, de Brissac, de Retz, and the Marshal de Lamothe-Houdancourt, all met in the capital. The enthusiasm of the people was raised to the highest pitch, when they saw the Duchesses de Bouillon and Longueville, both women of the most dazzling beauty, proceed on foot to the Place de Grève, and there declare, from the Hotel de Ville, that "they wished to remain under the protection of the citizens, as hostages for the fidelity of their husbands, and their zeal in the cause of the city and the parliament." In a sitting held by the parliament, the Prince of Conti was named generalissimo. The contempt in which that person was held may be

collected from the language uttered respecting him by the Cardinal de Retz, who pronounced him to be "a cypher that could only be multiplied because he was a prince of the blood." It was arranged that the Dukes d'Elbœuf, de Bouillon, and the marshal should command in turn as generals through the twenty-four hours; the Duke de Beaufort, the Prince de Marsillac, and the Marquis de Noirmoutiers, acted as lieutenant generals.

Then was commenced that parody on the league, which received for the reason which has been mentioned, the name of "the war of the Fronde." To render the comparison more easy, Voltaire took upon himself to describe it after the "Ménippée." "They raised," he writes, "twelve thousand men by order of the parliament, and each great gateway furnished a man and a horse. The coadjutor had a regiment assigned to him, which was called the Corinthian regiment, because the archbishop was titular Archbishop of Corinth. The Prince of Condé besieged a hundred thousand citizens with eight thousand soldiers. Everything connected with the movement was turned into ridicule. The Corinthian regiment, having at their outset been defeated by a small party, the affair was called "the first of Corinthians." Twenty counsellors, who had furnished each fifteen thousand livres, had the honour to be called "the twenty fifteens."

"The Parisian troops which went out of the city always returned defeated, and were received with hootings and bursts of laughter. These little affairs were constantly made the subjects of squibs and epigrams. Cabarets, and other places of dissipation, were the tents or places of meeting in which they held their councils of war, in the midst of merriment, songs, and the most profligate scenes. At last, the coadjutor of the archbishop of Paris was seen to take his seat in parliament with a poniard in his pocket, the handle of which was visible, and this produced the exclamation, "there is the breviary of our archbishop."

"A herald at arms came to the gate St. Antoine, accompanied by a gentleman in ordinary of the king's chamber, to make propositions. The parliament did not think proper to receive him, but it admitted one sent by the archduke Leopold, who was at that period making war on France. In the midst of these troubles, the noblesse assembled in a body at the Augustines, named syndics, and held publicly regular sittings. The object, it might be supposed, was to restrain violence, and save France by convoking the states general. Such was not the case. The noblesse met to take into consideration the grant of a *tabouret*, which Madame de Pons had received from the queen. This honour, the *tabouret*, or stool, at court, had till then only been granted to the ladies of sovereign houses, or to the wives of dukes and peers. A more striking proof, perhaps, could not be afforded, than the raising of such a question at such a moment, of the discreditable levity of character imputed to the French."

"Every evening," says another historian of the Fronde, "the most considerable persons belonging to the party met to confer together in the

halls of the Hotel de Ville, and frivolity divided these meetings equally with politics. They in turn occupied themselves with pleasure and business; and while the trumpets were heard in the square, the violins were playing in the halls. The careless manners of the young lords, and the severe countenances of the magistrates, were mutually the object of each others ridicule and reproach; the cuirasses and military scarfs, the long robes of the counsellors, the frocks of the ministers of religion, and the black mantles of the plain citizens, presented a strange contrast, and faithfully represented the confusion which at that epoch reigned in the councils of France. At this period, everybody was tired of the war which raged: the people, who paid heavier taxes than heretofore to carry it on, and the parliament and the citizens, who had every day to encounter the contempt of the nobility. The latter thought they had done quite enough to satisfy the court. The Duke de Bouillon and the coadjutor were, in fact, the only persons who found it their interest to continue hostilities. These were, however, two powerful individuals. They had prevailed on Turenne, but a few days before, to declare in their favour; and they had treated with Spain, through the intervention of the Duchess de Chevreuse. Condé, long the idol of the nation, became the object of hatred and alarm. Grieved at the course pursued by his brother, but firm to the cause he had espoused, the prince established posts on all the high roads, and on the banks of the Seine. He took possession of Pontoise, St. Cloud, Meudon, Montlhéry, Corbeil, Lagny, Charenton, Vincennes, and St. Denis, and doing so, intercepted most of the convoys which attempted to enter Paris. Want of time did not allow him to secure all the places necessary for this purpose; and he was even obliged to abandon some of those just named: Charenton was one of the number thus given up. The citizen army, learning this, seized it, and though it was undefended, they gave themselves on the occasion the air of conquerors. Emboldened by this imaginary success, the Duke de Bouillon left Paris to attack Corbeil, at the head of six thousand men, the capture of which he expected would be the means of opening the passage of the Seine. Condé, apprised of his design, marched with a small force to the mill of Charenton; and De Bouillon and his heroic followers instantly turned back. The prince subsequently, on the 7th of February, stormed Charenton, which De Retz, with fifteen thousand Parisians, attempted to defend in vain. The beaten citizens were, as usual, greeted with hisses on their return; and the people generally took care to mark with sufficient distinctness their contempt for such feeble defenders. In various other instances Condé was successful; but still royal authority seemed in danger of being overwhelmed, and felt that it was on the address as well as courage of the prince they must rely, to escape the impending storm.

Most unexpectedly, on the 19th of February, the Prince of Conti announced to the parliament that a certain lord, Don Joseph Illescas, sent by the archduke Leopold with authority to treat for a general peace, waited

at the serjeants' bar, and desired to be introduced and heard. There was a great struggle between the old members of the grand chamber and the young counsellors of the inquests, who had with them Broussel; but in the end the latter triumphed; and notwithstanding the opposition of Matthew Molé and the president, De Mesmes, Don Joseph Illescas was introduced. They listened to his propositions, but did not dare to reply to them; and it was unanimously resolved that "the deputies should carry to her majesty the credentials of the archduke, with a copy of the propositions which he had submitted, and to which the parliament, from respect for her majesty, had not presumed to reply, nor to deliberate upon, before her majesty's pleasure should be made known to them." The deputies named to wait on the queen were Matthew Molé and the president De Mesmes. The ardour of the young counsellors, it may be perceived from this resolution, had been not a little cooled down. This mission fulfilled, the deputies had a long conference with the Prince of Condé and the Duke of Orleans. Concessions were made on both sides; and at length it was agreed that commissioners from Paris and St. Germain should meet at Rueil, to attempt an amicable adjustment of all differences, and from the commencement of the negotiations the roads were to be opened for the provisioning of Paris.

It was not to the interest of the Duke de Bouillon, nor to that of the coadjutor, that a pacification should take place. They did all in their power to render the citizens indisposed to such a course. On the day when the chief president returned to Paris to give an account of his mission, an excited crowd obstructed his passage, and met him with the cries of "we are sold; we are betrayed; they wish to make peace that we may be sacrificed. Let them take us to St. Germain to seek our good king! No secret conferences." Matthew Molé calmly moved forward, coldly threatening that he would cause the seditious to be hanged, and entering the parliament he made his report to the chambers. No opposition being offered, save that of the coadjutor, deputies were named to carry on the conferences, at the head of which were De Mesmes and the first president. At Rueil they found the Duke of Orleans, the Prince of Condé, Cardinal Mazarin, the chancellor Seguier, the Marshal de la Meilleraye, and the secretary of state. An incident at the commencement had nearly broken off the conferences, almost before they were opened. The parliamentary deputies refused to negotiate with Mazarin, and this objection was founded on reason, as he, having been declared a public enemy, was himself on trial, and they could do nothing to prejudice in any way the order of the 8th of January. To get over the difficulty, it was agreed that the deputies should only communicate with the court through the medium of commissioners.

At Paris, they, however, immediately repented the opening of the conferences at Rueil. The Duke de Longueville had brought to their aid troops from Normandy, the Duke de la Tremouille had under him ten thousand Poitevins. Turenne announced that he had passed the Rhine with



Mole braving the fury of the populace.

his army, and was on his way to offer himself to the parliament for the service of the king and the public, against the unjust oppression of the Cardinal Mazarin. Meanwhile, the Duke de Bouillon signed with Spain a secret treaty, in which, however, it ought to be mentioned, the coadjutor did not wish to take any part. Already Matthew Molé had signed at Rueil, March 11th, a peace with Cardinal Mazarin. Molé had saved France, but to the prejudice of the Frondeurs.

On the day when he returned to parliament, in the midst of the clamours of an infuriated multitude, "nothing in his countenance could be remarked which did not indicate immovable firmness, and a presence of mind almost supernatural." These were the expressions of Cardinal de Retz. In the parliament, the Prince of Conti rose to accuse the deputies, and more especially the first president. "Since it is necessary to tell all," exclaimed Molé, full of indignation, "you, sir, are the cause of what has taken place;" and when the prince, sharply questioned by him respecting the treaty which had been concluded with Spain, stammered out, "that he and his friends had not taken that step without the consent of some of that body," "Name them," replied Molé, with a stern voice, "and let us forthwith bring them to trial for high treason." The populace, however, had invaded the palace. An advocate, named De Boisle, was at the head of the malcontents, who demanded, with loud discordant cries, that "the great beard," so they called Molé, should be given up to them. The president, De Norvin, having suffered some hasty expressions of indignation to fall from his lips against the people; "What is it you say?" exclaimed De Boisle, "have not the people made kings who have made parliaments? Are they not therefore entitled to be considered as well as either?" At that moment voices were heard to call out "A Republic!" The parliament then rallied round its chief, who refused to withdraw. He descended the great staircase, followed by the whole of the magistrates. When his bosom was threatened by the drawn swords of the seditious, he remained, as before, perfectly serene. "My friend," said he, to one of them, "when dead, I shall only want six feet of earth." From that time the parliament were ashamed to abandon him; the treaty of Rueil was adopted, and the resolution passed against Mazarin was rescinded.

But the war was no sooner terminated on one point than it broke out in another quarter. The noblesse were not content with the court; neither with that portion of it which had supported the parliament, nor with that which had delared for the queen, at the head of which was the Prince of Condé. The prince, moreover, considered himself of too great importance to follow in the train of another, even in that of the king; he was disposed to create a party of his own. On the morning after the peace had been concluded, he saw at Rueil the Duchess de Longueville, who promised him the co-operation of the Dukes de Longueville and Bouillon, that of Vicomte de Turenne, the Princes of Conti and de Marsillac, as she had formerly

engaged for them to the coadjutor. To all, as the price of their alliance, the prince granted new favours; and, among others, the government of Champagne to his brother, Conti. Mazarin dared to refuse nothing, as he felt that he owed all to the prince. The gratitude evinced by his actions did not abate the *hauteur* of the proud Condé, who everywhere declared that "he repented having sustained his interest during the war of Paris," and allowed it to be understood, that under similar circumstances he would pursue another course. It was said that he addressed the cardinal "*all illustrissimo Signor Facchino*." He, however, could not avoid recalling the court from Compiègne to Paris.

The entry of their majesties was magnificent. The populace received with acclamations the king and the queen regent; they also applauded the cardinal, who was seated in the royal carriage; and they failed not to cheer the prince, who testified by his manner equal contempt for the shouts of the crowd and the attentions of the minister. The queen herself took an opportunity of speaking to the Duchess de Longueville on the subject of the haughty bearing of her brother. As the prévôt of merchants and the aldermen proposed giving him a great ball at the Hotel de Ville, she wished it to take place in the day-time. "It will not displease," said she, "these painted ladies, who are great slingers, and they will gain nothing from the light of the sun." Suddenly, when it was generally supposed that the cardinal was lost, and when he himself made preparations for taking his departure for Italy, the Prince of Condé became reconciled to him. "Well, my sister," said he to the Duchess de Longueville, "Mazarin and myself have now our two heads under the same hat."—"That is all very well, brother," the duchess gravely replied, "I pray to God that you may not lose, at this game, your friends and your credit, which neither De la Rivière nor the Duke of Orleans will be able to restore, still less the cardinal and the queen."

The party of the *petits maitres* having retired, there remained no more opposed to the Mazarins but the Frondeurs, which had been considerably decimated after the peace of Rueil, by the defection of the partisans of Condé. The coadjutor, who was always its chief, thought the opportunity favourable for restoring the importance of that party, by contracting a new alliance with the parliament. He now exerted himself to get the rents claimed for the Hotel de Ville, the payment of which had been suspended by the superintendant of finances. Great was the outcry among the renters. The farmers of the taxes were ordered to the Hotel de Ville, and were there detained as a guarantee for the sums which they owed. This did not prevent them from indulging in good cheer with their friends at the Hotel de Ville; while their unfortunate creditors deliberated in the neighbouring halls. The citizens at length named, to defend their interests, twelve syndics, chosen from the notables, but who were, for the most part, known to be determined slingers. Among them was the president Charton, who

had formerly escaped when Broussel was arrested, and the sieur Joly, counsellor to the Châtelet, the creature of the coadjutor, and afterwards his secretary. These syndics commenced by putting the rentiers under the protection of the Duke de Beaufort and the slingers, who continued to preside over them, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Matthew Molé, and the resolutions of the grand chamber.

Mazarin, curious to know what passed in these assemblies, conceived the idea of sending among them persons devoted to him, who, pretending to be rentiers, listened to all that was said, and even excited others to speak on the subject. These spies, after the Italian fashion, soon became official spies, and received brevets from the secretary of state, Le Tellier. But the coadjutor soon devised a scheme for creating a sensation in his own way. In a council of the Fronde, it was resolved that Joly should contrive to get a pistol fired at himself, to make it appear that it was wished to assassinate him.

In pursuance of this, a few days afterwards, Joly being in a carriage at seven in the morning, and passing through the rue des Barbardins, met D'Estanvilles, the equerry of the Marquis de Noirmoutiers, who discharged a pistol. Joly made a hole in the sleeve of his doublet, and wounded his arm. The people were excited by the incident; and the parliament issued a proclamation, without waiting for the sanction of the first president.

What appears most extraordinary in the business is this, that Mazarin had the address to make the Prince of Condé believe that it was at him the shot had been fired, in consequence of his having incurred the hatred of the slingers. That evening, as the carriage of the prince passed over the Pont Neuf empty, a certain Marquis de Boullay, who had stationed himself at the place Dauphiné with seven or eight men, seeing no one in the prince's coach, fired on the carriages in its suite, and killed a lackey. This demonstration was called "a Jolyade reinforcement." Many suspected the cardinal; but the prince, persuaded that the Frondeurs wished to take his life, resolved to make a complaint against them to the parliament. He did so, but without success. The effect of the step was but to lower him in the estimation of the magistracy. The witnesses he had to produce were no other than the hired spies of Cardinal Mazarin, and were all men of infamous character. There was among them a Canto, who had been condemned by contumacy to be hanged; a Pichon, who had been broken on the wheel in effigy; a Lacomete, a Marcassor, and a Gorgibus. When the day fixed for trying the question arrived, the coadjutor appeared, attired in his robes, before the parliament, and gained a splendid victory. The crowd received him with tumultuous acclamations; while Condé encountered everywhere glances of indignation and dismal silence. The proceedings were, however, continued; and, as Matthew Molé wished everything to be in accordance with established forms, Broussel, who was implicated in the affair, thought it prudent to accuse him of being an enemy to his co-accused,

and to himself personally. At these words, the first president, attacked in his integrity, immediately left his seat, and proceeded in tears to the bar to justify himself, and then left the assembly much more agitated than he had been when assassins made an attempt on his life. "I feel nothing in my heart," said he, as he withdrew, "that disqualifies me from acting as a judge in this case." This noble protest of a conscience free from self-reproach, the parliament warmly applauded; and a solemn resolution adopted by that body reinstated Molé in all his rights as first president.

Notwithstanding the triumph of Matthew Molé was in some sort that of the prince, it was thought that he was in some measure damaged on the occasion. He had, moreover, ventured to encourage a certain Marquis de Jarzay to make a declaration of love to the queen, and that she felt herself offended by his presumption, gave him umbrage. This boldness, carried rather too far, caused the queen and her minister to throw themselves into the arms of the Frondeurs. Anne of Austria wrote with her own hand to Gondi, the coadjutor, whom Mazarin had inspired with hopes of obtaining the cardinal's hat, the following letter:—

"I cannot believe, notwithstanding what has passed, that M. le Coadjutor is inimical to me. I request to see him, unknown to every one but Madame and Mademoiselle de Chevreuse; that name will be his passport.

"ANNE."

All was arranged in a few nocturnal conferences; and, in spite of the alarms of Gaston of Orleans, and notwithstanding the suspicions which the Prince of Condé might naturally conceive, when he found M. de Lyonne sending orders to the commander of the troops, Mazarin made it appear that he only prepared to arrest one of the syndics, who had favoured the plot which had been got up against him. Condé had wished that, in this affair, no troops but his should be employed.

On Monday, January 16th, 1650, the prince went as usual in his carriage to the Palace Royal, at the hour when the council was to sit. He was just proceeding to the gallery in which the members assembled, when Guitaut, the captain of the queen's guard, approached, and informed Condé, in a low voice, that he had orders to arrest his highness, as well as the Prince of Conti and the Duke de Longueville. "This, then, is the reward for my services!" the prince exclaimed with astonishment. He made no resistance; but asked to be conducted to the queen, who, however, declined seeing him. He was conducted through a long line of guards, among whom he recognised some of his soldiers, to whom he said, as he passed by them, "My friends, this is not the plain of Lens." The soldiers made no reply; and Condé stepped into the carriage which was to convey him to Vincennes. On the road, Guitaut thought proper to assure him that "he was the very humble servant of his highness; but that he would poniard him rather than suffer him to escape out of his hands, or fail to give a good account to her majesty of the trust confided to him." The carriage broke down on the road, when

Condé, who was remarkable for personal activity, got away from his captors and leaped a ditch; but being overtaken by one of the guards, who



presented a pistol to his breast, he consented to return. He, with Conti and De Longueville, was duly conveyed to Vincennes. "The people of Paris," says Voltaire, "who had erected barricades in the cause of an almost imbecile counsellor's clerk, made bonfires from joy, while the hero and the defender of France was being conducted to the donjon of Vincennes."

On their arrival at that place, no preparation had been made for the reception of prisoners of such exalted rank; there were no beds, no furniture, no supper. Condé ate a couple of eggs, after which he threw himself on some straw, and slept for twelve hours without waking. On rising, he endeavoured to console his companions in misfortune. The Prince of Conti, wishing for the consolations of religion, desired to have "the imitation of Jesus Christ." Condé, upon this, with somewhat ill-timed levity, said, "he should prefer the imitation of M. de Beaufort," who had escaped from prison. His cheerful vivacity never failed him; and his manners were so affable and engaging, that Comminges is said to have been moved to tears when he was forced to quit the prince.

The parliament and the Frondeurs made no complaint on the subject of this illegal seizure; but the noblesse were well disposed to demand an explanation of it with arms in their hands. Vicomte de Turenne joined the Spaniards, and assumed the title of lieutenant general of the kingdom,

with a view to effect the liberation of the captive princes. The Duke de Bouillon withdrew into his vicomte at Turenne, the Duke de la Force into his estates of Perigord, the Marshal de Breze into his government of Anjou. The Prince de Marsillac raised troops in Angoumois; but Burgundy was held by the Duke de Vendome, at the head of a royal army. The Duchess de Longueville, who had retired to Dieppe in the hope of raising Normandy, saw herself on the point of being given up to her enemies. Notwithstanding a tempest which then raged, she ventured to embark in a damaged boat, and actually attempted to sail. Thrown into the sea with the mariner who attended her, she was found senseless on the shore. During fifteen days, she wandered almost alone in the woods, in constant apprehension of being discovered. At last she succeeded in embarking from Havre, disguised as a man; and in male attire she now went to seek the Vicomte Turenne at Stenai.

The Princesses of Condé, arrived at Chantilly, displayed no less courage and resolution. They were pursued to their retreat by the suspicions of the cardinal, who ordered them to withdraw to Montrond, where they feared it was intended to detain them. Wishing to conceal their motions, in order to defeat the plans formed against them, having first desired the sieur du Vauldy, a gentleman appointed by the queen to watch their motions at Chantilly. The princess dowager, to gain time, when they were ordered to Montrond, reported that her age and the state of her health would not permit of her immediately undertaking so long a journey. The young princess, though ill in bed, rose; and a Mademoiselle Gervier, one of her maids, took her place, pretending to be the princess, while a gardener's son personated the Duke d'Enghien. Deceived by these arrangements, Vauldy permitted the princess to make preparations for her flight, never suspecting what was in progress. Her child, then seven years old, was dressed in girl's clothes. On the evening of the 11th of April, a coach and pair, in which harness for four horses was stored, left the town, and four horses followed, as if to be watered. The place of rendezvous was the entrance of the forest, on the common; and her ladies repaired thither on foot, by a place called le Jardin de Bukan, an ancient building, between the gardens and village of Chantilly. They met with no obstacle; and the princess and her suite, entering Paris by different ways, passed through to Montrond, which they reached on the 14th. Finding that their safety was menaced even there, some days afterwards, at midnight, Condé's wife left the château with the young Duke d'Enghien, her son, and mounted a horse behind the Count de Coligny. She then proceeded towards Bordeaux. On their route, the count being recognised by some one, and asked who was his companion, felt obliged to reply, that "she was a young lady of quality, whom he had prevailed upon to elope, and that he was then carrying her into Auvergne, where he intended to marry her." The princess at length had the satisfaction of finding herself among people who wore the *isabelle*, (yellow scarf) the colour of her husband, and she was enabled to

repose at Turenne. At a repast there given to her, the health of the Prince of Condé was drunk, kneeling and uncovered, a drawn sword in the hand. The Duke de Bouillon drank to his health in two or three bumpers, in great German goblets.

Some negotiations were necessary before the princess could approach Bordeaux. These happily ended, on the 31st of May she entered with her son. They were saluted by a discharge of the city cannon, that of the forts, and also by the guns of four vessels, which were then in the river. Wherever the mother and child appeared, they were received with acclamations, and flowers were strewed before them on their road.

On the day after her arrival, the princess, leading her son by the hand, and in tears, presented her petition to the parliament of Bordeaux. The young prince, seeing the distress of his mother, fell on one knee, and said, "Gentlemen, be to me a father, for my own father has been taken away by Cardinal de Mazarin." This touching appeal of innocence and beauty was irresistible; and the magistrates, who had been before divided, won by sympathy, now unanimously declared in favour of their new guests.

A similar scene was acted in the parliament at Paris. The princess dowager returned secretly to that city, and unexpectedly presented herself before the grand chamber, to whom she submitted a petition. She was met by the Duke of Orleans and the coadjutor with severe menaces, which compelled her to withdraw to Chatillon. The regent had authorised letters patent, denouncing all the partisans of Condé as disturbers of the state. Turenne was compelled to withdraw into Flanders by the Marshal du Plessis-Praslin; while Mazarin carried the king to Guienne. He, however, left the parliament divided into three parties, little disposed to come to an understanding with each other. These were the moderates, who were called "the Mazarins," "the old slingers," who lent, but with much resistance, their support to the minister and "the *nouveau frondeurs*," or new slingers. The latter were the friends of the prince, and they were now supported by the populace. Near the palace a crowd daily assembled, with loud cries of "Long live the princes!" and "No Mazarin!" They shouted and clapped their hands at learning that Marshal Turenne and the Archduke Leopold had passed the frontier, and were marching on the capital. The fickleness of popular favour was remarkably exemplified on this occasion, when the Duke de Beaufort and the coadjutor, formerly the idols of the mob, narrowly escaped being assassinated. The latter received a blow from a poniard in his rochet. A captain of the guards of the prince fired two pistol shots at the Duke of Orleans, who was compelled to remain concealed in the grand chamber till the evening. Circumstances were in this state, when an envoy from the archduke entered Paris, and announced, amidst the acclamations of the excited multitude, that his master had resolved to burn the capital. Turenne was distant but a few leagues. At the moment when he came within sight of Vincennes, the two princes had just left it to be transferred to Marcoussy, where they were to be detained in the Château of the Count d'Entragues.

Mazarin, nevertheless, continued his route towards Guienne. A citizen, named Richon, had attempted to defend against him, while on his way, the Chateau de Vayres. For this boldness he was hanged on a gallows set up in the hall of Lilbourne. By way of reprisal for such violence, the Bordelais took out of prison a royalist gentleman, the Chevalier de Canolles, and notwithstanding the supplications of the Princess of Condé, hanged him on the bridge of Bordeaux, opposite the Lilbourne Road. The royal army soon appeared under the walls of the city. It met with the most obstinate resistance. The princesses themselves laboured at the repairs of the fortifications; and of an evening the Duke de Larochefoucauld entertained the labourers with violins and refreshments. The royal army, however, from day to day made progress; but, on the other hand, Mazarin received alarming intelligence from Paris. A truce for ten days was concluded, which led to a pacification favourable to the Bordelais. The princess quitted Bordeaux with her friends, and presented herself before the queen, who pardoned her for the part she had acted during the late troubles.

While the Prince of Condé was a prisoner at Vincennes, he occupied himself in watering pinks, which were growing on a small terrace near his chamber in the donjon. When informed of the unsuccessful siege of Bordeaux, and of the determined courage evinced by the princess, "Would you ever



have believed," said he to the servant who brought him the news, "that I should be thus engaged cultivating my garden, while my wife is making

war?" A plot had been formed to liberate the princes. Gourville, an enterprising and zealous adherent, had bribed their guards; horses were bought, the time fixed, and the signal for action agreed upon, when the scheme was marred by the scruples of one of the conspirators, who revealed all to his confessor, a priest connected with the Fronde. His having thus discovered what was in contemplation, had caused the removal of the prisoners to Marcoussy and to Havre. They, however, had still numerous friends in the capital. Anne de Gonzague, the Princess Palatine, was of the number. She knew how to command the attention of the coadjutor, whom she reminded of the ingratitude of the court, which had suffered him so long to hope in vain for the cardinal's hat, and who now, to the people and the parliament, threw upon him the obloquy of visiting the princes with such severity. One evening, the carriage of the Duke de Beaufort was assailed in the rue St. Honoré. It was immediately reported that the cardinal was the author of the murderous attempt; and the hawkers in the street called out, as for sale, "Here are the last trickeries of the Cardinal Mazarin." In the course of a few days, the old and the new Frondeurs were formed into one party, and prepared to receive the queen, Anne of Austria, who was returning to Paris.

Mazarin had left the capital to take the command of the royal army against Turenne. In his absence, and notwithstanding the commands of the regent, the parliament received the petition of the Princess of Condé, complaining of the imprisonment of the princes, and strongly remonstrating against further delaying to set them at liberty. This step was taken, notwithstanding news had just been received of a brilliant victory gained by the cardinal and the Marshal du Plessis Praslin at Bethel, over Turenne.

The cardinal returned to Paris. Not at all suspecting the intrigue of the Duke de Larochefoucauld, he held a secret conference with him. In this the duke pressed certain demands upon him. Mazarin, unconscious of danger, was determined to yield nothing. Vainly did the duke, at the moment of his departure, assure him that he was lost beyond all hope, if he suffered him to descend the stairs without coming to an amicable arrangement. The cardinal lighted him down with a dark lantern, and bade him "adieu" with a smile. That night a definite treaty was signed at the house of the Princess Palatine by the duke, and the coadjutor, the Duke de Beaufort and Gaston of Orleans himself. On the following day, the first president presented to the queen the remonstrance of the parliament on the subject of the petition received from the Princess of Condé; and, at the same moment, all the nobles included in the conspiracy attacked the minister in the presence of her majesty. Mazarin was now sufficiently alarmed. He saw that for him there was no safety, but by gaining the good-will of those very princes he had been the means of detaining so long in captivity. With this feeling he took his departure from Paris, February 6th, 1651, and hastened to Havre, which he was anxious to reach before the deputies of

the court were aware of it, that he might be the first to announce the welcome tidings that they were free. Upon this, a report was raised that the queen was about to follow him with her son, and a new outbreak was the consequence. In order to appease the malcontents, it became necessary for Anne of Austria to admit some of the citizens into her chamber, to satisfy them that the king was still there. Several of the populace were accordingly admitted, when, drawing the bed curtains, she proved that the alarm created was unfounded, by showing them the young king, fast asleep.

The cardinal, pursuant to the determination that he had formed, reached Havre; but the effect of his making himself the messenger of good news was not what he had fondly hoped it would be. By Condé he was received with politeness, but with all his accustomed dignity. When the prince was about leaving, Mazarin, who had begged of him and the other prisoners to forget the past, and to honour him with their friendship for the time to come, had the meanness to fall at Condé's feet, and even to kiss his boot. This inspired contempt instead of calling forth kindness; and the only answer made to him by the prince was, "good day to your eminence." The prince returned to Paris by way of Rouen, and was three days in reaching the capital. He passed through Pontoise and St. Denis, where he was complimented, on the part of the queen, by Guitaut, by whom he had been arrested, and who had declared that he would deprive his prisoner of life rather than see him escape. The Duke of Orleans, and the chiefs of the Fronde, advanced to meet him, and conducted him to the Palais-Royal, amidst the acclamations of the populace, who had made bonfires in honour of his arrest. Condé threw away handfuls of gold, till at length his sword alone remained, which he presented to a young officer, whom he observed regarding it with a wishful eye, at the same time kindly declaring, "that he wished it might eventually cause him to be created marshal of France." The interview between the prince and the Duke of Orleans was cold and brief. He proceeded to the Luxembourg, where a brilliant festival had been prepared in honour of his coming, and where the different orders of the state assembled to offer their congratulations. On the same day, the prince visited the Duke de Nemours and the Princess Palatine, by whom he had been so effectually served. The queen reinstated Condé in his former situation and governments, and declared his innocence in a manifesto, sent to the parliament March the 27th, which was registered amidst the acclamations of that body, who passed a new order against Mazarin, which even went the length of excluding all cardinals from the councils of the king.

Condé was now in the zenith of his glory, courted and favoured by all; Mazarin was hated, scorned, and banished. He arrived at Cologne in a state of destitution; but humbled and exiled as he was, he was still the minister of France. He even hoped to raise himself again by intriguing still, and, sustained by his counsels, Anne of Austria soon succeeded in creating divisions among his enemies.



Anne of Austria shews Louis XIV sleeping to the revolted citizens.

While in prison, the Prince of Condé had engaged to consent to the marriage of the Prince of Conti with Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, the particular friend of the coadjutor. Being at large, he was prevailed upon by the Duchess de Longueville to oppose himself to that union. Mademoiselle de Chevreuse, outraged by such conduct, complained to the queen. The coadjutor, who seemed to have withdrawn from all connexion with public business, and to be solely occupied with the affairs of his diocese, visited the princess every night, and easily consented to be conveyed by her to the queen's residence, disguised as a cavalier. In secret council, the ruin of Condé was decided upon. Warned of what was contemplated in time by M. de Chavigny, he quietly withdrew from Paris. On the night of the 5th of July, when he was retiring to rest, the prince was informed that troops were seen filing off near his hotel. No time was to be lost. In company with two gentlemen, he retired by the gate St. Michael, struck at first into the road of Fleuri and Meudon, and the next day reached St. Maur. He was lingering on the road, expecting to be joined by the Prince of Conti, when he thought he heard behind him the sound of horses approaching in pursuit. Afraid of being arrested, he precipitately retreated; and as it turned out, the conqueror of Rocroi and of Lens fled before a few women and children, mounted on asses, who were carrying vegetables to market. It was said that, from very shame, the hero would not immediately return to Paris; at all events he withdrew to St. Maur, where he was joined by the Duchess de Longueville, the Prince of Conti, and the Dukes of Nemours and Laroche foucauld. He wrote to parliament, to make known to them the cause of his flight. The magistrates took his part, and the coadjutor, who had occasion for their support, prevailed upon the queen to sacrifice to the parliament, the secretaries of state, Le Tellier, Servien, and De Lyonne, the cardinal's creatures. Upon this, the Prince of Condé returned to Paris, and presented himself at the Palais-Royal, but in a state of irritation, and declaring that, "in the nocturnal assemblies, men, whom he would name at the proper time and place, had counselled his arrest." Thus speaking, he threw his eyes on the coadjutor, who, however, was not at all disconcerted by what he saw.

On his return from St. Maur, he convoked a meeting of the chiefs, his friends, to ascertain what defections were apparent. He found among the number the Princess Palatine, the Dukes de Longueville, de Bouillon, de la Force, and the Vicomte de Turenne. In this assembly, which the Parisians called the States of the League, war was decided upon against the opinion of the prince. The queen forthwith caused a violent manifesto to be prepared against Condé, which was read aloud to the princes, the noblesse, and the parliament. The prince hastened to answer it, and refuted the accusations hazarded against him article by article.

The debates were adjourned till the following Monday, August 21st, when Gondi, with the approbation of the queen, filled the palace with troops, and

prepared to attack the followers of the prince, who, aware of what was intended, had gone there, accompanied by the Prince of Conti, and more than eight hundred gentlemen. Some sharp words were exchanged between him and the coadjutor; and the former put his hand to his weapon, which was then a well-understood signal for hostilities. An obstinate contest was expected, when Molé recalled the prince to a sense of what he owed to his own dignity, and prevailed on him to induce the Duke de Larochefoucauld to make his friends withdraw. Gondi was obliged to go in person to dismiss his followers; but on seeing him appear, they thought it was the signal for attack. Swords were drawn, but the prince withdrew, and the danger for the moment was at an end.

On the following morning, however, the palace was the scene of doings equally stormy. The coadjutor was giving, from the sergeant's bar, orders to his people, and they and the family of the prince seemed on the point of attacking each other. Gondi was terrified, and thought of attempting to get out of the way of danger by passing into the great hall; but the Duke de Larochefoucauld had the presence of mind to shut the door; and at the same time he lowered the iron above, so adroitly, that Gondi was held fast by the descending massy bar, almost choked with rage and pain.



The duke, holding down the iron, called to Chavagnac to poniard the coadjutor, but he coldly excused himself by saying, he had no orders to that effect from the prince, and satisfied himself by remaining a tranquil spec-

tator of the prelate's agony. The tumult which this occasioned having at length been heard in the great chamber, the first president, Molé, sent M. de Champlâtreux, his son, to Gondi's assistance, who compelled the duke to let go his hold, and thus saved the life of the coadjutor. The magistrates expostulated, and the two parties retired. Moved by the fears of Mazarin's creatures, the queen proposed forbidding the two chiefs to appear in parliament; but Molé expostulated with her majesty, and contended, that to deal with them as equals would be at variance with etiquette and justice, as, legally, she could not exclude a prince of the blood from parliament, whose birth gave him a right to a seat in that assembly. His advice prevailed, and the coadjutor alone was ordered not to appear.

On the following day, the parliament issued a declaration, strongly in favour of the prince. Shortly after that, on leaving the parliament, Condé met the coadjutor, in his sacerdotal robes, at the head of a procession of the clergy. He immediately ordered his carriage to stop, and threw himself devoutly on his knees to receive the benediction of the prelate, who, taking off his bonnet, made him a profound bow. The populace, remembering what had been the recent conduct of the coadjutor, overwhelmed him with insult, and would have proceeded to greater lengths, had not the prince sent his attendants to protect him from danger. Returning to the hotel de Condé, the prince immediately prepared to quit Paris, and a few days afterwards set out for Chantilly, whence he proposed proceeding to Guienne, there to commence the civil war, which, an offer of accommodation forwarded from him at Chantilly to the Duke of Orleans having been left unanswered, he now regarded as inevitable.

At the moment of having recourse to arms, in order to put down rebellion, Anne of Austria determined to secure to her cause all the authority that the name of majesty could bring; and with this impression she came to the resolution of placing the direction of public affairs in the hands of her son, Louis XIV. He was thirteen years of age on the 5th of September, 1651, and this was the period fixed by the ordinance of Charles V. for the majority of the kings of France. All the ceremonials used on former similar occasions were in this instance strictly observed. The young king was preceded, surrounded and followed, by the most brilliant escort that had ever been witnessed, and went to parliament, there to open his bed of justice. The queen having resigned to him the honour which she had exercised for him as regent, the king embraced her, and said, "Madam, I thank you for the care which you have been pleased to take of my education, and of the administration of my kingdom. I entreat that you will continue to give me your good advice, and it is my desire that, next to myself, you shall be at the head of my council." Afterwards the oath of fealty was taken, kneeling, by the peers and the gentlemen, and the first president made the customary oration, all the presidents, with caps in their hands, bareheaded, kneeling on their benches. The greatest event of this day was the nomination of Matthew

Molé to be keeper of the seals, the holding of which office would not interfere with his duties as first president of the parliament. In order to make Condé appear wholly in the wrong, the king made a declaration in his favour, which released him from all accusations, and another against Mazarin, which confirmed the edict of banishment pronounced against him. It can hardly be necessary to say that it was Mazarin himself, who, in his retreat, had artfully suggested the idea of both to the queen mother.

At length, to strip the conduct of the prince of every appearance of justice, the queen sent to him M. de Croissy, with propositions to induce him to return and to restore peace. By a singular accident, it was said, which accident, however, with the rest, had every appearance of being the consequence of deep calculation, M. de Croissy read the address of the letter, of which he was the bearer, wrong, and sought Condé at Augerville, near Etampes, while the latter was at Angerville, in the Gâtinais. The letter arrived too late. Towards Berri the prince had rapidly proceeded, while Lenet, his ambassador at Madrid, signed a treaty of alliance with the court of Spain. Afterwards he set out for Bordeaux, where he was received with enthusiasm. He there made a hasty levy of ten or twelve thousand troops, and seized on the money in the royal treasury. Acting thus, he declared "it was most reluctantly that he drew the sword—that for his own part, he regarded the distinction of chief of a party as a misfortune, and one that was beneath him." Scarcely, however, had he arrived at Bordeaux, when a Spanish squadron, with colours flying, was seen entering the Gironde, to which, pursuant to the treaty concluded at Madrid, he gave up the port and the fortress. Mazarin thought the moment favourable for re-entering France. He made a communication to the government, in which he declared, "That knowing the state of affairs, and wishing to acknowledge the great obligations he was under to the king and queen, he had just succeeded in raising an army of ten thousand men, which he was prepared to march to the succour of their majesties. He therefore prayed the Duke d'Elbeuf to communicate to him his sentiments on the subject, and to give him a passage through Picardy." At the first news of his return, the Duke of Orleans had raised troops, without knowing as yet against whom they would be employed. The parliament had already issued, in their hostility to the prince, an order of banishment, and had likewise put a price on the cardinal's head. When the resolution was proposed, the coadjutor and all the counsellors' clerks immediately left the hall. Matthew Molé refused to give his sanction to a measure of such excessive rigour.

The parliament did not the less persist in the course which it had adopted. It was judged necessary to seek in the registers what was the price which, in former times, had been set on the head of an enemy of the kingdom. They found that, in the reign of Charles IX., there had been promised by a resolution fifty thousand crowns to him who should give up the Admiral Coligny, dead or alive. They deliberated very seriously on offering a like

price for the assassination of a cardinal prime minister. Le Blot and Marigny, two of the wits of the time, who preserved their gaiety in the midst of the riots and troubles which prevailed, caused an announcement to appear in Paris, that a division should be made of the reward, of a hundred and fifty thousand livres to requite him who should cut off the cardinal's nose, who should deprive him of one of his ears, who should put out an eye, or deprive him of his virility. This ridicule had only the effect of a proscription against the cardinal; but his goods and his library were sold under a second order of the parliament. Mazarin, however, did not yet consider his defeat final. He had just succeeded in getting his two nieces married to the Duke of Mercœur, of the house of Vendome, and to the son of the Duke de Bouillon. The officers of his army, whom he had put under the command of the Marshal de Hocquincourt, wore his colour, the green scarf, as the followers of Condé did the isabelle. At length, notwithstanding the declaration of the king in his bed of justice, he rejoined the court in Poitou, February 28th, 1652. Hostilities were immediately commenced. At first the advantage was on the side of the prince. The Duke of Orleans, the cardinal's enemy, declared in his favour. His daughter, Mademoiselle Montpensier, set out with the Countess Fieschi from Frontinac to join him. They were called his aide-de-camps; and many other ladies of the court, attired as amazons, also determined on joining the Duke de Nemours and De Beaufort, and entered Orleans at the moment when the royal army appeared under the walls of that city. The king, not being able to lay siege to it, passed up the Loire to Gien, closely pressed by the army of the prince, which was posted near Jargeau. Turenne, having definitively concluded to identify himself with the royal cause, moved rapidly forward, cut off on the very bridge the advanced guard of the Duke de Beaufort, and drove the enemy from his position. The bad success of that day caused violent dissensions in the council of the princes, between the Dukes de Beaufort and Nemours. Mademoiselle required them both to give up their swords. The affair ended in a reconciliation being brought about, under circumstances which elicited from the Duke de Beaufort feelings of the most tender nature. After this, the princes led their troops to the environs of Montargis; while the court took up its winter quarters at Gien; Turenne his at Briare, distant from it only two leagues; and the Marshal de Hocquincourt established himself at Blesneau, three leagues in advance of Briare. One night the marshal was suddenly attacked. Five of his posts were carried before he was well aware of the design of the enemy. Informed of what had occurred, Turenne, on looking at the disposition of the attack by the light of the burning villages, at once declared to those who surrounded him, "the prince had arrived;" he added, "It is he who commands this army." Such was really the case. Condé had posted to Guienne with all expedition, disguised as a courier. Turenne, who had discovered the important fact, hastened to Gien, where every one was preparing for flight, and coldly

replied to those who questioned him as to what it might be prudent to do, "The king may remain without having anything to fear," "Only," he added, in a determined tone, "Gentlemen, you will understand, that on this spot we must conquer or die." As he expected, Condé, weary of pursuing the fugitives who fled from Blesneau, marched to Gien with all his army. A narrow causeway, passing between a wood and a marsh, was the only road by which it could be approached. Turenne, in that defile, engaged the cavalry of his old companion in arms, and suddenly unmasking a battery which commanded the position, completely paralysed the efforts of the prince. The day closed with reciprocal cannonading. When at St. Helena, Napoleon Bonaparte amused himself by studying this battle, which he declared to be one of the most admirable feats of arms performed by Turenne. The Prince of Condé, judging the cause lost on that side, left his troops to watch the royal army, and set off for Paris himself, accompanied by the Dukes de Beaufort, de Nemours, and de Larochefoucauld.

At their approach, all the nobility put on the isabelle scarf, and received them with cries of "Long live the princes!" and "No Mazarin!" Gaston advanced to welcome him at Jouvigny, with serenity on his brow, and a smile on his countenance, but with jealousy rankling at his heart. The parliament was no longer so decidedly favourable to the princes as to make no difficulty in receiving them. Some obstacles were raised; and the



coadjutor, now become Cardinal de Retz, was entirely opposed to them. His efforts, however, proved unavailing to procure their exclusion, and they entered

Paris on the 11th of April. At the court of aids, Condé had to encounter the severe remonstrances of the president, James Amélot; and when he would have spoken, "Who dare interrupt me?" demanded the president. "The king would not do it, or, if he would, he ought not to do it; but you, sir, neither ought to interrupt me, nor are you able to do it, thank God." "Sir," the prince at length replied, "the court, no doubt, will not authorise all you have said to me."—"The authority for what I do is in my bonnet," replied Amélot, striking his head with his hand. "In this body there are none but good subjects and faithful servants of the king; and not one of them will disavow my words."—"You ought to have admonished me in private," said Condé, "and not before all the world," lowering his head, while he spoke, in confusion. What occurred on this occasion did not, however, prevent the magistrates from addressing the king; to remonstrate against the return of the cardinal; and, at the same time, to declare the Duke of Lorraine a public enemy, who had entered France with an army to co-operate with that of the princes. At receiving this news, Turenne raised the siege of Etampes, which he had commenced, and went to meet the forces under Lorraine, encamped on the opposite shore of the Seine, near Villeneuve St. Georges. A battle was expected by every one, when it was found that the bridge of Villeneuve had been given up to Turenne, and that the Lorraine army was on its return to the frontiers of Flanders.

The forces of the princes arrived an hour after the departure of that of Lorraine, and, not daring to attack the royal army, withdrew to St. Cloud, by the way of Bourg la Reine; while St. Denis became the head quarters of Turenne. A movement, made by the Marshal Ferté, made the prince resolve to quit his position and place himself on that tongue of land formed by the confluence of the Seine and the Marne; but before he could reach the ground in question, Turenne came up with his rear guard, and turned it. The prince, thus arrested in his march, took up a new position, opposite the gate St. Antoine, placed the Duke de Nemours in the rue de Charenton, M. de Vallon in the grande rue de Faubourg, and M. de Tavannes in that of Charonne. At seven the next morning the battle began. The king, being then fifteen years of age, was placed on the heights of Charonne, while his mother prostrated herself at the foot of the altar, in the convent of St. Denis. Turenne gave the signal for the commencement of the struggle, without waiting for his artillery to come up. He himself conducted the attack in the Grande rue; the left was commanded by M. de Noailles, the right by the young St. Megrin. The combat was terrible. M. de Larochefoucauld received a blow which for a time deprived him of sight; St. Megrin was killed, with Mancini, in a charge directed by the Prince of Condé in person. Before the well planned attacks of Turenne, the regiments of Languedoc, Valvois and Langeron, had given way, and the conquerors had penetrated to the market place of the faubourg. On hearing such intelligence, the prince returned with his volunteers, and, at the head of the cavalry

regiments of Condé and D'Enghien, braving the fire of the batteries, which now lined the streets, he rushed on the enemy, and made a dreadful slaughter of the guards of Marine and Turenne, drove the gendarmes and the light horse into the plain, took seventeen officers and five flags, and re-established his troops in their former position. Tavannes vigorously repulsed an attack made by the body guards of the king. Turenne, upon that, concentrating his strength, assaulted the barricade which defended the avenue of Charenton, and the fort was carried. Calling to his aid the Condé infantry, Tavannes attacked the post which he had just lost. At the same time, the prince brought several pieces of cannon to bear on the enemy with great effect; and placing himself at the head of the regiment of Burgundy, and of that formidable corps of nobles who always shared his triumphs and his dangers, he made so vigorous a charge, that the barricade was carried. This was the most terrible conflict of that sanguinary day. Nemours, Larochehoucauld, Melun, Larzai, Guitaut, and almost all the friends of the prince, were dangerously wounded; and, in this situation of things, the post recaptured by so mighty an effort was again snatched from him by the increasing numbers of the troops under Turenne. The artillery of the Marshal de la Ferté began to thunder on the soldiers of Condé from the three streets. Turenne had taken measures to surround him, and Mazarin already exulted in the vengeance about to be gratified, when a volley of cannon from the side of the Bastille arrested the impetuosity of the conquerors; and, at the same moment, it was announced to Condé that Mademoiselle de Montpensier desired a conference with him.

That princess, having vanquished Gaston, the Marshal de l'Hopital, the corps-de-ville, and the people, by her grief, her persuasive eloquence, and her tears, had caused the gate D'Antoine to be opened to the soldiers of the prince. Having rendered this important service, she hastened to the Bastille, where, by her commanding air, she prevailed on the governor to fire on the troops of the king.

Condé presented himself before the princess, his sword in his hand, his armour broken, and his face covered with dust and blood, and, bursting into tears, exclaimed, "O mademoiselle, all my friends have fallen!" She apprised him that she had prevailed on the citizens to open the gates to his men, while she favoured their retreat by the artillery of the Bastille. Mademoiselle, it was understood, had aspired to gain the heart of Condé, and the exclamation of Mazarin, standing by the side of the king, when he heard the cannon of the Bastille, and knew by whom it had been fired, was "that shot has killed her husband." It was with great difficulty that she could obtain from her father a single word to justify what she had wished to say or do in his name; but this at length gained, she repaired to the Hotel de Ville, to engage the magistrates of the city to support the prince. At six in the evening she went to the gate St. Antoine to receive Condé, who approached the city by that entrance.



Louis XIV. and Cardinal Mazarin.

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The last duties rendered to his friends who had fallen in the battle, Condé prepared to take advantage of the supposed favourable disposition of the Parisians. The plan was to seize on the Cardinal de Retz, and to procure an order of banishment against him. His emissaries had prevailed on many of the populace to favour his views, and these were to be distinguished by a whisp of straw worn in their hats, while they raised deafening shouts of "Long live the princes!" "No Mazarin!" The Duke of Orleans accompanied Condé to the Hotel de Ville, to obtain the suffrages of the magistrates, but had scarcely left that building when the scene suddenly changed: the citizens became exasperated; and in less than two hours, a bloody tragedy was witnessed in the quarter of La Grève, and crowds, with drawn poniards, sought Condé to put him to death. The Cardinal de Retz was believed to be the unseen prompter of these excesses, in which the Hotel de Ville was set on fire and plundered, and many persons lost their lives.

The queen, after the battle of St. Antoine, thought it prudent to send to the princes, intimating her consent to the removal of Cardinal Mazarin. They, however, were not much conciliated by this offer; and the answer returned was, that having been so often deceived, they could only engage to pay their homage in person to the king, when the cardinal should have left the kingdom. Offended at this, her majesty immediately broke off the negociation.

Condé was named generalissimo by the parliament; and Gaston prevailed upon them to appoint him lieutenant-general of the kingdom, "during the captivity of the king." The court declared the appointment nul, and ordered the parliament to transfer its sittings to Toulouse. Some of the members obeyed the command; but the greater number remained in the capital; and the separated parts formed each a body, which called itself the parliament. The queen, thereupon, caused it to be proclaimed that all salaries or revenues received from the king should only be paid at the actual residence of his majesty. This determination proved very efficacious. The Parisians quitted the city in crowds. Besides being moved by interest, many were disgusted by the ostentatious and overbearing conduct of the Duke of Orleans; and, through these circumstances, the Frondeurs were daily seen to lose ground.

The princes were advised to seize on the sovereign authority; but such counsel they rejected. They, however, failed to set the populace an example of moderation and union. The Duke de Beaufort and the Duke de Nemours quarrelled for precedence in the council, and in consequence fought a duel, in which the latter lost his life. The circumstances of this duel were remarkable, as the principals were each attended by four seconds, who also fought, and the Marquis de Villars, surnamed Orondate, who seconded Nemours, while his principal perished, killed Héricourt, the second opposed to him, and whom he had never seen before. A like dispute arose between the Count de Rieux, son of the Duke d'Elbeuf, of the house of Lorraine, and the Prince de Tarente, of the house of La Trémouille. Condé interposed

between them, at which De Rieux took offence, and so far forgot himself as to use a menacing gesture to the prince, which the latter answered by giving the count a blow. De Rieux returned the blow to the conqueror of Rocroi, Fribourg, Nordlingen, and Lens, and drew his sword. The spectators of the strife forced the count out of the room, and the consequences were likely to be very serious. Talon, the advocate general, being consulted on the occasion, replied, that "after weighing the insult offered to the blood royal, he could not pronounce a milder sentence than that of death against the Count de Rieux." The proceedings, however, were stopped by the interference of Condé, who no doubt felt that he, though not the original offender, was not wholly free from blame in the affair.

Under these circumstances, the king published a declaration, in which, having severely censured the princes for their tyrannical conduct and violence, and the citizens for submitting to illegitimate authority, he interdicted the sittings of the parliament in Paris, transferred it to Pontoise, and ordered all the counsellors and presidents to proceed to that city. Fifteen of the principal magistrates, having the president Molé at their head obeyed, and, with a number of the lay and ecclesiastical peers, constituted a parliament at Pontoise. From day to day they became more numerous; but even this assembly protested against the presence of Mazarin. Such being the feeling, the minister thought it his duty once more to sacrifice himself for the public good, and accordingly, on the 17th of August, he withdrew to Sceaux; but, as before, while absent from the court, he did not cease to direct the affairs of the kingdom. The best effects were produced in Paris by his retreat. It caused an immediate defection in the party of the princes, one so great, that they felt, to maintain the position they had assumed was impossible; and in consequence proposed to negotiate. The offer was more than coldly received; and the only answer returned to it was, that "submission was now the only course left open to them." Condé found he had no alternative but to lay down his arms, or seek aid from Spain. The latter course was that which he preferred. In consequence of this determination, the archduke ordered Fuensaldagne to march with his troops from the Low Countries, and the Duke of Lorraine entered Champagne. These movements caused great alarm to the court; but the crafty Mazarin, in his exile, turned aside the danger. He prevailed on the queen to write to the Duke de Lorraine, stating that she was on the eve of being reconciled to the Prince of Condé, who was forthwith to be sent against the Spaniards; and this letter he contrived to bring under the eyes of Fuensaldagne, who, upon gaining intelligence which he deemed so important, considered it his duty to retrograde. Condé, having left Paris with his troops, notwithstanding the obstacles thrown in his way, succeeded in joining the Duke of Lorraine.

The Cardinal de Retz, moved by the Parisians about the king, now supplicated his majesty to re-enter his good city. He complied with the

prayer, and the entry was solemnly made, October 21st, 1652. Turenne, with his victorious troops, protected the young monarch. The Duke de Beaufort resigned his office of governor of Paris, and Broussel that of prévôt of merchants. The Duke of Orleans received an order to withdraw to Blois.

The day after his entrance, Louis held a bed of justice at the Louvre, with all the pomp of royal magnificence. A general amnesty was read by the chancellor, which the king had granted the day before, from which, however, were excepted, the Dukes de Beaufort, Larochehoucauld, and Rohan; the Marquises de la Boullaye and de Fontrailles; the president Perault; the counsellors, Broussel, Viole, De Thou, Portail, Ritaut, Fouquet de Croissy, Coulon, Machault, Fleury et Martineau; the servants of the princes and princesses De Condé, De Conti, De Longueville, &c., all which individuals were ordered immediately to leave the city, and not to re-enter Paris without the express permission of his majesty. The same declaration strictly forbade the parliament of Paris to take any cognizance of the general business of the state, or of the direction of its finances, and commanded it "not to interfere with or undertake anything against those to whom the king had confided the administration of affairs, on pain of disobedience."

The parliament remained mute. This royal edict, annulling privileges long and fiercely contended for, it registered without a murmur, nor did it offer any opposition, when, a few days after his return, the king signified his intention of recalling Cardinal Mazarin. Knowing the influence of Cardinal de Retz over the people, as well as the personal hatred which he bore to Mazarin, notwithstanding the good service he had lately rendered the court, he was arrested, and conducted to Vincennes, February 3rd, 1653. A few weeks afterwards, Mazarin returned in triumph to Paris. The king and queen gave him a public meeting at Bourget. He had the pleasure to find at court those who had been his most cruel enemies perfectly subdued. The parliament, at a subsequent period, gave a farther proof of its prostration, by condemning to death, for contumacy, the Prince of Condé, March 27th, 1659. Madame de Longueville and the Princess Palatine edified France by an exhibition of superior virtue. The Duke de Larochehoucauld pretended now to nothing beyond being a most accomplished courtier. The Cardinal de Retz finished his life in exercises of piety; and these distinguished actors removed from the scene, the war of the Fronde was no more: it lived but in memory.

In the midst of the civil commotions which had been witnessed, the famous peace of Westphalia had been passed over almost unnoticed. That treaty, however, constituted Mazarin's best title to renown as a minister. France, at that period, represented on the field of battle by Turenne and Conde, and in the cabinet by Avaux and Servien, gained by it the supreme lordship over the three bishoprics of Toul, Metz, and Verdun, and over Moyenvic. The empire ceded to the King of France, all its rights to Pignerol, Brisach, and

the Upper and Lower Alsace; and Louis XIV. gained the right of maintaining a garrison in Philisbourg.

Spain alone refused to be a party to the treaty. She saw successively Turenne and Condé afford to her arms the aid of their genius. "The fate of these two great men," observes Voltaire, "was to be always conquerors when they fought together at the head of the French armies, and to be beaten when they commanded the Spaniards." The war continued. The Germans, in the pay of his most Catholic majesty, retook Dunkirk; the Spaniards themselves expelled the French from Barcelona and Casal. Condé, become generalissimo of their armies in the Low Countries, entered Picardy with thirty thousand men, and supported the archduke Leopold, and the Count de Fuensaldagne, in laying siege to Arras. Turenne besieged Stenai [August 15th]. The Marquis de Folliart advanced against the enemy, with the Marshals de la Ferté and d'Hocquincourt, forced his lines, and put him to the rout. It is, nevertheless, true, that the skill of the Prince of Condé was not less conspicuous on this occasion. With two regiments he covered the retreat, defeated Hocquincourt, repulsed La Ferté, and displayed such consummate skill, as induced Philip IV. to write to him in these words: "I had learned that all was lost: but you have known how to retrieve all." Twelve days after this victory, Stenai surrendered to the king, who had come to assist at the siege in person. Turenne took Quesnoy; but was subsequently obliged to raise the siege of Valenciennes. To complete the triumph of France, however, it is necessary to direct our attention elsewhere.

It was said that "Mazarin sought in Heaven nests for his nieces." Two of them, it has been seen, he succeeded in connecting with the houses of De Vendome and De Bouillon, a third, Anna Maria Martinozzi, married a prince of the blood, the Prince of Conti. While occupying himself thus in advancing the fortunes of his family, he had deserved well of his country, and the weakness of his nepotism ought not to make us shut our eyes to the great acts of his external policy. After the termination of the war of the Fronde, all his diplomatic proceedings were but a series of triumphs. Europe, in its habits of despotism and aristocracy more confirmed than ever, offered one startling contradiction, one bloody anomaly. Cromwell, the assassin of Charles I., the protector of a republic, reigned peaceably in England, and saw the two most absolute monarchs of the day, the most Christian and the most Catholic king, contending for the honour of his alliance. Mazarin, in this struggle, prevailed over Don Louis de Haro. Cromwell broke off the negotiations with Spain, and signed with France the treaty of Westminster. He treated with the King of France as an equal, and caused the latter to call him "brother." Still implacable against the Stuarts, he insisted on Charles II. and the Duke of York being sent from France, though both were cousins to the king, and grandsons of Henry IV.

By a treaty subsequently signed at Paris, March 23rd, 1657, Cromwell engaged to attack the Spaniards in the Low Countries, in concert with

France, and to contribute to the reduction of Gravelines, Mardick, and Dunkirk, on condition that the two latter should thenceforth belong to England. That same year, the treaty of Paris was partly carried into effect by the capture of Mardick, which was carried by Turenne. The alliance formed with Cromwell gave to France a marked superiority. On one side, Admiral Blake was despatched to burn the galleons of Spain, near the Canary islands; on the other, twenty-eight ships blockaded the port of Dunkirk; and six thousand old soldiers, who had taken part in the English revolutionary war, were sent to reinforce the army under Turenne. Louis and Mazarin wished to favour the siege of Dunkirk by approaching its neighbourhood, and accordingly repaired to Calais. Thither Cromwell sent a pompous embassy, at the head of which was his son-in-law, Lord Falconbridge. The king, in return, despatched one to him, in which the Duke de Crequi, and Mancini, Duke de Nevers, appeared, followed by two hundred gentlemen. Mancini presented a letter to the protector from the cardinal, of



which the language is not a little remarkable. It, in substance, declared, that "he was much grieved to find it was not in his power to pay his respects personally to the greatest man in the world." Whether Richelieu would have held this flattering language to such a personage may be a matter of doubt.

The siege of Dunkirk was pressed with much vigour. Condé and Don Juan of Austria, son of Philip IV., advanced to its relief. Without withdrawing from the city, Turenne was disposed to give battle. "Did you ever see a battle lost?" Condé asked Don Juan; and being answered in the

negative, added, " Well, then, you will see one lost in the next hour." This prediction was soon verified. The battle of Dunes, fought June 14th, 1658, was lost by the Spaniards. Dunkirk surrendered, and was given, as previously agreed upon, to England. Turenne, following up his conquests, took Bergues, July 2nd, Furnes on the 3rd, Dixmude on the 7th, Oudenarde on the 9th of September, Menin on the 17th; on the 19th he defeated the Prince de Ligne, and on the 24th he took Ypres. The President Hénault writes, that while Flanders was thus rapidly overrun, the king fell sick at Calais; and a physician of Abbeville, named Dr. Sampson, had a serious difference with Vallot, the first physician of the king, on the propriety of administering an emetic in wine. An emetic at that period was almost wholly unknown, and was regarded as a thing horrible in itself, and against nature. In this case it was thought to benefit the patient; and to the great joy of Mazarin the king recovered. The death of Oliver Cromwell rendered the alliance with England of little value; and notwithstanding her successes, France now wished for peace. Though generally in favour of the French, the battles fought with the Spaniards were not so brilliant, or so important, as to satisfy the public appetite for glory.

During the illness of the king, Mazarin had opened negotiations with Spain. He affected a desire to form a closer connexion with Savoy, and transferred the court to Lyons, as if for the purpose of hastening the marriage of the king to the Princess Margaret. On learning this, the hesitation of Don Louis de Haro was at an end. He immediately sent the Cardinal, Don Antonio Pimental, to propose the bases of a treaty. The honour of concluding it, however, was reserved for the ministers of the two crowns themselves. The cardinal proceeded to St. John de Luz, and Don Louis de Haro to St. Sebastian. Then commenced the famous conferences between those celebrated statesmen, on the subject of the differences between the two countries, which took place in the Isle of Pheasants, an island in the middle of the Bidassoa, which divides France from Spain. Their labours were successful, and a pacification was effected. It was agreed that the frontier line of France should commence with Gravelines, which was to be included in it; it was then to run south to Lillers, shutting out St. Omer and Aire. In Hainault, the boundary was marked by Landrecies, Quesnoy, Marienburgh, and Phillipville. To the right of the Meuse, Montmedy and Thionville were the extreme fortresses of the French. The Duke of Lorraine was nominally restored; but his territory became virtually French, and Alsace was ceded to France. On the south-east, the fortress of Pignerol was given to that power; in the south-west, by the cession to her of Roussillon, the Pyrenees became her boundary.

Besides the territorial arrangement made by the treaty of the Pyrenees, a marriage was negotiated between the French king and the Infanta of Spain; and on the part of the latter power, the restitution of the Prince of Condé to his rank and possessions was demanded. From the hostility which had long

subsisted between them, Mazarin was very averse to make any concession on this point. It was, however, one which De Haro would not abandon, deeming the honour of his master to be concerned in it; and when the cardinal refused to give way, he spoke of forming a principality for Condé, to consist of Rocroi, and other places on the Flemish frontier. Such an idea startled the French minister; but Condé, at this juncture, by giving up certain towns to France, and tendering his submission to the king, furnished Mazarin with an excuse for giving way. Eventually, the prince was reinstated in his honours, fortunes, titles, dignities, and governments, and he was permitted to receive a million of crowns from Spain. Those who had followed his fortunes were restored to their former position; and all the differences being thus adjusted, the treaty received the signature of the high contracting parties, November 7th, 1659.

The Prince of Condé was conducted to the frontiers of Champagne by the Marquis de Cavacène. He was met by the Duke and Duchess de Longueville at Coulommiers. The brother and sister greeted each other with great affection. On approaching Aix, Mazarin came to meet him. They, after all their differences, embraced with apparent cordiality, and got into the same coach, which conveyed them to Aix, where the king and queen mother waited to receive the prince. Condé threw himself at the feet of Louis, who raised him with great kindness, and assured him, that "all that had occurred in past days was forgotten, but the vast services he had formerly rendered to the state."

In June, the following year, the marriage of the king with the Spanish Infanta was celebrated with great magnificence. The two monarchs of France and Spain, with their courts, assembled in the Isle of Pheasants, and grand fêtes were given to commemorate the happy event.

The weak and treacherous Gaston died about this time. Louis granted his appanage and title to his own brother, Philip, who, till then, had been the Duke of Anjou. From him is descended the Orleans family, at present in possession of the throne of France.

Cardinal Mazarin now approached the close of his extraordinary career. The peace of the Pyrenees may be regarded as his last great triumph. He lived to conduct the king and the new queen to Paris; but he contracted a mortal disease while engaged in the conferences of the Isle of Pheasants, which medical skill attempted to remove in vain. Guenaud, the most eminent physician of that day, was consulted by him, and he, in reply to the questions of the cardinal, told him that he could not survive more than two months. Not all the anxieties that he had known could reconcile him to leaving life. The achievements of his ever active mind became from that moment his scourges; and looking on the vast treasure he had acquired, he shrunk with horror at the conviction, that a "rich man cannot enter the kingdom of God," and drooped beneath the gloomy reflection, that he must pass to the grave, and leave everything behind. He was a lover of the fine arts, a passionate admirer of pictures, and had covered his walls with the

chef-d'œuvres of the most eminent masters. A melancholy description is given of the dying minister, in his last days, as seen, in the midst of these valued objects, the trophies of his genius. A short time after receiving the fatal announcement of the physician, he was observed by his friend Brienne, in his night-cap and dressing gown, pacing the gallery with faltering step and sorrowful looks. He gazed on the pictures, once so fruitful of delight. "And must I, ah! must I quit all these," he sighed. Perceiving Brienne, he laid his hands on him, and pointing to the pictures, he exclaimed, in a voice broken by emotion, "Look, look at that Corregio! Look at that Venus of Titian, and that incomparable Deluge, by Caracci. Alas! my friend, these, all these I must quit. Farewell, farewell, my much valued pictures, which I loved so dearly, and which it cost me so much to obtain!" The dismal thought, that his end was approaching, seems to have incessantly tormented him during the remainder of his days. Slumbering in his chair, he was seen to be restless, and heard to murmur, "Guenaud has said it—Guenaud has said it." Beneath this excruciating alarm, his powerful mind at length sunk into pitiable imbecility. But a few days before his death, he caused himself to be shaved, elegantly dressed, and his cheeks painted, so that it was said he had never before "looked so fresh and vermillion in his life;" as if, by caricaturing the aspect of youth and gaiety, he could repair a broken constitution. Thus disguised, he was carried in his chair to the promenade, where he received the ironical compliments of the courtiers on his improved appearance. To divert the horrors which came over him, cards were put in requisition, to amuse him on his death-bed, another hand being employed to hold them, as his own was too feeble to act. The game in which he thus took part, by proxy, it is said, was only suffered to be interrupted by the pope's nuncio, who attended to give the cardinal that plenary indulgence to which the prelates of the sacred college were officially entitled. No earthly assistance could prolong his life; and on the 7th of March, 1661, Mazarin breathed his last. He bequeathed to Louis an inheritance of fifty millions, which the king restored to the family of his minister. This generosity will appear less astonishing, when it is recollected, that Louis believed himself sufficiently enriched by the political testament of the cardinal, which made him the universal legatee, by virtue of his sovereign power. The inheritance of Louis XIV. was France, and his conduct through the whole of his life sufficiently proves, that he always regarded it as his private domain, as that of which he was the undoubted proprietor. The prelate deserved the regrets of his master; and the monarch did not feel ashamed of shedding tears for the death of a minister who had formed him to govern France, and France to submit to him. Mazarin had experienced the disgust which the Fronde was calculated to inspire, but had spared the king the annoyance of showing it; and while he submitted, without a murmur, to bend before his enemies, he encouraged the haughty pride of the young king. He made him a spectator of the doings of the seditious

princes, and of the swelling pretensions of the parliament, that, at a later period, he might be accustomed to hold the noblesse in check, and to humble the magistrates. Louis never pardoned the latter for the agitations of which they were the authors, during his infancy; and he was seen, at the age of seventeen, to present himself, booted, to parliament, and dissolve, whip in hand, the assembly of his pretended guardians. All his reign was the developement of a double principle, left to him as a political legacy by Mazarin, to Mazarin by Richelieu, for lowering the overbearing pride of the house of Austria, the elevation in France of the royal power, and the monopoly of sovereign authority. It was in pursuance of this scheme, and in order to approach Germany on all sides, the Low Countries, and Spain, where the rival houses reigned, that Richelieu seized on Lorraine, Mazarin on Alsace and Rousillon, and Louis XIV. on Flanders and Franche-Comté. The war in Spain, great as were the sacrifices which it exacted from France, was not a fault in policy; it was the unfortunate developement of a good idea. The fault really committed by Louis has generally been held to be, his too generous protection of the Stuarts, and the war against William, the first of the princes of Orange, with whom France had not been closely united. In this Louis XIV. did not follow the traditions of his ancestors; Richelieu had fought against Charles I., and Mazarin contracted an alliance with Oliver Cromwell.

For the mind which presided over the government of the interior, nothing can be conceived on a broader scale; nothing could be more completely executed. A law of 1667 interdicts the remonstrances of parliament; the nobility always occupied with wars, and excluded from the government, and from public offices, had for their titles but military posts, receiving them always directly from the king, subject to the control of a severe minister, whose pride has become matter of history, and which was such, that it only bent before the pride of Louis. The king could not pardon Marshal Boufflers for having desired the sword of the constable, which Turenne, a Catholic, had expected in vain, and which Villars applied for with no better success. "It seems to my apprehension," said he, "that they would rob me of my glory, when they aim at obtaining it without me." The pomp of the palace, of the gardens, of carousels and fêtes, formerly had no political object. Too long had the modest court of France been seen eclipsed by a multitude of princely courts, the chiefs of which found themselves, in a certain point of view, exalted above the king. Louis XIV. wished to have a monopoly of luxury, as he had that of power; and hence was found true, in all its rigour, that famous expression, "I am the state." To understand this, it is necessary to read the commentary on that formula of absolutism, written by the hand of Louis for the instruction of the Duke of Burgundy—"France is a monarchical state in the fullest meaning of the word. The king represents the entire nation, and each particular part is only represented to the king. In consequence, all power, all authority, rests in the hands of the monarch; and there can be no other

in the kingdom but that which he establishes. This form of government is that which experience has proved most suitable to the genius of the nation, to its character, to its tastes, and to its situation. The constitutional laws of the state are not written, at least the greater number of them are not. The nation does not form a body by itself in France; it resides entirely in the person of the king, &c."

It has been attempted here to trace in few words the policy of Louis XIV.; it was that of his whole reign, and manifested itself on the very day of Mazarin's death. All the intriguers of the court were at work, and all the ministers were eagerly looking to the premier's situation; and while debating among themselves who should succeed the cardinal, "Sire, to whom shall we henceforth address ourselves?" they enquired, in trembling anxiety and hope. "To me," was the monarch's reply. It caused universal astonishment. There was something so extraordinary in the idea that a king should govern for himself, that, during fifty years, nothing of the kind had been seen or imagined. His resolution once taken, Louis boldly persevered. During the first half of his reign, he regularly devoted eight hours in each day to public business. "The king has changed his council, and the ministers their maxims," was the remark of Richelieu on coming into office. Louis XIV. might have said nearly the same thing. The administration of Mazarin, which had become somewhat feeble, was on a sudden reanimated; and of this the strongest proofs were soon exhibited, both within and without the kingdom. "If Mazarin, dying, left fifty millions to his heirs, and the exchequer of France empty," says a modern writer, "that ought to create no surprise; for the avaricious foreigner had entrusted the finances of the kingdom to Fouquet, and placed his own in the hands of Colbert. The first care of Louis, who had a rare talent for discovering men of capacity, was to cause the former to be replaced by the latter as superintendant of the finances. Fouquet, who had been guilty of great depredation, and who owes not a little of the interest connected with his name to the generous attachment of Pelisson and La Fontaine, was arrested at Nantes, after having given to the king a fête of more than royal splendour in his retreat at Vaux. This important step had been very deliberately planned, and its execution was only deferred till Fouquet's fortress of Belleisle could be seized simultaneously with his person. He was brought to trial. The proceedings before the commissioners lasted two months. Colbert, who succeeded him, is not free from the suspicion of having magnified the faults of his unfortunate predecessor. M. de Turenne, who rarely indulged in *bon mots*, said on the occasion, "I think that M. Colbert has a great desire that Fouquet should be hanged, and that M. le Tellier has more fear that he will not." It is, however, certain, that the late superintendant, notwithstanding all the efforts of his enemies, was not condemned to death. He was sentenced to banishment, which the king had the *clemency* to commute into perpetual imprisonment. Louis XIII. had acted a like part with regard to Barbin; "a proceeding wholly at variance," Riche-

lieu himself remarked, "with the nature of a pardon, which remits punishment instead of rendering it more severe." Fouquet was conveyed to the citadel of Pignerol, where he died in 1680. Some historians have supposed him to be the personage of the iron mask. Many say that the young king would not have acted with such severity towards his minister, but in consequence of the latter presuming to look with an eye of passion on Mademoiselle de La Valliere, in honour of whom this superb fête at Vaux had been given; and whom the king, it was said, had already begun to *honour* with his intimacy. It is, however, certain, that the finances had fallen into a state of great disorder under the administration of Fouquet: during the last four years of his being in office, no accounts had been forthcoming of the income and expenditure of the nation. Taxes had been increased, till, by their augmentation, their produce was actually diminished. This consequence was especially recognised in the customs, the duties of which had almost annihilated regular commerce, to encourage contraband trade. Facts like these seem to justify the course pursued by Louis, with regard to his minister of finance. So much for the interior of the kingdom. Looking at foreign affairs, we shall find in the policy of Louis the same inflexible rigour.

Voltaire mentions that, at the entry into London of Count Brahé, ambassador from Sweden to England, the Count D'Estrades, ambassador from France, and Baron de Watteville ambassador from Spain, a dispute arose between the French and Spanish ministers, on the question which should take precedence of the other. The Spaniard, having abundance of money, and a numerous suite, gained the favour of the English populace. Countenanced by them, he caused the horses in the French ambassador's carriage to be killed, and his attendants were wounded or dispersed, while the Spaniards were permitted to march off with drawn swords in triumph. No sooner was Louis XIV. apprised of what had taken place, than he recalled his ambassador from Madrid, caused it to be intimated that the Spanish envoy at Paris was expected to take his departure, broke off the conferences which were then going on in Flanders respecting certain territorial limits, and forthwith imperiously announced to his father-in-law, Philip IV., that if he did not recognise the superiority of the French crown, and make reparation for the affront offered, by solemnly giving satisfaction in public, war would immediately recommence. Philip had no wish to enter into a new contest with France on the subject of an ambassador's precedence; and he accordingly sent the Count de Fuentes to the king at Fontainebleau, when, in presence of all the foreign ministers who were in France, he declared, "that the ambassadors and ministers of Spain would not thenceforward claim to stand on a footing of equality with those of France." "You have heard," said the king to those who were present, "the declaration made by the Spanish ambassador. I request you severally to write to your masters, in order that they may know that his most Catholic majesty has given orders to all his ambassadors to acknowledge the superior rank of mine on every occasion."

In consequence of this, the Count de Fuentes being at Venice, in the church of the Jesuits, in 1669, took his place below the ambassador from



France. A like result was witnessed some time after in another affair which occurred in Italy; "which country," says Voltaire, "regarded all surrounding countries as barbarians, and the French as barbarians gayer, indeed, than others, but more dangerous; as they carried into disorderly pleasure, open contempt, and debauchery was accompanied by insult." They were dreaded everywhere, especially at Rome. The French, caring little what the Italians thought of them, some lackies of the Duke de Créqui, ambassador to the Holy See, thought proper to make an attack on part of a Corsican guard. The latter, taking that seriously which was meant but in sport, called on the populace to assist them, besieged the French ambassador in his hotel, fired on his carriage, killed a page, and wounded several of his domestics. Upon this, the Duke de Créqui immediately left Rome, and complained to the king of the treatment he had received, who exacted far different reparation from that which the pope might have been prepared to offer (the hanging of a Corsican, or the punishment of a Sbiri,) under pain of seeing Rome besieged. Alexander VII. being disposed to resist, Louis seized on Avignon, and eventually the pope was obliged to humble himself. He exiled his brother, sent his nephew, the Cardinal Chigi, in quality of legate, *à latere* to ask pardon of the king, exiled the Corsicans for ever from the ecclesiastical states, and caused to be raised, at his expense, opposite their ancient quarters, a pyramid, bearing an inscription, which described the

injury offered, and the reparation by which it was expiated. Nor did even this content Louis. He compelled the pope to pay still more dearly for the affair, by making him yield to the Dukes of Parma and Modena certain territories which had been a matter of contest.

Louis XIV. thus advanced pretensions to hold all Europe in vassalage. One circumstance, however, wounded his pride. While he imposed his suzerainty on princes like the King of Spain and the sovereign pontiff, he saw at the gates of his kingdom two places, the recent conquest of which had illustrated the arms of France, but which, nevertheless, did not recognise his authority. These places were Dunkirk and Mardick. Cromwell, if he had *protected* England, had proudly strove against the King of France; but the feeble Charles II., wholly occupied in securing himself on a throne re-established with great difficulty, sold for 5,000,000 of livres the last possessions held by the English in France. The people of London blushed for a monarch who could condescend to such a bargain; and the minister who had counselled it, Lord Clarendon, found it necessary to withdraw from the vindictive rage of an indignant people. Louis caused thirty thousand men to be employed in fortifying Dunkirk on the land side, as well as on that nearest the sea. They dug between the town and the citadel a basin capable of receiving ships of war; and so strengthened it, that the English had scarcely left it, when it became an object of terror. The Duke of Lorraine wished to imitate the King of France. A treaty, signed at Montmartre in the preceding year, had despoiled him of a great portion of his states. At the end of a year he reclaimed them—but it was then too late; and Marsal, which he wished to retain without indemnity, was taken from him by a French army. It was declared that Louis XIV. would not leave any corner in Europe where his name and that of France should remain unknown. He also extended his views to Africa, where, as a sort of satisfaction to the court of Rome, he sent the Duke de Beaufort to chastise the corsairs, and invade their retreat. In the same year, two other French gentlemen of illustrious name, the Count de Coligny and the young Lafeuillade, had, with six thousand of their compatriots, a share in the famous victory gained over the Turks at St. Gothard, in Hungary, by Montécuculli and the Prince Charles Leopold, nephew to the Duke of Lorraine. Finally, being but imperfectly satisfied with the public humiliation inflicted on the King of Spain, Louis secretly assisted in Portugal the house of Braganza; and being somewhat annoyed that they should recognise the King of France, under the incognito which he affected to maintain, he sent into the peninsula the Marquis de Schomberg, to gain the battle of Villa Viciosa. At the moment when he at once provoked both Spain and the empire, Louis sought for no alliances but those of two petty republics, the one decrepid, the other still in its cradle, Switzerland and Holland. England, governed by a weak and unhappy prince, who fell into all the errors of his father, was not of sufficient importance to make him court his alliance. On the contrary, he raised

against her Holland, to whom Van Tromp and De Ruyter, promised maritime superiority. Summoned by the grand pensioner, De Witt, to assist the states general, the King of France sent six thousand men against the Bishop of Munster, Christopher Bernard de Galen, a warrior prelate, in the pay of the English. When Louis, however, proceeded to examine the navy left to him by Richelieu and Mazarin, he found that, while the English and Dutch nearly covered the ocean with three hundred vast ships of war, the whole maritime force of France consisted of fifteen or sixteen great barks, which the Duke de Beaufort had led against the pirates of Barbary; and when the states general summoned Louis XIV. to join his fleet to theirs, there was in the port of Brest but one single fire ship, which the government was ashamed to order to sail, but which, however, it was necessary to send, in order honourably to fulfil the engagements of the nation. From want of means, Louis could not then enter upon the war, in which he saw two potent enemies engaged. Conferences were opened at Breda, under the mediation of the King of Sweden. Diplomatic chicanery being detected, interrupted the negotiations; De Ruyter cut short the difficulties in the way of a pacification, by burning in the Thames, within four leagues of London, the English fleet; and peace was immediately signed. France made with England an exchange of colonies; the Islands of Antigua and Montserrat for the fertile Acadia. These little expeditions in all parts of Europe, formed the military prolegomena of the reign of Louis XIV.

The Turennes, the Luxembourgs, the Condés, waited for a more serious war to withdraw them from the enjoyments of the French court. Never had there been seen a court more brilliant. Gallantry, severely banished in the reign of Louis XIII. from the old and dismal Château of St. Germain, had been graciously reinstated by the young king, who conceived for Mademoiselle de la Vallière a passion less melancholy and less severe than that felt by Louis XIII. for Mary de Hautefort, or Mademoiselle de la Fayette. All the amusements which the king gave to the court, were so many marks of homage to his mistress. At the birth of the dauphin, grand fêtes took place at Fontainebleau; and it was there that Lulli was appointed superintendant of the music. In the following year there was a promotion of knights of the order of the Holy Ghost. In a court where the pride of birth was considered a merit, almost a virtue, the noble conduct of the Marshal Fabert must be admired, who declined the honour of wearing the collar of the Holy Ghost, saying that he did not wish to exhibit false proofs of nobility. This new man, "*homme nouveau*" as he was called by members of the old families, was proud of his lowly origin. Louis XIV. respected it.

Anne of Austria died about this period. It was said of her that she was well skilled to appreciate the merit of all who approached her. Proud and polished at the same time, her court was one of great refinement, though enough of gallantry was permitted to render society agreeable. Dissipation and habitual coarseness were discouraged. After her death, merit, character,

and politeness, were valued less than obsequious attendance, and strict observance of etiquette.



The reminiscences of the 'Fronde had become nearly two centuries old ; but in the most important ballets of the court, the *petits maîtres* were seen to figure, still young, and more gallant than ever. Such were the people who had drawn the sword in the great hall against the friends of the coadjutor ; who had charged with the Prince of Condé, or with Turenne, at the battle of the faubourg St. Antoine. Facts were historical fripperies ; the men were of yesterday, but they seemed to seek themselves in the past as the personages of another age. Monsieur the prince chatted with Monsieur de Turenne on the battle of Gien, as if they conversed respecting the battle of Pavia ; the parliament examined its registers, to ascertain if it were true that, in the year 1652, the magistrates had set a price on the head of a cardinal premier. There was a complete metamorphosis in the character, in the manners, and even in the dress. "They wore at that time loose coats, above a doublet ornamented with ribbons, and over this loose coat passed a belt, from which depended a sword. They had a species of lace band, and a hat ornamented with two rows of feathers." All Europe, Spain and Poland excepted, were eager to adopt the fashions of France. Louis XIV. attached so much value to exterior luxury, and, above all, to luxury in dress, that he created an order of chivalry, of a novel character, of which the insignia was a loose blue coat, embroidered with gold and silver. It soon came to pass that this newly created order was more sought after than even that of the Holy Ghost. Thus it was that Louis fashioned his age.

After five years of what we have called prolegomena, military, political, administrative, and literary, of his royal career, he commenced the series of grand actions which fill up the succeeding fifty years of his reign.

Before entering on the execution of his vast projects, Louis associated himself with two men, whose names are inseparably bound up with his, and in whom future ages will see the personification of his warlike character and administrative genius—Louvois and Colbert.

Scarcely had Louvois entered the council, when an occasion presented itself to justify the choice which his sovereign had made. The King of Spain, Philip IV, father-in-law to the King of France, died September 17th, 1665. Married twice, he had had from his first union, Maria Theresa, the then Queen of France; from the second a son, still an infant, now Charles II. His widow, Mary Ann of Austria, governed the kingdom as regent, under the counsels of Father Nittard, her confessor, who aimed at becoming the Mazarin of Spain. Louis XIV. had believed, as did Philip IV. himself, that his wife's renunciation of the throne of Spain was but a diplomatic convention, the nullity of which it would be easy to demonstrate. On his part, it may be supposed, there existed a desire of uniting the title of Catholic king with that of the most Christian king. Such, however, was not his intention. He contented himself with claiming, in the name of Maria Theresa, the duchy of Brabant, the lordship of Malines, the Upper Gueldres, Namur, Lunebourg, Hainault, Artois, Cambresis, the duchy of Luxembourg, Franche-Comté, and part of Flanders. To support these pretensions, he referred to the custom of Upper Brabant in the Low Countries, and to the Spanish laws, according to which, if a widow or a widower, having children, married a second time, the property, in his moveable goods, was made to devolve to the children of the first wife: this was called "the law of devolution." Philip IV., being dead, all his immoveable goods, to which the custom of Brabant extended, necessarily devolved on the infanta, Maria Theresa.

After a useless war of pens, and acts of notaries, Louis XIV. referred the subject to the cannon, the *ultima ratio regum*, (the last argument of kings). Three armies entered Flanders. He himself commanded the first with De Turenne; the second was confided to Marshal d'Aumont, and the third to Monsieur de Créqui. Louvois, the new minister of war, had made immense preparations for the campaign; magazines of every description were established on the frontier. Whatever siege the king wished to undertake, or on whatever side he wished to turn his arms, supplies of all sorts were ready, lodgings for the troops were marked, and their marches exactly regulated.

Louis had only to present himself before the Spanish fortresses in Flanders to triumph. He entered Charleroi as he would have entered Paris; Ath and Tournay were taken in the course of two days; Furnes, Armentières, and Cambray, made little more resistance. He descended into the trenches

before Douai, and on the following morning the place surrendered. Lille, the most flourishing city in that country, and the only one that was well fortified, which had a garrison of nine thousand men, capitulated after a nine days' siege. The Spaniards had but eight thousand men to oppose to the victorious army of Louis; and the rear guard of that feeble host was cut to pieces by the marquis, afterwards Marshal de Créquy. The remainder fled for concealment to Brussels or to Mons, leaving the King of France to conquer without striking a blow. This campaign, carried on in the midst of the greatest abundance, attended by successes so easily gained, appeared but the pleasurable excursion of a court. Good cheer, luxury, and pleasure, were introduced into the army, but, nevertheless, discipline was enforced. The officers were required to attend to their duty most exactly; but at the same time they were indulged in more refined conveniences. The Marshal de Turenne had for a long time used only iron dishes in his campaigns. The Marquis d'Humieres was the first, at the siege of Arras, in 1667, to introduce a service of plate at his dinners, and to regale his officers, while on service, with ragouts and made dishes.

"It was in this campaign, that of 1667," says the writer of the *Siècle de Louis XIV.*, "that a young king, fond of magnificence himself, displayed that of his court in connection with the business and fatigues of war. Every one valued himself on living sumptuously, on the fine taste he displayed, on the fine clothes he wore, and on his splendid equipages. Luxury, however, the sign and the soul of a great state, and often the cause of the decadence of a small one, still fell far short of what has been witnessed since. The king, his generals, and ministers, went to the rendezvous of the army on horseback, while in modern times there is no cavalry captain, or secretary of a general officer, who does not make the journey in a post chaise, with glasses and springs, more commodiously and more quietly than at that period they could pass from one quarter of Paris to another."

After this military promenade, the king returned to St. Germain, to celebrate his triumph by fêtes, leaving garrisons in the strong cities, and having ordered them to be fortified by a man of genius, the Marquis de Vauban. Louis offered the homage of his glory to Mademoiselle de la Valliere, who had just presented him with a daughter, Mary Ann, afterwards Princess of Conti. The estate of Vaujours in *duché pairie* was formed to be bestowed on La Vallière.

All at once, in the depth of winter, and in the midst of the gaieties of the court at St. Germain, scarcely three months after the return from Flanders, new preparations for war were made throughout the kingdom. Spain, alarmed at the spectacle, knew not what point of its vast frontier it was most important to defend. "The secret of a conspiracy," remarks Voltaire, "has never been better kept, than were the intentions of Louis XIV. in preparing for this new enterprise. At length, on the 2nd of February, 1668, the king escaped from the court with the young Duke d'Enghien, and

proceeded with all possible dispatch to Dijon. Twenty thousand men assembled on the frontier of Franche-Comté, at some leagues from Besançon, under the orders of the great Condé and Montmorency Boutteville, Duke of Luxembourg, his pupil, rested there, only waiting the arrival of the king. France owed to a jealousy, which had arisen on the part of Condé and Louvois against Turenne, the conquest of a province in less than a month. The Prince of Condé was jealous of the glory of Turenne, Louvois of the favour he enjoyed with the king; Condé was jealous as a hero, Louvois as a minister. In two days Besançon surrendered to the prince. Four days sufficed for the capture of Dole. Other places hastened to follow the example thus set, and, at the end of three weeks, all Franche-Comté had submitted. With such ease had these triumphs been gained, that the council of Spain wrote to the governor, the King of France might as well have sent his lackies to take possession of the town, instead of troubling himself to go there in person.

All Europe, till then, had beheld with secret jealousy the progress of the French; but alarm now began to be felt at that gigantic ambition, which accomplished its objects with such promptitude and skill. Switzerland, from its proximity to Franche-Comté, seemed to feel itself ill at ease with its French neighbours. Fear seized on the United Provinces, which some insignificant remnant of the Spanish power, now, alone separated from the conquerors of Flanders.

Holland was governed by a man of good understanding and upright heart, John de Witt, who, at the age of twenty-eight, had been elected grand pensioner. This eminent individual, who established himself as the rival of Louis XIV., or at least undertook to neutralize the effects of his victories; this man held at the Hague a court less brilliant than that of St. Germain. While the more delicate counsellor at the Châtelet had a carriage and servants, John de Witt had for his chamberlains but one lacquey and one servant, and he was constantly seen on foot in the streets of the capital. The ambition of the grand pensioner never stipulated to secure anything for himself, but all for his country. If he broke with Louis XIV., it was because he thought it his duty to do so, from the interests of his country having been compromised by the course France had pursued; and when, at a later period, William of Orange wished to convert the stadholderate into a protectorate, after the manner of Cromwell, John de Witt perished by the hands of the people, whose rights and liberties he lived but to defend. It is a luxury to encounter in the pages of history men of this character, at an epoch when absolutism seemed everywhere triumphant, and the feeble resistance made in the name of liberty, offered but parodies on the farce of the Fronde.

John de Witt made himself the chief of the European opposition against the threatening ambition of Louis. England was represented at the Hague by a man worthy of the grand pensioner, Sir William Temple. These two

citizens, as Voltaire calls them, united in their opinions with the Count de Dhona, ambassador from Sweden, on the 23rd January, 1668, signed at the Hague, the treaty of the triple alliance, between the United Provinces, Sweden, and England.

Louis XIV., ill-advised by Louvois, was incensed that a small state like Holland should have conceived the idea of setting limits to his conquests ; and, to avenge his wounded pride, he felt disposed to connect himself more closely with Spain. Aix la Chapelle was the place in which it was agreed the conferences should be held ; and the new Pope, Clement IX. acted as mediator. This, however, did not take place without the intervention of Holland ; and her ambassador at Paris, Van Benning, alderman of Amsterdam, proposed conditions to M. de Lionne. "Do you not, then, trust the word of a king ?" asked the minister, astonished at his being so urgent. "I am ignorant," replied Van Benning, "what the king *will* do ; but I have to consider what he *might* do." Peace was ultimately signed at Aix la Chapelle by M. de Croissy, brother of Colbert ; and by the Marquis de Castel Rodrigo, governor of the Low Countries for the King of Spain. France, in restoring Franche Comté, preserved Charleroi, Binch, Ath, Douai, the fortress of Scarpe, Tournais, Oudenarde, Lille, Armentières, Courtrai, Bergues, and Furnes.

The most serious event which next occupied the court, was the conversion of Marshal Turenne. Bossuet it was who gained this dazzling victory.



Turenne, born a Protestant, put his abjuration into the hands of Bossuet, on the 23rd October, 1668. This was enough to occupy the court of France,

till the moment when the Duke of Guise received permission to have a pew at the mass celebrated before the king, as his father had done. From that time the leading nobility only intrigued to obtain these minor honors. Such of their number as felt themselves incapable of bending to such courtly manners, exiled by their master, under the pretext of extending in distant lands the glory of France, went to seek a soldier's death in honourable banishment.

Of this number was the Duke de Beaufort. He was the grandson of Henry IV. and the idol of the people, who thought they could retrace in him the features of the good king. The capture and the destruction of Gigeré, were sufficient titles to gain for Beaufort the esteem and the gratitude of Europe; but were insufficient to secure him a retreat in France. Louis permitted him to seek popularity—glory even, far from the kingdom, at Candia, besieged by the Grand Vizier Kiuperli. It is said that he gave him the command of seven thousand men; two brave Frenchmen had already preceded him, Navaille, and the young Feuillade, who maintained at his expence three hundred cadets of good families. These French youths well performed their duty there, as they had done at Nordlingen and at Fribourg. But they were crushed by overwhelming numbers; and on the 25th June, 1669, Beaufort was killed in a sortie. When the news of his death reached Paris, all had ceased to speak of him. The court, and France, had each their great event to look for. They were expecting a revolution in royal favour, and a European war. Beyond the Rhine, many princes had found "the odour of the lilies was becoming too powerful in Germany." They also applied themselves to secure the favor of the Prince of Condé, as a candidate for the throne of Poland, left vacant by the abdication of Cassimir. "It is necessary," Colbert had said to Louis XIV., "to save five sous in regard to things not necessary; and to throw millions away when your glory is called in question. A useless repast, that costs but three thousand livres, causes me to experience incredible pain; but when millions of gold are wanted, in a case like that of Poland, I will sell all my goods; I will pawn my wife and children; and I will go on foot all my life to furnish it." This noble language was not lost on France. Poland was the least object of the effort of Louis XIV. That proud monarch cherished in his heart a burning desire to avenge himself on Holland. In this instance he wished to make war in his own name; he had to punish a personal injury. The triple alliance, and the audacious resistance of Van Benning, had irritated his pride. On the other hand, the Dutch were not less arrogant. They boasted of being the arbiters of kings: "Behold, at our aspect," said they, "the sun was arrested in his course." This was too much to be endured. The wrath of Louis could not be restrained, and war was resolved upon; notwithstanding Colbert, and notwithstanding Lionne—the pupil and the friend of Mazarin, who died, and was succeeded by a skilful negociator, but a man without energy, M. de Pomponne. This was the triumph of Louvois. War

was resolved upon in despite of the interests of France; and Louis hastened to snatch from Holland her new allies. England was at once the power that it was most easy and most important to gain over. The penury of Charles II. was well known in France; as well as the miserable economy of his parliament. The brother of Colbert, M. de Croissy, was secretly sent to some of his favourites—Clifford, Ashlin, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale—to make them offers of money for themselves, and greater advantages for their prince; and succeeded in obtaining from them a half consent. All this was managed with the greatest secrecy. To settle the matter, Louis chose a negociator more skilful still, and less open to suspicion, a woman—a princess of the age of twenty-six, Henrietta of England, the sister of Charles II., and wife to the Duke of Orleans. To conceal the object of the plenipotentiary, Louis pretended to make a journey to his new conquests in Flanders. Never was royal march more dazzling, more magnificent. Thirty thousand men preceded or followed the court. It was a continued fête from St. Germain to Lille.

The enterprise of the princess was crowned with success. She had an interview with her brother at Dover, and prevailed upon him to sign a treaty, by which he engaged to join the king of France; to make war on the republic of the United States; and to promise a force of six thousand men, and fifty-six ships. On his side, the king of France engaged to furnish an annual subsidy of three millions, and to cede to England certain islands belonging to Holland and Zealand. The king of Sweden, Charles XI., was gained over with equal facility; after which the allies succeeded in persuading the emperor to join them. They also engaged, as auxiliaries, the Bishop of Munster, Van Galin, against whom Louis had sustained the Dutch; as also the Bishop of Osnaburgh, and the Duke of Brunswick Lunebourg. On hearing of the formation of this league, Holland was filled with consternation. She offered to disavow Van Benning, and to make every reparation that the king of France could require. Louis replied to this offer that “he would make such use of his troops as comported with his dignity; and for so using them he was accountable to no one.” The United States found their situation one of great peril. The two brothers De Witt, John and Corneille, had wholly neglected the army. Holland, at that moment, could scarcely number twenty-five thousand troops; and these were without discipline, without officers, partizans of the stadtholder, and the House of Orange; their navy, augmented as it had been by De Witt, and commanded by De Ruyter, could sustain the contest by sea with advantage. The war was a misfortune for De Witt. William of Orange, then twenty-six years of age, was named generalissimo by the party of the stadtholder.

Louis caused the French army to be divided into three corps. The household of the king, and the *élite*, consisting of sixty thousand men, formed the main body, under the orders of Louis and Turenne; the Prince of Condé commanded the advanced guard of thirty thousand men; the third

division, under Chantilly, was stationed in the province of Liege, subject to the Elector of Cologne, to secure the advance of the troops; and there remained, under the command of Luxembourg, several battalions, which were to join the auxiliaries from Cologne and Munster. Holland seemed vulnerable only on two points; it was necessary either to follow the course of the Meuse, or to turn the Yssel, which was indifferently protected by weak fortresses. Maestricht was defended by a numerous garrison, and on that side nothing was to be apprehended. The states-general felt that they had only to occupy themselves with the defence of the Yssel, behind which the Prince of Orange was placed, with twenty-five thousand men. At the same time, De Ruyter sailed, with a fleet of sixty men-of-war and forty frigates. The coalesced fleets of France and England, under the Duke of York and the Count d'Estrées, encountered him at Solebay. A battle ensued, which, though terrible, was not decisive. The allies could not effect their descent on Zealand. This partial success encouraged the states-general, who, besides, saw with confidence the French present themselves, under the walls of Maestricht. Such a state of happy security was, however, of short duration. Condé, turning off suddenly to the right, entered the Duchy of Juliers, passed the Rhine, and followed the right bank of that river, with the advanced guard, while the army of the king, forcing the Duchy of Cleves, coasted the river on the left, and took on its way Rhinberg, Orsay, Buruk, and Wesel. All the army, collected on the right bank, soon halted, where the Wahal takes its course from the Rhine. He prepared to pass the river for the last time. The Prince of Orange, who was but three leagues distant, held in check by Luxembourg, on the borders of the Yssel, sent a detachment of five or six thousand men to defend the passage. Already had Martinet, the engineer, thrown over the river a bridge of boats, when the Prince of Condé was informed that there was a ford, near an old turret, which was used as an office for the custom-house, which turret was only defended by seventeen soldiers. Upon this, the king caused a ford to be sounded by the Count de Guiche, who found it practicable. Immediately, the king's household troops and the cuirassiers, commanded by the Counts de Guiche and de Reuel, threw themselves into the water, protected by the artillery, which thundered on four or five cavaliers, and two weak regiments of infantry, unprovided with cannon. It required all the imprudence of the Duke de Longueville to get himself killed by soldiers, who begged their lives on their knees. This he effected, by advancing alone, and firing his pistol in bravado at a body of some hundreds of men, who returned his fire, and he fell dead on the spot. The Prince of Condé himself had nearly fallen a victim to the fatal rashness he exhibited.

A Dutch captain, named Ossebroek, ran to him at the moment when he landed, and presented a pistol at his head. The prince turned the pistol aside, and the shot broke his wrist. This was almost the only severe wound that Condé received in all his campaigns. Such was the famous passage of

the Rhine, June 18th, 1672, celebrated by Boileau. Whatever the poet might sing, the king was not there. He crossed the river by a bridge of



boats, with the infantry. At Paris, the affair was extolled as a miracle, as the general impression was, that all the army had swam over in the presence of a superior hostile force entrenched, and exposed to, the artillery of an impregnable fortress. The passage, however easily effected, was followed by magnificent results. Turenne captured, one after the other, the forts of Skeink, Arnheim, and Nimeguen, and the king took all the cities of the Yssel; the provinces of Omer, Yssel, and of Groningen, were carried by the auxiliaries from Cologne and Munster. An officer, named Mazel, wrote to Turenne, "If you will lend me fifty horse, I can take, with such a force, two or three fortresses." They were then only four leagues from Amsterdam. Four cavaliers, who were on a marauding excursion, advanced to Muiden, where there were sluices, which could inundate the surrounding country. Alarmed at their approach, the terrified magistrates were about to present the keys of the city to these four soldiers; but when on the point of doing so, not seeing any army near them, they took back the keys, and shut the gates of the place.

This was the salvation of Holland. Preparations had been made in Amsterdam to fit out vessels, to convey the republic to Batavia. Fifty thousand families were prepared to depart; the grand pensioner, De Witt, threatened by the house of Orange, induced the states general to sue for peace to Louis. Four deputies, the celebrated Grotius being one of them, waited on the king in his camp, and offered to cede to him Maestricht, and

all the places belonging to Holland out of the seven provinces, with an indemnity of ten million, to defray the expenses of the war. Turenne, and the minister, De Pomponne, were disposed to accept these terms, and advocated the expediency of going back to the system of Mazarin against Spain; but the advice of Louvois prevailed against them. Louis claimed from Holland that Northern Brabant should be given up to him, and all the country on this side of the Meuse and the Wahal, with an indemnity of twenty millions. He also demanded the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in the united provinces; and further, that they should bind themselves to present him once in every year with a gold medal, on which an inscription should appear, declaring that Holland was indebted for her liberties to Louis XIV. To these intolerable requisitions others were made on behalf of Charles II., the elector of Cologne, the Bishops of Munster and Osnaburgh, &c. Such extravagant exactions caused the hearts of the Dutch to swell with the rage of despair. The frantic populace, in their fury, rose and massacred the two De Witts at the Hague; and eager to assail all who were eminent, they even threatened the life of De Ruyter; and forced the states general to re-establish the stadtholderate in favour of William of Orange. Then, having at command no other means of defending themselves, they proceeded to Muiden, where they opened the sluices, levelled the dykes, and deluged all Zealand. Amsterdam, from its elevated position, remained alone above the waters surrounded by the ships of De Ruyter. The king, finding the progress of his conquests thus arrested, gave the command of the army to Turenne, and returned to St. Germain.

Too late, all Europe perceived the fault which had been committed in leaving Holland to the mercy of Louis XIV. Had the king acted on the advice of Turenne, rather than on that of Louvois, under which he had dispersed his troops over the conquests he had made, there would have been an end of the republic; but the moment of danger being passed, the neighbouring kingdoms felt little disposed to assist Louis in re-commencing the war, with the same prospects of success. The diet of Ratisbon ordered a general army for the defence of the empire. Leopold, by virtue of a treaty signed at the Hague, July 25th, 1672, had stationed on the Rhine a corps of observation, of eighteen thousand men, under the command of Montécuculli, with an order to remain inactive. In a short time, however, the Prince of Orange succeeded in prevailing on the Austrian general to take the offensive, and to join the forces under the command of the elector of Brandenburg, who was at the head of twenty-five thousand men. At this juncture, on the 30th August, 1672, the court of Spain concluded a treaty of alliance with Holland, and orders were given to the governor of the Low Countries to act offensively against the French. "Who would have thought," exclaims the President Hénault, "in 1609, that it would be for Spain to defend Holland against France and England!" To this formidable coalition, which arrayed eighty thousand warriors against France, Louis XIV., swayed by the interested



Louis XIV. before Amsterdam.

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councils of Louvois, could only oppose forty thousand men. Luxembourg had with him, at Utrecht, sixteen thousand only, with which he was to hold in check the Prince of Orange, while the auxiliaries occupied Frise. Turenne was to cover the Rhine with fifteen thousand soldiers, and Condé Alsace, with twelve thousand. The Elector of Brandenburg, and Montécuculli, opened the campaign on the borders of the Rhine. During three months, Turenne followed them from Coblenz to Mayence, and from Mayence to Strasbourg, constantly manœuvring, so as to cut off their passage. At length, assuming the offensive, he drove them from the other side of the Weser to the Elbe, forced the elector to re-enter his capital, beat the imperialists in Franconia, and compelled them to take refuge in Bohemia. The Prince of Orange, who had endeavoured to approach the Rhine, to effect a junction with his allies, at the news of this defeat, threw himself on Charleroi, which opposed to him a vigorous resistance. Winter approached, and ice covered the inundations of Holland. One night, while the Prince of Orange was occupied with the siege of Charleroi, Luxembourg, taking with him twelve thousand infantry, whom he had provided with shoes, studded with rough nails, to prevent their slipping, marched with them across the ice, to attempt a *coup de main* on Leyden and the Hague. A thaw came, saved those places, and put Luxembourg in a situation of great danger. The causeway from the Hague to Utrecht was defended by a fort, which was impregnable, without artillery. A single day's delay, and Luxembourg, hemmed in between the troops of the fort and those of the Hague, would have been lost. The cowardice of the commandant saved the French army, which succeeded in regaining its position at Utrecht, at the moment when William of Orange was compelled to raise the siege of Charleroi.

In the ensuing spring, Louis opened the campaign himself, with thirty thousand men, and fell suddenly on Maestricht, which was defended by a garrison eight thousand strong. Vauban, who directed the siege, employed for the first time those parallels, invented by the Italian engineers engaged in the service of the Turks at Candia. The fortress held out but thirteen days. At sea, the combined fleets of England and France, under the orders of the Prince Palatine, Robert, and the Count d'Estrées, fought three consecutive battles with De Ruyter, without any decisive issue being obtained. It was, however, tantamount to success, for an infant navy, like that of Louis XIV., to escape defeat; but in the midst of the pleasure inspired by this agreeable news, intelligence was received that Haerden had surrendered to the Prince of Orange. The city had held out only four days; but the last assault had lasted five hours. Dupas, a brave and faithful officer, nevertheless, encountered the wrath of Louis, or rather, that of Louvois. He was condemned to be drawn publicly through Utrecht, a spade in his hand, and to have his sword broken. In the following year, Dupas found an honourable death at the siege of Graves, where he served as a volunteer.

On the side of the Rhine, Turenne and Condé could not prevent the junc-

tion of the Prince of Orange and Montécuculli who immediately fell on Bonn, invaded the duchy of Juliers, and made themselves masters of both banks of the Rhine. All Europe was now coalesced against France. To the first league, formed between the emperor, Spain, the Elector of Brandenburg and Holland; Denmark, the Duke of Lorraine, the Elector of Saxony, and the Electors of the Palatine of Treves and Mayence, had successively acceded. The allies of France were forced to treat with her enemies; the Bishop of Munster and the Archbishop of Cologne set the example; and Charles II., at length compelled by the parliament of England, who refused to grant new subsidies to continue the war, came to an arrangement with the united provinces, to his great regret, as he assured Louis, who, notwithstanding his defection, continued secretly the pension, which it had been stipulated in the treaty concluded by the Duchess of Orleans he should annually receive. Peace between England and the United Provinces was signed at Westminster, February 19th, 1674.

From being offensive, the war had become defensive on the part of France: instead of seeking to extend her territory, she had to retrace her steps, and to consider how she could present the least possible front to an enemy. The fortresses of Holland were rapidly abandoned, with the exception of Graves and Maestricht. This was not done, however, without making them pay for their ransom. The intendant, Robert, raised, in the single province of Utrecht, in one year, the sum of 1,668,000 florins. So eager were the French to evacuate a country conquered with such rapidity, that eighteen thousand Dutch prisoners were given up for a crown per soldier. The triumphal arch at the gate St. Denis, and the other monuments of conquest, were scarcely finished, when the provinces which had been captured, were restored to their former owners. The seizing of Prince William of Furstemberg, brother to the Bishop of Strasbourg, at Cologne, in a city where a general congress was held, to negotiate a general peace, was the emperor's declaration of war, and consequently that of all his allies. Louis XIV. was thus put under the ban of Europe. Two great armies menaced Hainault and Alsace. The first, composed of Dutch and Spanish soldiers, consisted of eighty thousand men, and was under the orders of the Prince of Orange; the second, formed of the troops of the Emperor of Germany, was to have a contingent force of sixty thousand men; but the effective strength of it did not exceed twelve thousand Germans, raised in the Black Forest, under the command of Count de Caprara; a third corps, partly Spaniards, was to fall upon Rousillon. To the Prince of Orange Louis XIV. opposed the great Condé, with forty thousand men; to De Caprara, Turenne, with twenty-three thousand men; to the Spaniards, Schomberg, with ten thousand men. He himself, at the moment when all Europe seemed ready to fall upon France, wished to act the part of an aggressor; and, after having paid, underhanded, the Swiss, to refuse a passage through their territory to the troops of the empire and

Spain, he attacked Franche-Comté, with his brother, the son of the great Condé, and Vauban. In nine days, Besançon was taken. In six weeks, the Comté was subjugated. On this occasion, Louis decided not to give it back again. In Flanders, the Prince of Condé had abandoned the line of the Meuse, and turned on that of the Sambre, near Charleroi. William, who followed him with a force that doubled his in numbers, wished to besiege that city; but finding the prince well entrenched, he resolved to retreat on Mons, by a road intersected with many defiles. Resolved to lose no time, Condé fell on his rear-guard, formed of Spaniards, in a wood, near Seneff, August 11th, 1674. Having, at break of day, found the flank of the enemy's army very near him, while he caused Seneff to be attacked by the Marquis de Montel, he sent Fourritte to charge six squadrons of the enemy, which it was necessary to conquer; and he himself, at the head of the cavalry of the king's body guards, fell on that of the Prince de Vaudemont. Victory on every side declared for the French: but Condé always thought he had done nothing, while there still remained enemies to vanquish. He perceived half of the hostile army, which waited to give him battle on an eminence, defended by orchards and hedges, garnished with infantry; these obstacles could not abate the impetuosity of the general. His infantry attacked and carried the hedges. The prince, at the head of the cavalry and the body guards, made a second charge on the enemy's cavalry, routed it, and pursued it to the priory of St. Nicholas, where new obstacles awaited the conquerors. Full of ardour and confidence, they attacked the gardens of the priory, which were filled with infantry. The enemy made a determined resistance; but were soon forced to yield to the vigour of the attack, and to the talents of him by whom it was directed. They fled to the village of Fay. There the Prince of Orange assembled his whole force; and, covered by gardens, hedges, rivulets, and marshes, determined to wait, to see whether Condé and the French would be daring enough to attack him behind entrenchments so formidable. Condé prepared to attack forthwith that tremendous position. The battle was renewed, and continued on both sides with desperate valour. The victory was for a time doubtful. At the head of his body guards, leading the brigade of Caylus, the prince broke through the enemy's ranks, but met with a reception that for a moment threw disorder into his own. Luxembourg came to his aid, and restored the fortune of the day. Had the Swiss acted against the allies they must have been lost, but they refused to march. Condé caused other troops to advance in place of them. While giving these orders, his horse was killed under him, and the fall of the animal threw him into a moat. Happily, the Duke d'Enghien witnessed the accident, and hastened to assist his father, in doing which he himself was wounded. Condé continued the combat; even night did not terminate the struggle; and the two armies fought by moonlight, till at length exhaustion from fatigue compelled a pause. Throughout this awful day, the Prince of Condé had acted as if his object

were to gain a glorious death. Three horses were killed under him. It was only at midnight that he suffered his men to rest, and then he ordered cannon to be brought up, for the purpose of attacking the enemy at day-break. La Faire says, "those who heard the prince issue these directions shuddered at the thought of what he contemplated; and the feeling was that no man but Condé would have been disposed so soon to seek for more fighting." While he was making his new dispositions, a discharge of musketry was heard. This proved to be only a stratagem of the enemy, who retired during the night; and, when morning came, the prince withdrew to the camp of Picton, having in his possession a hundred and five banners and other trophies. Each army left seven or eight thousand men on the field of battle. *Te Deum* was sung on both sides. The Prince of Orange, who assumed the victory to himself, wished to carry Oudinarde. Condé anticipated his intention, and cut him off; but he could not prevent his taking Graves, which, however, M. de Chamilly, its governor, defended vigorously for ninety-three days.

In the south, the campaign was less difficult. The Spaniards, who had at first possessed themselves of Bellegarde, were beaten in the Lampourdan by Count Schomberg and Marshal Navailles. The French navy had already gained some advantages. Messina, weary of the Spanish yoke, had overpowered the garrison, and invited the French to assist them. A fleet sent from Cadiz blockaded the port. The Chevalier de Vallette broke the line of blockade with a few French frigates, carrying provisions, arms, and soldiers, to the besieged. Shortly afterwards, a French fleet appeared, composed of seven vessels, of sixty and eighty guns, together with many fire ships. This fleet was commanded by Duquesne, a mariner whom Colbert had distinguished. The Spanish fleet was beaten and driven from those latitudes, and Messina, adopted by France of which the Duke de Vivonne was appointed governor, under the title of viceroy of Sicily. This occurred at the moment when two Dutch fleets, one commanded by De Ruyter, the other by Van Tromp, vainly attempted a descent on the Antilles and the coasts of France. A conspiracy was discovered, formed by the Chevalier Rohan, to deliver up Quillebœuf to the Dutch, and to cause a rising in Normandy in their favour. The chevalier was condemned to be beheaded, together with his accomplice and mistress, Madame de Villiers. Some days before the execution, the tragedy of Cinna was represented before the king, to induce him to grant a pardon; but Louis remained inflexible, and the sentence was carried into effect.

It was neither in Flanders nor in Franche-Comté, nor in Spain, still less was it in Sicily, that the great interests of France and Europe were to be adjusted: it was in Germany. There, Louis had confided his cause to his most prudent, to his most skilful general, Turenne. The Duke of Lorraine and the Count de Caprara, who was opposed to him, manœuvred towards the Neckar, to effect their junction with Bournonville, who was advancing to

join them with ten thousand men from the Palatinate and Franconia. Turenne, who had just sent to Condé half of his army, determined to use every means to oppose their design. He passed the Rhine at Philipsbourg, attacked Caprara at Sintzheim, on the Eslatz, killed two thousand men, repassed the Rhine, strengthened his army, and returned to the Palatinate, where he again established himself on the banks of the Neckar, in front of Bournonville, the Duke of Lorraine, and Caprara, whose forces were united. However great the superiority of their numbers, the allies did not dare to wait in their lines for the French, and retreated in disorder behind the Mein. The Palatinate, left at the mercy of the conquerors, was visited with fire and sword; twenty-five villages were sacked and reduced to ashes. It is not to Turenne that these horrors should be ascribed: the course which he pursued was in consequence of express orders received from Louvois. Auxiliary troops had raised the number of Bournonville's army to thirty-five thousand men. Strong in his superior numbers, the enemy's general now undertook to act on the offensive, and menaced Lorraine and Alsace. At the same time, it was reported that the elector of Brandenburg had arrived with twenty-five thousand men. Louis sent orders to Turenne to abandon Alsace, in order to cover Lorraine. "I am persuaded," replied the Marshal, "that it would be better for the service of your majesty that I should lose a battle than abandon Alsace, and repass the mountains. If I should do it, Philipsbourg and Brisach will soon be obliged to surrender; the imperialists will overrun all the country from Mayence to Bâle, and will carry the war first into Franche-Comté, thence into Lorraine, and they will return to ravage Champagne. If I withdraw of my own accord, I shall do that which they would perhaps find it very difficult to compel me to do. When one has a reasonable number of troops under one's command, we ought not to retire from a country till the enemy outnumbers us. I know the strength of the imperial armies; the generals who command them, and the country where I am; I will take everything on myself." By this confidence, Turenne forced the king and his ministers to come into his views, and grant him a *carte blanche*.

The imperialists threatened to violate the neutrality of Strasbourg, which, underhanded, by providing finances, had opened the passage of the Rhine. The enemy found itself in Alsace, and was entrenched at Ensheim, waiting the approach of twenty-five thousand men, under the elector of Brandenburg. Turenne, whom they believed at the foot of the Vosges, engaged in recruiting his armies, marched, almost without halting, during forty hours, surprised the enemy's quarters, killed seven thousand men, and drove the remainder of them under the cannon of Strasbourg. There he encountered the elector, and withdrew to Saverne, before an army of sixty thousand men. It required all the firmness of Louis XIV. to protect Turenne against the impertinence of Louvois. The *arriere ban* was convoked; and four thousand cavaliers of good family were sent to the army of Alsace. Nothing could

less resemble a warlike troop. All were mounted and armed unequally, without experience, and without discipline; not being able or willing to undertake any regular service, they caused but embarrassment to others, and were disgusted themselves with the service for ever. Turenne sent them back again. He only wanted, to enable him to conquer, twenty thousand old soldiers, exercised according to his tactics, and accustomed to his discipline. Entrenched in the Vosges, at Dettweiler, he repulsed for a month the efforts of the imperialists, and allowed them to take up their winter quarters on an immense line, between Strasbourg and Altkirch. The marshal made it appear that he wished to do the same; he caused his troops to file off towards Lorraine, announcing it to be his intention not to resume hostilities till the ensuing spring; but his remark to the Marquis de la Faire was, "no military man must rest in France, while a German remains on this side the Rhine, in Alsace." On the 5th of December, when the cold was such that the glass was ten degrees below the freezing point, he turned abruptly to the south, collected on his way a division of cavalry sent by Condé into Flanders, marched during twenty days in the snow, without listening to the murmurs of his officers, reached the extreme left of the enemy's quarters at Bellefort, carried those of the Duke of Lorraine, cut off, at Mulhausen, six thousand cavaliers, pushed towards the north the division of Bournonville, surprised near Colmar the elector of Brandenburg, at the moment when he was sitting down to table, again came up with him at Turkheim, where he killed three thousand men, and forced him to take shelter behind the Rhine. It was only a month since he had quitted Severne, and, on the 11th of January, there was no longer a German in Alsace; and of sixty thousand men the allies had recently numbered, scarcely thirty thousand remained. The troops had worthily gained their winter quarters; and Turenne returned to Paris to enjoy his triumph. The glory of Turenne received a new addition, when it was known that all he had done during that campaign had been done notwithstanding the instructions of the court, and in opposition to the reiterated orders of Louvois, given in the king's name. To resist Louvois, omnipotent as he was, and to take upon himself to answer for the event, notwithstanding the influence of the court, the commands of Louis XIV., and the hatred of the minister, was no trifling mark of courage on the part of Turenne; nor was this the least exploit of the campaign.

The only desire of the marshal was to retire. That wish he was not permitted to indulge. He was detained, against his own inclination, as Jeanne d'Arc, victorious like himself, had formerly been. Turenne quitted the court May 11th, 1675, and collected his troops at Strasbourg, in order to secure the neutrality of that city. The elector of Brandenburg, who was somewhat disturbed in his dominions by Sweden, just become the ally of France, by a treaty signed at Versailles, April 25th, 1675, directed his attention towards this new enemy. The rest of the allied troops were divided into two bodies; one of twenty thousand men, under the orders of



Death of Turenne.

the Duke of Lorraine; the other, consisting of twenty-five thousand, was confided to the conqueror of the Turks, Montécuculli. Marshal de Créquy was to watch the movements of the Duke of Lorraine. Turenne passed the Rhine at Altenheim, June 7th, with a view of engaging the Austrian general. During the next six weeks, there was witnessed on the part of the rival commanders a series of marches, countermarches, and encampments. Turenne at length gained his point, and fixed the enemy at Saltzback. The imperialists were placed in such a position that they were compelled to give battle, or to throw themselves into the Black Forest. In either case, the advantages of victory were secured to Turenne. He, who was ordinarily so calm and so reserved, could not on this occasion conceal his joy. "I have got them now," said he; "they can escape me no more." On the 27th of July, in the morning, after having heard mass and taken the sacrament, he proceeded to commence the battle, and was examining a battery which had just been established by the lieutenant general of the artillery, St. Hilaire, when a spent bullet struck him while he was giving his orders, and at the same instant took off the arm of the lieutenant general. The son of the latter, seeing his father wounded, burst into tears. "It is not on my account," said St. Hilaire, "it is for this great man that you should weep." The fatal bullet did not enter the body of Turenne. For a moment he sustained himself in his saddle, then fell from his horse, and expired.

His death was a public calamity. Letters, written at the time, paint in vivid colours the grief and alarm caused by the event. Louis XIV. could not better honour a great man and a faithful subject than in giving him a tomb at St. Denis, by the side of the Kings of France. It was not forgotten that, in 1652, he had defended the abbey against the Frondeurs of the Prince of Condé. "Thus died, at the pinnacle of his glory," says La Fare, "not only the greatest general of his age, and of many others, but also the best man, the best citizen, and he who made the nearest approach to perfection." "He was one," writes Montécuculli, "who reflected honour on the name of man." The successes of Turenne resembled his character; they were solid, and free from ostentation. They were not drawn battles, which often make a great noise without producing beneficial results; his were useful combats, which saved the country, and combats in which the general left nothing to chance. The success of the day perished with Turenne. It was in vain desired to conceal his death from the soldiers. Soon it became known to all, and the troops lost confidence. His lieutenants, Counts de Largo and de Vaubrun, disputed with each other for the command over his corpse. The former, who obtained it, ordered a retreat, "which, so great was the consternation of the army, appeared a victory." Montécuculli, who, a moment before, had given himself up as lost, pursued the French; but on reaching the bridge of Altenheim, the latter rallied, and a bloody contest ensued, in which Vaubrun was killed, and M. de Vendôme wounded. The imperialists, not being able to pass the Rhine here, remembered the

capitulation which they had exacted from Strasbourg the preceding year. That town, which no longer dreaded the vicinity of Turenne, opened a passage to them without difficulty. Montécuculli laid siege to Saverne and Hagueneau. The Duke of Lorraine, on his side, entered the electorate of Trèves with twenty thousand men, and besieged that place. His adversary, Créquî, rashly opposed him with twelve thousand men, and, giving him battle at Consarbruck, suffered a total rout. Créquî resolved to revenge himself for this defeat by a brilliant action. He threw himself into Trèves with four officers, and swore to bury himself in the ruins of the place. The breach was open and practicable. A commander, named Boisjournain, at the head of the mutinous garrison, occupied the attention of the marshal whilst the capitulation was signed in the breach. Créquî, with a few faithful officers, retreated into a church, preferring to be captured rather than surrender. Boisjournain, who had escaped, was arrested, and was beheaded on the spot. This wretch, according to Hénault, had formerly been condemned to death for an assassination in the forest of Senlis, when the Bishop of Munster had obtained a pardon for him. His grandfather, under Charles IX., had delivered up the town of Mans.

Turenne dead, Créquî routed and a prisoner, and Turin being taken, Montécuculli laid Alsace under contribution ; and the king thought that no one could restore confidence to the troops, whom the death of Turenne had so disheartened, but the Prince of Condé. Condé left Marshal Luxembourg to support in France the fortune of France, and went to stop the progress of Montécuculli. His genius, which adapted itself to every circumstance, exercised the same art as Turenne. Two encampments were sufficient to arrest the advance of the German army, and to raise the sieges of Hugueneau and Saverne. The imperialists evacuated Alsace, and retired upon Spire. This was the last exploit of Condé. Tormented with the gout, he retired to his retreat at Chantilly, where he died eleven years afterwards. "It is worthy of remark," says Hénault, "that this year closed the career of three of the greatest generals of Europe. Turenne was killed, the prince retired, and Montécuculli did the same, saying "that a man who had had the honour to fight against Mahomet Kouprougli, the Prince of Condé, and Turenne, ought not to compromise his glory by contending with men who had only just begun to command armies." Voltaire throws some doubt on the source of this haughty disdain.

The death of Turenne affected the progress of the army of the north, which the king commanded in person. Liege, Dinant and Limbourg, had been taken, in spite of the Prince of Orange ; and Holland was about to be turned by Maestricht. It became necessary to pause. In the following campaign, the king, with fifty thousand men, took Condé and besieged Bouchain. The Prince of Orange hastened to the relief of that town with forty thousand men. A battle was expected ; but neither the King of France nor William felt willing to risk compromising their glory, by engaging on equal terms.

The town was taken, and Louis returned to Versailles, leaving the command to Schomberg. It was remarked that, a few days after the death of Turenne, he had made eight new marshals:—Estrade, the Duke of Navailles, Count Schomberg, the Duke of Duras, the Duke of Vivonne, the Duke de la Feuillade, the Duke of Luxembourg, and the Marquis of Rochefort. Madame Cornuel said of this promotion, that “the king had got small change for the money of Marshal Turenne.”

After the departure of Louis XIV., William of Orange laid siege to Maestricht. The brave Calvo commanded there in the absence of Marshal Estrades. History has preserved what he said to the engineers. “Gentlemen, I know nothing of the defence of a place; all I know is, that I will not surrender.” Acting upon this resolve, he maintained himself for six weeks against all the efforts of the enemy, till the approach of Marshal Schomberg compelled the Prince of Orange to raise the siege. His disaster was complete; for the transports in which the prince had placed his artillery, provisions, and all the munitions of the siege, were captured by the Count Montal and the Duke of Villeroi, who carried them into Maestricht by the Meuse. Affairs did not turn out better for France, on the side of Alsace. The new Duke of Lorraine, Charles V., had passed the Rhine with six thousand Germans. Forced by Marshal Luxembourg to fight whilst retreating, he threw himself upon Philipsbourg, which was commanded by a second Calvo—the brave Dufay. Louis XIV. had said, that “he had four men whom his enemies would respect in his fortresses:—Montal, Dufay, Chamilly, and Calvo. Nevertheless, after a blockade of ten months and seventy days, open trenches, he was forced to capitulate. It was the fault of Marshal Rochefort, who, having encamped during the winter in Lorraine, and in the three bishoprics, allowed the enemy to entrench themselves peaceably in the Lauter, and thus rendered it impossible to succour Philipsbourg. The French were not more fortunate at Luxembourg, for the fall of which Louvois was anxious. A severe check was felt in the loss of Philipsbourg. Turenne had considered it a place, above all others, the most important to keep, as it was the key of the Rhine and of Alsace.

Fortune, which seemed to betray the French on land, did not desert their flag on the ocean. The Duke of Vivonne, who conquered the Spanish before Messina, took possession of Agousta. The court of Madrid courted the alliance of Holland; and De Ruyter was sent to the Mediterranean with twenty-three large ships. Duquesne had just put Toulon in a state of safety, whilst escorting a convoy to Messina. On the 8th January, 1676, in sight of that city, between the islands of Stromboli and Salini, he met the combined Dutch and Spanish fleets, which endeavoured to shut him up in the straits. A battle ensued, which was long and obstinate, but attended by no decisive result. Duquesne, leaving the enemy's fleet much damaged, proceeded to Sicily, entered the strait, and revictualled Messina. The allies, after having vainly attempted to blockade the port, went to besiege Agousta.

Duquesne, followed, and came up with them near the gulf of Catana. He had thirty-seven vessels under his command; De Ruyter had thirty-nine. They fought for ten hours. The Dutch fleet at last took advantage of the winds to set sail, and retired to Syracuse. Their admiral had received a mortal wound. Seven days afterwards, the greatest naval commander Holland had ever produced breathed his last. His fall was generously mourned by his conquerors. When the news reached Louis XIV., he also shed tears; and on its being urged that the event relieved him from a dangerous enemy, he replied, that not even that could prevent him from lamenting the death of a great man.

Deprived of its gallant chief, the combined fleet could not long continue the contest with Duquesne. The Dutch and the Spaniards made, however, one last effort. Twenty-seven vessels and nineteen galleys were assembled at Palermo. Duquesne and the Duke of Vivonne proceeded to attack them with twenty-eight men-of-war and twenty-five galleys. The allies experienced a terrible defeat. Their line of battle was forced at the first shock; half of their vessels were wrecked in the port; twenty-five ships were sunk, with five thousand men, and the remainder were either taken or dispersed; and the port of Palermo was devastated by the victors.

This was the most complete naval triumph France had ever gained by sea. It opened to her magnificent views. The empire of the sea seemed to belong to her, where there did not exist now a single Spanish vessel, and from which it was thought easy to exclude the English and Dutch for ever. But Louis was more anxious for the success of his armies in Flanders, than for that of his fleets on the ocean. He had now resumed the command of his troops in person, and laid siege to Valenciennes, which was carried in open day, by assault, March 17th, 1677.

Thence the king proceeded to Ghent, which he captured in four days. Ypres shared the same fate in seven, and Cambray in nine; while the Duke of Orleans, his brother, besieged St. Omer. On learning this, the Prince of Orange hastened to its relief. The Duke of Orleans marched to meet him, with the marshals De Luxembourg and D'Humières, and met him near Mont Cassel, March 11th, 1677. William was totally defeated. Monsieur charged with a valour and presence of mind which had not been expected from a prince so effeminate. "That prince," Voltaire remarks, "who often dressed himself as a woman, and who had the inclinations of one, acted, on this occasion, the part of a brave captain and soldier. He had a horse killed under him, and a musket-shot in his armour; the Chevalier de Laurain, while speaking to him, received a shot in his hat, which grazed his forehead. The Chevalier de Nantouillet had his thigh wounded, and some of his domestics were killed behind him. The king appeared jealous of his brother's glory. He spoke little of his victory, and did not even visit the field of battle, though he was very near it. Some of the servants of Monsieur, whose penetration was greater than that of their fellows, did not scruple to

predict that he would no longer command an army; and they were not mistaken. St. Omer surrendered on the 20th of that month; and the Duke of Orleans returned with his brother to Versailles. It was on his return from this expedition, that the king said to Racine and to Despreaux, whom he had engaged to write his history, "I am sorry that you did not accompany the army in this campaign. You should have seen the war, and the journey would not have been long." To which Racine replied, "Your majesty has not given us time to get our coats made." Notwithstanding the retreat of the king, his lieutenants did not fail to follow up their successes. After the disaster at Mont Cassel, the Prince of Orange wished to attack Charleroi, where Montal commanded. He was in the same situation as before Maes-tricht. On his side, the Duke of Lorraine, vain of the taking of Philipsbourg, and hoping immediately to regain his dominions, caused these words to be inscribed on his standards:—" *Aut nunc aut nunquam*," (Now or never).

Manœuvring in concert with the prince, Saxe-Eisenach was to occupy the attention of the French in Alsace. The Duke of Lorraine passed the Loire. He met the Marshal de Créqui, who, desirous of resenting his defeat at Consarbruck, watched his movements from day to day, and cut off his supplies on all sides. He was not more successful on the Meuse, the passages of which were defended by the marshal; and he found himself constrained to return into Alsace, where De Créqui awaited him. The Baron de Mont Clare had so pressed on the troops of the Prince de Saxe, that they were obliged to capitulate near Strasbourg, in an island on the Rhine. Not far from that, Créqui engaged in a combat of the advanced guard the Duke of Lorraine at Kokersberg; but not wishing to bring on a general engagement, he repassed to the right bank of the Rhine, and marched to besiege Fribourg, which, the trenches having been open five days, was reduced to capitulate. A few days afterwards, he fought again a detachment of the army from Lorraine to Rheinfeild. He passed the bank of the Kins, in presence of duke Charles; and having immediately taken the fort of Kehl, sword in hand, he went to burn Strasbourg, through which that free city had so repeatedly afforded a passage to the imperial armies. This brilliant campaign, in which Créqui showed himself the worthy pupil of Turenne, more than counterbalanced the stain which the day of Consarbruck had left on his reputation.

In the south, the Marshal de Navailles gained over the Spaniards the battle of Espouilles, near the hill of Banols: the war was extended to the new world. The Count d'Estrées gained from the Dutch the fortress of the island of Cayenne; shortly afterwards he beat on the sea the Dutch admiral, Bruck, burnt his fleet, and re-captured the island of Tobago.

In the midst of the vicissitudes of a strife so murderous, conferences for peace had been opened in the year 1673 at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden. The ministers of Austria, France, England, the Low Countries, Sweden, Spain, and Brandenburg, were there assembled. But the arrest of

William de Furstembourg, brother to the Bishop of Strasbourg, minister of the Elector of Cologne, whose alliance with Louis XIV. had irritated the confederates, and his being carried off to Vienna, was deemed so serious a violation of the law of nations, that the negotiations were immediately broken off. In the following year a new congress was appointed at Nimeguen, under the mediation of England. Louis sent there, as his plenipotentiaries, the Marshal d'Estrades, Colbert, De Croissy, and the Count d'Avaux.

The efforts at a pacification proceeded slowly. Holland desired peace; but that was not the object of the Prince of Orange. The emperor proposed to take as a basis the treaty of Westphalia; Spain wished to go back to that of the Pyrenees; Denmark aimed at regaining what it had ceded to Sweden in the preceding wars; the Elector of Brandenburg wished to retain Pomerania, which he had just taken from the Swedes; and the latter desired to regain what had thus been wrested from them. Profiting from these dissensions, France secretly tampered with Holland, and prevailed over her weakness by offering an advantageous treaty of commerce, with the restitution of Maestricht. The negotiations did not appear likely to produce any important result, when the marriage of the Prince of Orange hastened the *denouement*.

Charles II. of England, greatly in want of money, and unable to obtain a supply from his parliament, but on the condition that he should break entirely with France, was compelled to listen to the overtures of William of Orange, who demanded the hand of his niece, the Princess Mary, daughter of the Duke of York. The marriage was followed by a treaty of alliance between England and the United Provinces, and [January 10th, 1678] a declaration of war made by Charles II. against France. These circumstances produced an effect the very opposite of that which had been anticipated by the Prince of Orange. In place of rejoicing at the improved fortune of their stadtholder, the states-general took umbrage at it, and began to feel disturbed on the subject of their liberty. Upon that, the French plenipotentiaries resumed their labours; and peace was signed August 10th, 1678, between France and the United Provinces. The king, by the treaty of Nimeguen, agreed to favour their commerce, and restored to them Maestricht, the last place which remained to him of his conquests in Holland. Incensed at this treaty, the news of which had just reached him, the Prince of Orange attacked, four days afterwards, the Marshal de Luxembourg, who lay in perfect security at St. Denis, near Mons, and who was dining that day at the house of the intendant of the army. The French, at first surprised, speedily rallied, and bravely repulsed the assailants, after killing three hundred of them. The cowardly and cruel treachery of the attack gave the worst possible aspect to the affairs of the allies.

The king took upon himself to dictate the conditions of the treaty. Spain first made peace, May 15th, 1678. She recovered the cities of Charleroi, Ath, Binch, Oudenarde, Courtray, Ghent, and Limburg; but she ceded to



Louis XIV.

Louis, Franche-Comté, and, in the Low Countries, Bouchain, Condé, Ypres, Valenciennes, Cambray, Maubeuge, Aire, St. Omer, Cassel, Charlemont, Pauperin, Bailleul, &c. The basis of the treaty, which was not signed till February 5th, 1679, was the treaty of Munster. Louis gave up Philipsbourg and retained Fribourg. The two Furstembourgs were reinstated in their property. For the Duke of Lorraine, he advanced such lofty pretensions, that Louis XIV., notwithstanding the solicitations of the emperor, flatly refused to subscribe to anything for his advantage. On the same day, the Duke of Brunswick signed a treaty of peace, and the Bishop of Munster was not slow to follow the example.

There now remained in arms only the elector of Brandenburg and the King of Denmark, who had no disposition to restore the dominions which they had taken from Sweden. Créquy, however, having invaded Westphalia with thirty thousand men, passed the Weser and threatened Magdeberg, while another corps of troops, under the orders of the Marquis of Joyeuse, marched on Holstein; the two reluctant princes gave way, and humbled themselves. By the treaty of St. Germain, June 29th, 1679, the elector gave to Sweden about 300,000 crowns and Pomerania, excepting the fortresses on the other side of the Oder. The King of Denmark, by the treaty of Fontainebleau, September 2nd, restored to the Swedes Wismes, the Island of Rugen, and, generally, all that he had conquered from them.

Louis XIV., master and pacificator of Europe, to whom he dictated laws, had now reached the height of his fortune. Pélessou called him a "visible miracle." His sycophants offered him almost divine honours at Paris, where they erected triumphal arches; and Le Brun filled the gorgeous palaces of Versailles with monuments to his glory. On the Place des Victoires, the Duke de la Feuillades caused an equestrian statue to be raised, with four slaves chained to the four corners. He performed the inauguration of it by passing thrice round it on horseback, with all the prostrations which pagans were accustomed to make in ancient times before the images of their emperors. Louis XIV. was so penetrated with the idea of his own majesty, that he received, as due to his merit, the title of "great," which was given to him at the Hotel de Ville at Paris. He applauded his own apotheosis; and it is said that he was affected to tears while singing himself, though he had but an indifferent ear and voice, the hymns composed in his praise by Quinault. "He preserved," says Mademoiselle de Scudéry, "even while playing at billiards, the air and deportment of the master of the world."

But was not all this glory purchased too dearly by France? Colbert, with his utmost activity, could scarcely find the means of meeting the prodigalities of the great king. The expenditure of 1674 amounted to 93,000,000, of which 73,000,000 were for the war: those of 1677 reached 111,000,000. All resources were exhausted; all imaginable taxes had been imposed. Such being the case, it was necessary to have recourse

to loans, to the great regret of Colbert. "Do you not know," said he to the president Lamoignon, "as well as I do, you, who have resolved upon this step? do you not know the man with whom you have to deal? You have just inflicted a wound which our grandchildren will not live to see healed." All the enterprises, commenced to promote what was called the prosperity and the civilization of France, were continued; but those were neglected which were merely useful without being brilliant; and the others assumed a character less solid, but more pompous. Paris was embellished; but instead of completing the Louvre, in conformity with the advice of Colbert, Louis, who never loved the "city of barricades," with its dirty and populous streets, built his palace at Versailles,—the temple of absolute royalty—of which, before time had blackened the marble, it was to become the tomb. Versailles was finished; but ministers were startled at the treasure expended on immense palaces, magnificent gardens, and artificial water-works, in all of which nature seemed vanquished by human skill. Even here, however, the evil did not end, and the gorgeous Marly succeeded to Versailles.

The history of the court, during the last ten years, offers few remarkable events. In proportion as the war of the Fronde became remote, in proportion as the great names of the chiefs in former seditions were forgotten, nothing but a monotonous spectacle was presented of an endless train of courtiers, aspiring to the situations of royal lackeys, and perpetually occupied in singing the praises of their master. Some women appeared to favour the former practice, each with her cabal: La Vallière, Montespan, Fontanges, Maintenon. Only to look at the reign of the last favourite, it will be seen that expiring gallantry was replaced at court by a sort of pedantic and jesuitic gravity, which saddened the last days of the old king.

Mademoiselle de la Vallière, who had kept for nine years Louis XIV. as faithful as a young king, well made, surrounded by beautiful females, whose coquetry offered everything to his desires, could be expected to remain. Mademoiselle de la Vallière at last encountered a more dangerous rival in Madame de Montespan. Athénais de Mortemar, wife of the Marquis de Montespan, the Brantome of that century, not less gallant than the sixteenth, her sister, the Marchioness de Thianges, and a younger sister, for whom she obtained the Abbey of Fontevrault, were the most beautiful women of their time; and all, to that dazzling advantage, added the most singular charms of mind. The Duke de Vivonne, their brother, marshal of France, was also one of the men at court who had most taste and reading. It was he to whom the king said one day "Of what use is it to read?" The Duke de Vivonne, who exhibited some embonpoint, and a superb complexion, immediately replied, "Reading gives to the mind what your majesty's partridges supply to my form and features." These four individuals, charmed universally by the singular tone of their conversation, by a melange of pleasantry, of blunt simplicity and refined address, which was called the wit of the Mortemars. It may hence be seen how ridiculous was the story



Chateau de Versailles.

that Madame de Montespan was obliged to engage Madame Scarron to write her letters, and that it was by such a circumstance that the latter became her rival.

During five long years, Madame de la Vallière looked for the return of royal favour, but looked for it in vain. Then, by a movement of resignation or despair, she took an extraordinary course, and presented to the world a striking instance of conversion. Her feeling was, that God alone could in her heart succeed to the place which her royal lover had occupied. This was to offer a new description of flattery to gratify the pride of Louis. From 1675 to 1710, a sister of Louisa de la Misericorde—a Carmelite order at Paris—the fair sinner expiated, in sackcloth, and by fasting, the faults of the Duchess de la Vallière. It is told, that when the death of the Duke of Vermandois, the son whom she had had by Louis, was announced to her, her remark was, “I ought to weep for his birth still more than for his death.” There remained to her one daughter; that, of all the king’s children, which bore to him the most striking resemblance, and she married the Prince Armand de Conti, nephew of the grand Condé. “A king,” writes Voltaire, speaking of the Duchess de la Vallière, “who would punish thus an offending woman, would be a tyrant; but it is thus that many women are punished, only for having loved. There is hardly any example of so rigorous a part being acted in connection with politics. The crimes of politicians, nevertheless, seem to demand a more striking expiation, than the weaknesses of affection.”

This reflection was, perhaps, intended to apply to Louvois. That minister, whose hard and unfeeling character spoke him little made for love, wished, like his master, to have mistresses; and among them was a lady named Du Fresnois, the wife of one of his clerks, in favour of whom he caused a new office to be created in the queen’s household, that of lady of the bedchamber. Such a course, however, was never countenanced by a higher example. Immoveable and silent, in the correspondence of Madame de Sevigné, he is mentioned by the *soubriquet* of “the north;” and one poet considered he had happily designated him “the man of marble.”

An extraordinary example was afforded of the power of prejudice and custom, when all married women were permitted to have lovers; and it was not permitted to the grand-daughters of Henry IV. to have a husband. Mademoiselle de Montpensier, that daughter of the Duke of Orleans of whom Cardinal Mazarin had said, on the day of the battle of the faubourg St. Antoine, that the cannon of the Bastille had killed her husband, after having refused many sovereigns and princes, wished to unite herself, at the age of forty-four, to a simple gentleman, De Puyguilhem, Count de Lauzun, of the house of Caumont, the last who had been captain of a hundred gentlemen pensioners, and the first who was a colonel general of dragoons. This passed in 1669. The following year, when the court conducted the Duchess of Orleans to Calais, and made its progress in Flanders, Lauzun commanded the escort of the king, and rode beside the carriage of mademoiselle.

The king had consented to this marriage ; and Lauzun was about to be advanced to a fortune of 20,000,000, four duchies, the sovereignty of Dombes, the comté of Eu, and the palace of Luxembourg, then called the palace of Orleans. For a moment he assumed the title of Duke de Montpensier. Suddenly, at the moment of signing the contract, Louis XIV., overpowered by the solicitations of princes, ministers, and courtiers, all opposed to Puyguilhem being distinguished by such high favour, withdrew his promise, and forbade the union. It is, however, said, that the pride of the favourite had run counter to the pride of the king ; that he had solicited to be appointed master general of the artillery, on the occasion of that office falling vacant. The king, with whom, from early associations, he was admitted to great familiarity, promised him the office in question. The intention of Louis in this respect was indiscreetly spoken of by Puyguilhem, and it subsequently came to the ears of the monarch, who, in consequence of that, and the objections urged to giving the count the high situation he claimed, thought fit to revoke the promise. Upon this, Puyguilhem lost all temper, and declared "he would never again serve a king who had so little regard for his word." Exasperated by the cavalier tone in which he was addressed, Louis, before all the court, raised the cane which he had in his hand with a menacing gesture ; but suddenly staying his arm, he threw his cane from the window, at the same time telling Puyguilhem, that richly as he deserved chastisement, he should never have forgiven himself, had he beaten a member of so distinguished a family. Neither the king nor the count ever forgot or pardoned what passed on that occasion. Puyguilhem, or the Duke de Lauzun, as he soon became, having, notwithstanding the prohibition of the king, secretly married Mademoiselle de Montpensier, was seized, and conveyed, in November, 1670, to the Château de Pignerol, where he remained ten years.

Lauzun and Fouquet were astonished to find themselves in the same prison ; but, above all, Fouquet, who, in the zenith of his power, had looked down on Puyguilhem in the crowd as a country gentleman without fortune, thought the former mad when he told him he had been the favourite of the king, and that he had had permission to marry the grand-daughter of Henry IV., with all the titles and estates of the house of Montpensier. At the end of ten years, Madame de Montespan sold to mademoiselle the liberty of her husband, for the principality of Dombes and the comté of Eu, which were given as a provision to the Duke of Maine, her son and the king's. The marriage, however, was not recognised. Lauzun had only permission to retire to his estates of St. Fargeau and Thiers, with but an insufficient income. This preyed upon his wife, who, being equally unfortunate at home as at court, died of grief in 1693. Lauzun had embarked for England in 1688. An adventurer equally through choice and fatality, it was he who carried to France the wife of James II., and her son, still in the cradle. Restored to royal favour, he was created a duke ; and, after having served in



Louis XIV. and the Duke de Lauzun.

Ireland with little success, he returned to close his days in France, where he died in obscurity.

Madame de Montespan, his enemy, had been supplanted by Madame de Maintenon, in 1681, after being eleven years in high favour. Her triumph was most complete in 1670, on the occasion of her journey to Flanders. That progress was one continual fête. The king, who had previously gone to all his wars on horseback, travelled then, for the first time, in a glass coach. Post-chaises were not yet invented. Madame and her sister-in-law, the Marchioness de Montespan, were in the king's equipage, followed by many others; and when Madame de Montespan travelled alone, she had four of the body guards placed at the door of her carriage. The dauphin arrived afterwards with his court, mademoiselle with hers. They caused to be carried into the cities where they slept the most beautiful furniture from the royal palaces. In every place where they halted a masked ball or fête was given, with magnificent fireworks. All the materiel of war accompanied the king; and all the household preceded or followed. Tables were kept as at St. Germain. The court visited in this pompous manner the conquered cities. The principal ladies of Brussels and Ghent were attracted to gain a sight of such magnificence; the king invited them to his table, and, in a spirit of gallantry, made them elegant presents. All the officers received handsome gratuities. This liberality would sometimes occasion an expenditure of 1500 louis d'ors in a single day.

The Duchess of Orleans embarked with a part of the court. She took with her Mademoiselle de Keroual, afterwards Duchess of Portsmouth, who was to the King of England what Madame de Montespan was to Louis XIV., but with higher credit. Madame de Montespan took no part in public affairs.

It was totally otherwise with Madame de Maintenon. It is known that, on her return from England, the duchess died suddenly at St. Cloud, aged twenty-six years, on the 30th June, 1670; she had landed in France on the 12th of the same month. The princess believed herself to have been poisoned, and the court was of the same opinion. It was said that the poison was powdered diamonds, thrown on strawberries, in lieu of sugar. Others report that the princess was poisoned by a glass of water, in which chicory had been mingled. Voltaire is of opinion that there is no truth in either of these statements, but that she died from an abscess in her liver.

Till now, in the course of this reign, we have found little but matter for eulogium. If the war with Holland was an impolitic war, and if, in its consequences, it brought on a European war, everything seemed justified by the success which followed. The treaties of Nimeguen were the height of Louis's glory; but now we approach the period of his decline, and are about to find France in a situation mournfully changed, and aggravated by faults of the gravest character. Louis XIV. was not altered. His pride, on the contrary, grew on the recollection of his grandeur. But Turenne was

dead ; Condé lived in solitude at Chantilly ; Colbert, the indispensable Colbert, was about to die at the commencement of this period ; Louvois, necessary notwithstanding his defects, was also near his end ; and it may be added, those celebrated beauties, who, while he was young, occupied the heart of the king, now that he was becoming old, were to be succeeded by the severe Maintenon, the wavering councils of casuists, and the scruples of affected devotion. The first wrong done by Louis XIV. at the peace of Nimeguen was to disgrace a man who had served him faithfully, the secretary of state for foreign affairs, M. de Pomponne. "It was necessary," said Louis XIV., "that I should order M. de Pomponne to retire, because all that was done by him lost something of the grandeur and imposing force which ought to be identified with the carrying into effect the orders of a King of France, who is not unfortunate." The pretext for his dismissing the minister was, his not having comprehended in the treaties of Nimeguen the villages which lie between Brissac and Strasbourg, so that, when the king made his entry into Strasbourg, and wished to visit Fribourg, it was necessary that he should go there to dine, without stopping on the road, because they were in the dominions of the emperor. It may, however, be said, that Colbert and Louvois wished to obtain his situation, the one for his brother, Colbert de Croissy, the other for M. Courtin. "Monsieur de Louvois," the president Hénault says, "was greatly surprised to find the preference given to the recommendation of the minister Colbert." M. de Pomponne, after the death of Louvois, was reinstated as a member of the council, but without being placed at the head of a department. Of all faults, the greatest a king can commit is that of sanctioning religious intolerance ; and this marked the commencement of the new period, and was, if not the only cause, at least one of the causes of the disasters of France. We allude to the sudden persecution of the reformers, and the revocation of the edict of Nantes. From that moment the secret influence of Madame de Maintenon began to be felt. She was no longer a mistress like La Vallière, like Fontanges, like Montespan ; she became an historical personage, into whose origin it becomes necessary to enquire. She was the grand-daughter of Theodore Agrippa d'Aubigné, gentleman in ordinary of the chamber of Henry IV. His father, Constant d'Aubigné, being desirous of forming an establishment at Carolina, and having opened a communication with the English, was imprisoned in the Château Trompette. He was liberated by the daughter of the governor, a Bordelais gentleman, named Carvillac. Constant d'Aubigné married his benefactress in 1625, and took her to Carolina. On returning to France with her some years afterwards, both were incarcerated at Niort, in Poictou ; and it was in the prison to which they were then consigned that Frances d'Aubigné, in 1625, was destined to experience all the severity and all the highest favours of fortune, first saw the light. Having been taken to America, when but three years of age, through the negligence of a domestic, she was left alone on the bank of a

river, where she was in great danger of being devoured by a serpent. Brought up with anything but tenderness or comfort in the establishment of Madame de Neuillant, the mother of the Duchess of Navailles, she was glad to marry, in 1651, Paul Scarron, the celebrated comic writer, who lodged near her in the rue d'Enfers. Scarron was of an ancient family, connected with the parliament, and illustrated by great alliances; but the burlesque authorship which he made his profession, in making him a bitter satirist, in no small degree degraded him. It was, however, deemed a piece of great good fortune for Mademoiselle d'Aubigné to marry this man, disgraced as he was, impotent by nature, and whose circumstances were but moderate. Before her marriage she abjured the principles of Calvinism, which were her's, as they had been those of her ancestors. Her beauty and her wit caused her soon to be distinguished. Her company was everywhere eagerly sought by the best society; and her youth was no doubt the happiest period of her life. After the death of her husband, which occurred in 1660, she was long a suitor to the king for a small pension of 1500 livres. At last, at the end of some years, the king granted her one of 2000 livres, at the same time saying to her "Madame, I have made you wait a long time; but I have wished to have to myself alone the merit of serving you." It is, however, seen, from the letters of Madame de Maintenon herself, that she owed to Madame de Montespan the slight assistance which extricated her from misery. We are reminded of this some years afterwards, when it was necessary to bring up secretly the Duke du Maine, whom the king had had in 1670 by the Marchioness de Montespan. She says in one of her letters, "if the child is that of the king, I wish him well; but I cannot charge myself, without some misgivings, with the children of Madame de Montespan. On this point it is necessary the king should lay on me his commands, and that is my final resolution." The Duke du Maine was born with a deformed foot. Déquin, the principal physician, who was in Madame de Montespan's confidence, thought it advisable that the infant should be sent to Baresges for the benefit of the waters. A confidential person was required to take care of him; and the choice of the king fell on Madame Scarron. Louvois went secretly to Paris to propose this journey. From that time forward the education of the Duke du Maine was left to her; she being named to such employ, as she says, by the king, and not by Madame de Montespan. She wrote to the king direct. Her letters pleased him much. This was the beginning of her good fortune; her merit did the rest. Louis could not at first endure her presence; but by degrees aversion gave way to satisfaction and confidence, and confidence was succeeded by what he deemed love. "The character of Madame de Maintenon," says Voltaire, "appears at once full of ambition, and of a devotion not to be shaken." Her confessor, Gobelin, proved equally the one and the other. He was a director and a courtier. Though her own conduct had not been unimpeachable as the widow of Scarron, her piety was marked with ¹agratITUDE towards Madame

de Montespan. Her failing was dissimulation. Her confessor encouraged it; and she made excellent use of her religion by calling on its aid to strengthen her well-used charms, in order to supplant her benefactress, now become her rival." Madame de Montespan had merited her disgrace by the *hauteur* of her character; the king had already deserted her for Mademoiselle de Fontanges, who received the title of duchess, after giving birth to a son, in 1680. She, however, died in the following year, leaving Montespan and Maintenon to contend for the royal favour. The duke and peer who had negociated the affair of Mademoiselle de Fontanges, was rewarded by being placed at the head of the king's hunting establishment. This gave rise to a pleasant song, in which it was said, that the office of grand huntsman was well bestowed on one who had shewn that he knew well how to ensnare the game. The marriage of the grandson of the great Condé with Mademoiselle de Nantes, daughter of the king and Madame de Montespan, was the last triumph of that mistress, who, after it, appeared at court no more. Before the celebration of the marriage, the Marquis de Seignelay, son of the great Colbert, who died in 1683, gave a brilliant fête to the king in his gardens of Sceaux, planted by Lenôtre. Carousals were there exhibited, and an idyl by Racine was represented. Louis XIV., not wishing to appear less magnificent than a courtier, invited, after the marriage, all his court to Marly.

Four shops, ornamented with decorations, and representations of the four seasons, had been prepared in the saloons, filled with jewels, and other articles of great value. Madame de Montespan waited in one of them with the dauphin. Her rival, Madame de Maintenon, appeared in another with the Duke du Maine. The newly-married duke had his with Madame de Thiange; and Madame the duchess, "to whom," says Voltaire, "decorum would not allow the assistance of a man, on account of her extreme youth," was with the Duchess of Chevreuse. The courtiers drew for the jewels which were exhibited in the shops, in a lottery. After this brilliant fête, Madame de Montespan withdrew from the court, and lived splendidly at Paris, expending a thousand louis-d'ors a month. In the following year, the king, who found himself free by the death of the queen, Marie-Thérèse, which took place in 1683, listened to the admonitions of Père-la-Chaise, his confessor; and, eventually, in the month of January, 1686, secretly married Madame de Maintenon, in a small chapel in the Château de Versailles. The marriage of Louis XIV. to the widow of Scarron took place at midnight. There was no contract. The archbishop of Paris, Harley de Shanvallon, gave the nuptial benediction. No witnesses were present but the king's confessor and Bontemps, the first valet de chambre. The king was at that time forty-eight years of age, and his new queen fifty-one. The marriage was left problematical at court. The only exterior signs of grandeur which Madame de Maintenon wished for, or could have, which was not hers before, was the occupying at mass one of the small tribunes, or gilt lanterns,

which were made but for the king and queen. Her ambition was always disguised under an appearance of religious humility. Her every thought seemed to be given to the Maison de St. Cyr, on the borders of the park of Versailles. The fact is, the king came to her house in the day-time, after dinner, before and after supper, and remained there till midnight. There



he transacted business with his ministers; and it will easily be believed, that Madame de Maintenon did not see a council held in her chamber without taking part in it herself. She would sit at work, while they proceeded with public business; and the king would occasionally turn round and ask her opinion, which she always gave with modest diffidence, the minister and herself having previously determined how the matter in discussion should be decided. Thus, for instance, if a number of candidates were proposed for a particular office, the minister, in summing up their merits, would declare in favour of the name which they had agreed to prefer. Louis sometimes opposed their choice, and in such a case other questions were started. His attention was diverted, and the appointment postponed, till his temper better suited their views. It was well understood that she prepared the way for the minister's advice, and moved the king to reward his services.

The date of the first intimacy of this woman with the king, is that of the renewal of the persecutions of the Huguenots. Colbert, who saw they were industrious, and skilful in commerce, protected and employed a great number of them, in connexion with the arts and manufactures, and also in the navy. Thus engaged, the Huguenots proved themselves faithful to the king

and kingdom. Peaceable during the outbreak of the French, Mazarin had said of them, "these form a faithful flock." Duquesne and Schomberg, gallant and successful commanders, had sprung from their ranks. This state of things continued in 1681, not without some attack, excited by Louvois, being made on them, though that minister had no reason for hating them, but the interest which Colbert took in their welfare. They had been forbidden to marry the daughters of Catholics; and the intendant and bishops strove with the most plausible pretexts to get from the Huguenots their children, in order to educate them according to their own principles. At length, it was in 1681, the influence of Madame de Maintenon was felt in all its force. Edicts were issued by the king, which took from the reformers their pensions, and their rights of nobility; excluded them from the royal household, from the university, from all municipal functions; and they were interdicted from acting as physicians and advocates.

The king, it should be remembered, had been in the hands of priests from his youth. Taught by them, he understood true religion and false religion were indicated by the words Jesuitism and Jansenism; and the latter identifying it with republicanism, he regarded as impious and most dangerous; affronting to God, and injurious to the state. He was made to believe, that to convert the Jansenists would redound to his glory; and while the sufferers were enduring the most dreadful persecutions, he, told of the numerous conversions that were effected, was congratulated on the godlike charity he had extended to thousands, who, by his holy labours, were saved from perdition!

Colbert was compelled to exclude them from the administration of the finances, and as much as possible from the manufactures of France. At the same time, other means were used to withdraw them from the opinions they had avowed, and money was not spared to effect that object. Pelisson, who was formerly a Calvinist, but had now become an ecclesiastic and master of requests, was instructed to distribute the revenues of the abbeys of St. Germain, Prés, and Cluny, with those of the third of the stewardships, to bring over as many of the dissenters as possible. At length, these means not proving sufficiently efficacious, a royal ordinance appeared, declaring children would be required to renounce Calvinism at the age of seven years; and if this were not permitted voluntarily by those who had the care of them, they would be taken by force, made to abjure, and lodged in the houses of their parents as prisoners of war. In consequence of this tyrannical decree, emigration commenced on a great scale; numerous families from Poitou, from Tournay, and from the neighbouring province, went to seek an asylum in England, in Denmark, but especially in Amsterdam. The magistrates of that city engaged to build a thousand houses for the reception of the fugitives.

The council wished to put an end to such a state of things. They sentenced to the galleys artisans and mariners who attempted to escape. It was found,

that many Calvinist families had sold their landed property; and immediately upon that discovery, a declaration was issued, confiscating all such property in the event of the vendors leaving the country within one year after its sale. The severities against the ministers of religion were redoubled. Their places of worship were closed for the slightest contravention of the law, and any property bequeathed by will to such establishments was transferred to the funds of the hospitals of the kingdom. It was also forbidden to the masters of Calvinist schools to receive pupils; and their preachers were subjected to a tax. All the clergy were enjoined to exert themselves to make proselytes; and the pastors of the reformers were prohibited from doing the like, under pain of perpetual banishment. In Languedoc, in the Vivarrais, and in the Cevennes, the Huguenots now prepared for resistance. The Count de Noailles, governor of Languedoc, marched against this mob, as it was called, hanged so many of them as fell into his hands, and dispersed the rest. Louvois wrote to him, that "it was the desire of the king, at any expense, to engage the military in the extirpation of heresy; and the troops were therefore ordered to be maintained by the country they were employed to overrun, and to raze to the ground the houses of those who had been killed in arms, and also those of the unfortunates who had fled from their dwellings, and were prevented from returning to them by fear. In the Vivarrais, the principal chapels were destroyed in such a manner, that they might exhibit a picture of appalling desolation in the country, calculated to deter other Protestants from following their example, and to teach them how dangerous it was to rise against their king." These haughty and cruel orders were executed to the letter. All those found in possession of arms were sent to the gallies; the superintendant of Dauphiné broke on the wheel the grandson of the clergyman Chamier, who had framed the edict of Nantes; the governor of Languedoc inflicted the same punishment on the preacher, Chomel. Thirteen others, who were similarly condemned, were executed in effigy.

The petitions which the Calvinists addressed to the king from all quarters, Louis XIV. answered by sending them missionaries, escorted by dragoons. Then commenced those famous executions which were called dragoonings, or *dragonnades*. Noailles, overrunning his province at the head of a regiment, billeted his soldiers upon the most refractory of the reformers, for the purpose of enforcing their conversion. "This takes place so quickly," he writes, "that the troops have only to sleep one night in the places where I send them, and the matter is settled by the next morning." The memoirs of Dangeau state, that on the 2nd of September, all the Huguenots of Montauban were converted by a consultation held in the town-hall. The same thing took place at Montpellier, Castres, Lunel, &c. on the 5th October, after which followed the dioceses of Gap and Embrun; then all Poitou. The superintendant of Languedoc announced sixty thousand conversions in one day; upon which Madame de Maintenon, who knew her ancient Protestant

allies at heart, answered, "I plainly see, that all these conversions are not equally sincere; but God makes use of various means in order to bring back heretics to their duty. Their children will, at least, be Catholics. If the fathers are hypocrites, their outward appearance has a show of the truth; they have the signs in common with the faithful."

The efforts of Colbert to arrest the persecutions were in vain. It was evident that Louis XIV. was tired of him, and that Louvois had absorbed all the royal favour. "Too honest a man not to feel this," says an historian of Colbert, "and too ambitious to retire, he had the weakness still to tempt fortune by an effort more worthy of a courtier than a great minister. He proposed to consecrate to the king a magnificent place on the grounds of the hotel of Soissons, where the corn market is now to be seen." In the middle of a vast basin there is an enormous rock, on which are placed four colossal statues, or river gods, which support Louis XIV. in the attitude of prostrating discord and heresy. Girardon had planned this mountain of marble and bronze for an extraordinary effect. But the death of the minister saved France the expense of such gigantic adulation; and the prodigious blocks which were collected served to decorate the church of the Invalids. Worn out with labour and disappointment, Colbert broke down in a few days; his dying hand refused to open a letter from the king. "I no longer wish to hear mention of him," he cried, "he may at least leave me unmolested at the present moment. Had I done," he added, with the melancholy feeling of the expiring Wolsey, "for my God what I have done for that man, I might have been saved ten times over; but now I know not what will become of me." The populace, excited to fury against him, because he was comptroller-general of finance, groaned at the door of his house, waiting to tear his body to pieces. They could only bury him in the night, under the protection of an armed force. The tomb alone gave repose to this celebrated minister, whose soul, troubling in its last moments, seemed to fly into the bosom of the jesuit Bourdaloue, from an offended God, an ungrateful king, and an exasperated people."

Louvois only waited for that moment to put in force the most rigorous measures against the Protestants. An able man, of the name of Gourville, had advised him to incarcerate all the reformed clergy, and not to release any but those who would publicly abjure the new doctrine. This was a method of conversion more efficacious than the dragonnades and the sabre-in-hand missions. But such half-mild policy displeased the haughty minister; and in the commencement of the year 1685, he had written to the lieutenants of provinces, that "his majesty wished every rigour should be exercised towards all who would not conform to his religion; and those who desired the foolish glory to remain the last to do so, must be forced to the last extremity."

At length, on the 22nd of October of the same year, the famous edict appeared, which revoked that of Nantes. The father of Louvois, the old chancellor Le Tellier, of whom the Count de Grammont said, on seeing him

coming out of the cabinet of the king, "I thought I saw a pole-cat just come from a murderous slaughter of the poultry, and licking his chops, covered with their blood." The old chancellor, whilst signing the edict, joyfully exclaimed, "*Nunc dimittis servum tuum, Domine, quia viderunt oculi mei salvationem tuam.*" It is evident few fanatics of this description were wanted, sustained as they were by Madame de Maintenon and father Lachaise, the king's confessor, in order to stifle more moderate, and consequently, wiser minds. "The revocation of the edict of Nantes, which resembles," says Lemontey, "St. Bartholomew, as far as a French crime can approach an Italian one, opened a long career of proscriptions." The cruel edict was composed of eleven articles, the first of which suppressed all the privileges granted by Henry IV. and Louis XIII. to the Protestants. The second and third interdicted the exercise of their religion all over the kingdom without exception; the fourth directed, that all the reforming clergy should leave France within fifteen days; the fifth and sixth established rewards to all those who might return to the bosom of the church; by the seventh, the Calvinists were prohibited from holding schools; and they were enjoined by the eighth to bring up their children in the Catholic religion; the ninth and tenth promised amnesty and restitution of property to those who, having emigrated, should return within four months; and the eleventh threatened those who had relapsed with heavy penalties, and permits the Calvinists, nevertheless, to remain in their own domiciles, to enjoy their own property, and to carry on their trades, without being molested on the score of religion, provided they did not assemble to exercise it. It is to be borne in mind, that care was taken that the last clause, which permitted a kind of liberty of conscience, was violated by the ultra zeal of the superintendants appointed to carry the edict of abolition into effect. "The last clause," says De Noailles, with regret, "has a tendency to create great disorder, and to arrest the progress of conversion."

Scarcely was the edict signed, when, at the signal of Lachaise, it became the theme of praises and panegyrics in the pulpits of the court, in order to stultify the king, and not allow him time to reflect on a concession which the Protestants themselves admit was exacted from him. Nevertheless, on the strength of hearing himself incessantly lauded as the saviour of the Catholic religion, Louis XIV. finished by applauding an act which was made to appear to him as the most glorious of his reign. The French were thenceforth to have but one law under one king. Louis XIV. was "another Constantine, another Theodosius." Never had a king done, or never could a king do, anything so memorable. The whole of Europe was in amazement at the promptitude and facility with which Louis XIV. had annihilated a heresy, against which the arms of ten kings, his predecessors, had been vainly directed!"

Then were the dragonnades carried on with new vigour. "Often there were not," says St. Simon, "more than four and twenty hours space between

the torture and abjuration, and between abjuration and the communion, to which the executioners were the conductors and the witnesses. Almost all the bishops lent themselves to this violent and impious course of proceeding. The greater portion of them cheered the hangmen in their labours, and swelled the number of their triumphs by forced conversions, an account of which was duly forwarded to the court, in order to give them a greater claim to consideration and reward.

From all quarters, the monarch received detailed accounts of these persecutions. It was not merely by tens, nor by hundreds, but by thousands, that converts were counted. That Louis should have been induced to take such a course may excite surprise, but it is to be remembered, that, under the care of Mazarin, he had been in the hands of the priests all his younger days. Those who opposed their views, he was told to regard as monsters or fiends. Such they painted the Huguenots; they were the foes of God, he had been taught, and could never be the friends of kings. While infamy and execration were accumulated on his name, for the horrors of which, by the revocation of the edict of Nantes, he became the author, "Louis the Great," as he was called, received complacently all the flattery which grovelling sycophants could offer, and supposed himself not only the wisest of monarchs, but the greatest of saints; at once the gifted law-giver of men, and the favourite servant of God. Pious joy illuminated his countenance, while masses were sung in honour of the glorious victories religion had gained over infidelity. Courtiers, now that piety was in fashion, had become astonishingly devout, while bishops joined to celebrate the incomparable services the king had rendered to heaven. From the desecrated pulpit, the praises of Louis were mingled with those of the Most High; and never were such varieties of exultation and gratitude brought under the eye of deluded royalty as at this moment, when blood was vainly flowing in every direction, and all France was filled with horror and confusion. The sacred labours which have been described, were regarded as more than expiating the gravest errors of his life. On all sides, those who surrounded the royal person joined to raise a song of praise, while beyond that select circle, the simple and sincere Christian—the true Catholic, and the prelates who remained faithful to duty, sighed to behold orthodox members of the church imitate, against heretics, the fury and atrocious violence which pagan tyrants, in other days, had employed against the martyrs. Catholics of real piety could not be consoled for the multitude of perjuries, and the countless instances of sacrilege, growing out of this state of things. They bitterly lamented the odium, lasting as incurable, which the use of means so detestable was calculated to bring on that faith, in which they coveted to live and die; while neighbouring nations, in their hatred to the name of France, exulted to see her weaken and destroy herself by such doings; and, profiting by her madness, formed hostile designs, which had for their object to combine against her all the Protestant nations of Europe.

The monstrous acts of the period are such as to provoke incredulity. A vivid picture is given of them, on the authority of a French manuscript, published about a century ago, which had till then been only privately circulated. According to the writer, unheard of atrocities were perpetrated by the authority of the most Christian king, and in the sacred name of outraged religion. When his soldiers entered a city they secured the gates and the various avenues, and sought the trembling inhabitants as if they were beating for game. No sooner had they entered the houses, where they were quartered on the occupants, but shrieks of alarm, and groans of anguish, were immediately heard. "They appeared," says the paper we quote, "so many devils let loose, and broke out of hell to make war upon mankind. Neither tears nor submission could move them: they hanged both men and women by the feet or hair of their head to the ceiling, or on hooks in the chimnies. They plunged them into wells or sloughs full of mud and filth. They half-roasted and basted their naked limbs with melted grease. They thrust red hot coals into the palms of their hands, then closed them by force. They poured wine into their bodies with funnels. They blew them up with bellows till their bellies burst. They tore the hair from their chins and head, and their nails from their fingers and toes. They stript them naked, and, after they had offered them a thousand indignities, stuck pins into them from head to foot. They pinched and gashed their skins with a penknife, and sometimes with red hot pincers nipped the flesh from their arms, or else took them by the noses and led them from room to room." Decorum forbids us to complete the picture drawn by this author: suffice it to say, that, according to him, females were outraged with the most merciless barbarity, while their husbands and fathers, tied to the bedposts in the same room, were the forced spectators of wrongs which they could neither avert nor punish. "Rich and poor, men and women, young and old, sick and sound—all, without distinction, were treated with equal barbarity; while the king and his confessor laughed at such inhumanities." "Thus," he adds, after further details, "France was a theatre full of dread and horror; the hangman was at work at all hours; and they that died in contempt of the king's orders, were dragged along the streets as a spectacle to the people, and then thrown into the common sewers."

Than the edict, revoking that of Nantes, nothing could have better forwarded the views of the enemies of France; Louvois deceived himself in supposing that an order, under his hand, would suffice to guard all the frontiers and all the coasts, so as to cut off the retreat of those who deemed it their duty, or who considered it necessary to fly. Fifty thousand families quitted the kingdom, carrying with them industry, commerce, the manufacturing and the fine arts. Acting on a wise and humane policy, Germany, Holland, England, and Switzerland, received the unhappy fugitives with open arms. One of the suburbs of London was completely peopled with artisans in glass and in steel. Berlin became a city. Prussia was immensely

improved. It is to these French refugees that the house of Brandenburg owes its elevation. The Dutch made good their promise, and built a thousand houses for them at Amsterdam. From them the states general obtained skilful officers to discipline their troops. The sovereigns of Savoy and Piedmont, who had in their own country treated the reformers with so much cruelty, paid those of France for coming among them; and, assuredly, it was not from zeal for religion that the Prince of Orange enrolled them. Become King of England, William formed a guard of six hundred gentlemen, and four regiments. Louvois persuaded himself that his fault would be repaired by confiscating the property of the emigrants, amounting to 17,000,000 within his reach.

Thirty years of reverses eventually opened the eyes of Louis XIV. Looking back to this period of his reign, when near the close of his life, he is said to have exclaimed, in the words of Augustus, "Varrus, give me back my legions."

To exasperate the people generally against the Protestants, it was attempted to renew the suspicions of poisoning, which, from time to time, had been whispered among them, ever since the famous trial of the Marquis de Brinvilliers. To that was joined an accusation of practising the arts of magic. By a criminal combination, the greatest names of France were sullied by base charges, criminating them with the vilest rabble of Bohemia. Voltaire has given a highly dramatic picture of this mysterious affair.

This state of things, which re-awakened popular excitement, by placing among the ranks of the accused such men as Luxembourg, and such women as the Countess of Soissons, passed unnoticed before the eyes of the great king, who believed himself as much the master of Europe after the treaty of Nimeguen as after that of Aix-la-Chapelle. At that very moment, it was his object firmly to establish the Catholic Stuarts in England, and at the same time to humble Protestant Holland and Germany. The warlike demonstrations without, had some connection with the *dragonnades* of Languedoc. Thus, at a time when the empire, Spain and Holland, had disbanded their troops, he was making extraordinary levies in his kingdom. Without ostensibly rekindling the war, he continued his conquests in Germany. The treaties of Westphalia, of Aix-la-Chapelle, and of Nimeguen, had given to France many towns and districts, "with their dependencies." The term was vague and very *extendable*; the ambition of Louis XIV. gave it the utmost latitude. Chambers, styled "re-union chambers," were instituted in the parliaments of Metz, of Besançon, and in the sovereign councils of Alsace, sitting at Brisach, to search for all the fiefs which had been recovered from the three bishoprics of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, and from the provinces of Alsace, Franche-Comté, and Flanders.

The orders issued by the magistrates were carried into effect by a body of troops. In this way Louis successively seized on Sarrebruck, Saarwerden, Falkenberg, and Gemershein, from the elector of Trèves; Weldentz, from

the elector Palatine ; Deux-Ponts from the King of Sweden ; Lauterbourg from the Bishop of Spire ; Montbeliard from the Duke of Wertemberg, &c. But there was in Alsace one city, of which Louis had long coveted the possession. This was Strasbourg, mistress of the Rhine, and long famous for her artillery. Most suddenly, twenty thousand men appeared under the walls of the place, commanded by the King of France, in pursuance of a resolution adopted by the chamber of Brisach, which gave him the whole of Alsace in full sovereignty. The principal magistrates being gained over, there was no resistance. The city opened its gates ; and Louis XIV. made a solemn entry there, September 30th, 1687. When he withdrew from it, he left Vauban behind, to fortify a city which was better provided with bastions than any other place in Europe.

The same day of the occupation of Strasbourg, the Marquis de Boufflers entered Cassel, which had been sold to the king by the Duke of Mantua. In the succeeding years, the chambers, acting always to the great satisfaction of their master, decreed the occupation of Courtrai, Dixmude, and Luxembourg. The diet of Ratisbon exhausted itself by useless protestations ; it was evident that Louis XIV. wished for war, and without the usual initiative, that intention was sufficiently announced by his armaments ; so much so, that no declaration was necessary. A hundred and fifty thousand men, well armed and well disciplined, were exercised in camp manoeuvres every day. Vauban, who had revived the science of fortification, made of France one vast camp, with entrenchments for twenty millions of men. He opposed Heminguen to Bâle, to cover the south from Alsace ; Lander to Philipsbourg, to cover the north ; Phalsbourg to Vitche, to command the Vosges ; Saarelouis to defend the plain between the Vosges and the Moselle. France, at the same time, became a maritime power of the first order. The military port of Brest was enlarged ; that of Toulon created, at an immense expense, and rendered capable of containing a hundred vessels of war, with an arsenal and a proportionate materiel. The like was done at Dunkirk, and on a still greater scale, at Rochefort. Companies of coast guards were created, and sixty thousand new sailors were obtained from the mercantile shipping. In a short time, Louis XIV. had two hundred ships, and a hundred thousand men to man them. The minister who displayed so much activity in a career at once military and commercial, to which France had been long a stranger, was a son of the great Colbert, the youthful Marquis de Seignelay, the new rival of Louvois, whom he prepared to assail in the bosom of his favourite labours.

To prove to Europe that this young navy, which had been created in a day, would be capable of sustaining its rank among its marine rivals, Louis sent his squadron, under the orders of Duquesne, to clear the Mediterranean of the pirates by whom it had been infested. He avenged himself on Algiers by a new art, the discovery of which was due to that attention which he had bestowed on calling into action all the genius of his age. This dismal, but

admirable art, consisted in the employing of bomb ships, by means of which maritime cities could be speedily reduced to ashes. There was then living a young man named Bernard Renaud, commonly known by the name of "the little Renaud;" and who, without having served in a ship, had become, from the force of his genius, an excellent mariner. Colbert loved to detect merit in obscurity, and had often caused him to be brought before the council on marine affairs, even in the presence of the king. It was from the care, labour, and intelligence, of Renaud, acted upon by a more regular method, that, after some time, the workmen under the government succeeded in the construction of galliots. He did not scruple to propose to the council that Algiers should be bombarded by the fleet. Till then, no one had had an idea that mortars with bombs could by possibility be used any where but on land. The proposition was thought extravagant. Renaud had to bear those contradictions, and that unsparing ridicule, which every inventor ought to expect; but the firmness and eloquence of this man, animated by a strong sense of the importance of his invention, induced the king to permit an experiment to be made with the formidable novelty. In consequence of this decision, Renaud caused five vessels to be constructed, smaller than ordinary ships, but with stronger timbers, without a deck, with a false tiller in the hold, on which they formed masses of brickwork, capable of receiving the mortars which were to be employed. He sailed with this



preparation under the orders of the old Admiral Duquesne, who was entrusted with the command of the expedition, but who avowed that he had

no expectations of success. He and the Algerines, in the sequel, were not a little astonished at the effect of the bombs, when it was found, in a short period, that a great portion of the city was in ruins or consumed.

This art soon found its way to other nations, and served but to extend the list of human calamities. It was more than once used with fatal effect against France, by whom it was invented.

Thrice was Algiers bombarded by Duquesne and D'Estrées, forced to give up all Christian prisoners, and to sue for peace. But while thus engaged, Louis XIV. did not scruple to sacrifice elsewhere the interests of Christianity to his projects against the house of Austria, and accordingly, imitated Francis I., by allying himself with the Ottoman Porte, and prompting it, underhanded, to invade Austria; while, on their side, the Hungarians were induced to revolt. The emperor had just acceded to a treaty, signed at the Hague, with Sweden, Holland, and Spain, to maintain in their integrity the arrangements formed by the treaties of Westphalia and Nimeguen. Easily moved by the insinuations of France, in accordance with the views of that power, an army of two hundred thousand Turks, without taking into account the Hungarian auxiliaries, marched under the orders of the grand vizier, Kora Mustapha, entered Austria, and advanced to the gates of Vienna. The Emperor Leopold, alarmed, fled to Lintz, and from Lintz to Passau, leaving his capital besieged by the barbarians, and almost incapable of defence. The presumption of the grand vizier, his effeminacy, his brutal contempt for the Christians, his ignorance and his want of activity, caused a total failure of the expedition. It was only through his having all the faults that have been enumerated, that Vienna was not taken. John Sobieski, King of Poland, with the assistance of the Duke of Lorraine, defeated the Turks, and compelled them to withdraw.

Leopold returned to his capital, while the grand vizier, on reaching Constantinople, received the bowstring, to requite his want of merit. Louis XIV., who would only place the emperor in this perilous situation, with a view of compelling him to implore his potent aid, felt greatly disappointed by the triumph of Sobieski; and regardless of appearances, he hastened to send into Belgium forty thousand men, who took Dixmude and Courtrai, bombarded Oudenarde, and laid siege to Luxembourg, which had already been blockaded since the preceding year; and all this was done to fulfil, as the king said on his tour, the spirit of the treaty of Nimeguen. Louis now felt the hopes which had been his of establishing a suzerainty over Europe, fast fading away; it was for him to find the mediation of the United Provinces, however advantageous it at first seemed to him, had been proposed with the full assent of the emperor, in order to make with him the best possible bargain that could be made with a powerful enemy, to allow him to recover breath from the two-fold dangers which had pressed on the sides of his empire, east and west; but in the eyes of the King of France, as to those of every statesman, it was evident that the period of

repose would be short, and that the pride of coalesced Europe would soon be exerted to ruffle his proud brow. Sad and calamitous had been the reign of Philip II., after his long dream of universal monarchy. Louis XIV. seemed to set fortune at defiance. He caused a repetition this year of the famous scene performed at the commencement of the reign, of the submission of Spain to the suzerainty of the King of France. The ambassadors of Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli, were the first who came humbly to implore pardon at the foot of his throne.

Tourville and D'Estrees had happily followed up against the barbarians the success of Duquesne. It had happened that when the Algerines surrendered all the Christian slaves to the captain of the ship, D'Amfreville, in the name of the King of France, certain Englishmen who were of the number were advised haughtily to maintain that they were only set at liberty in consideration of the king their master. Upon this, the French captain caused the Algerines to be called, and sending the English ashore, "These people," he said, "pretend that they are only delivered up in the name of their king; mine will not take the liberty to force upon them his protection. I therefore return them to you; and it remains for you to show what you owe to the King of England." The English were immediately secured, and taken away in chains; a visitation which they almost deserved for their folly.

When the news of the bombardment of Algiers arrived at Tunis, the Ottoman Porte was anxious to grant the French ambassador, M. de Lointel, the honours of the sofa, which the grand vizier had refused to him till then. Duquesne, whom they were astonished at finding no longer pursuing his successes on that ocean where his glory had been produced and matured, had received from the king a mission to humble a city of much more importance than the African towns. The republic of Genoa, having put itself under the protection of Spain, had constructed gallies for her service, and new ones more were then on the stocks. It had, moreover, given still greater offence by furnishing munitions of war to the Algerines. Louis XIV. took upon himself to forbid the magistrates, through his envoy, St. Olon, one of the gentlemen of his household, to launch a single ship of the four gallies which were expected by Spain. The Genoese, confidently relying on the protection of that power, did not condescend to pay any attention to the injunction of the French envoy. In consequence of this, a fleet of fourteen men of war, twenty gallies, ten galliots with bombs, and a hundred and ten transports, manned by fifteen thousand men, immediately quitted the port of Toulon, under the orders of Duquesne, and of the minister of the marines, Seignelay in person, with the Duke de Mortemar. For twelve days the city was perpetually exposed to the fire of the fleet. The galliots threw into it fourteen thousand bombs; fourteen thousand men disembarked, advanced to the gates, and burnt the faubourg of St. Pierre d'Arène. The city being half reduced to ashes, the magistrates were forced to humble themselves. The

king insisted that the republic should break off all relations with Spain, and that the doge himself, and his principal senators, should come to implore his clemency at Versailles, notwithstanding the law which forbade the doge to quit the city confided to his care, under pain of being degraded from his rank. Imperiali Lescari, the doge of Genoa, with the senators Lomelino, Garibaldi, Durazzo, and Salvago, in consequence of the demand thus urged, repaired to Versailles to do all the king required from them. The doge, in his state dress, spoke, wearing a red velvet bonnet, which he often removed. His speech and his marks of submission were dictated by Seignelay. The king listened to him seated and covered; but, as in all the great scenes of his life, he loved to combine politeness with dignity, he afterwards entertained Lescari and the senators with equal cordiality and magnificence. The ministers, Louvois, Croissy, and Seignelay, made them feel more acutely their overbearing pride. This was carried so far that the doge remarked upon it, "The king has taken from our hearts their liberty by the gracious manner with which he has received us; but his ministers have thought proper to give it back again." Almost every one has read that when the Marquis de Seignelay asked him what he found the most singular at Versailles? the answer of the doge was, "to see myself there."

The arrogance of Louis was not to be restrained within moderate limits. He wished to add to the homage he had received from Europe and Africa that of Asia. This produced what has been termed "the comedy of the Siam embassy." That taste, carried to an extreme pitch, which Louis XIV. had for imposing spectacles, was much flattered by the embassy which he received from Siam, a country in which, till that period, it had not been known that France existed. It happened through one of those singular instances; which proves the superiority of Europeans over those of the other portions of the globe, that a Greek, the son of an inn keeper of Cephalonia, named Phalk Constance, had become *Buscalon*, that is to say, prime minister of the grand vizier of the kingdom of Siam. This man, though desirous of confirming his greatness, and adding to it, feeling as he did a want of succour from abroad, had not dared to place confidence either in the English or the Dutch, whom he regarded as dangerous neighbours in the Indies. The French had just then established counting houses on the shores of Coromandel, and had carried to the extremities of Asia the fame of the greatness and reputation of their king. Constance took up the idea that Louis XIV. would be flattered by homage coming unexpectedly from a place so distant. Religion, the springs of which are made to play the political game of the world from Siam to Paris, served on this occasion to favour the Greek's scheme. He sent in the name of the King of Siam, his master, a solemn embassy, with great presents for Louis XIV., to make him understand that the Indian monarch, admiring his glory, wished to make a treaty of commerce with no European nation but France; and that he was even not indisposed to become a Christian himself. The grandeur of the king

flattered, and his religion thus honoured, induced him to send to the King of Siam two ambassadors, and six Jesuits; and afterwards he deputed some officers, with eight hundred soldiers, to the same court; but the *éclat* of this Siamese embassy, was the only fruit derived from it. Constance perished four years afterwards, the victim of his ambition. Some of the French who remained with him were massacred, others were compelled to save themselves by flight, and his widow, after having been on the point of seeing herself named queen, was condemned by the King of Siam's successor to serve in the kitchen, a situation to which she had been born." (*Siècle de Louis XIV.*) After this magnificent demonstration of his power and of his high pretensions, Louis considered that he had a right to treat with little ceremony the princes of Europe, even the pope himself, Innocent XI., who had been disposed to blame the King of France for his alliance with Turkey. The ambassadors from the courts of Europe at Rome possessed certain privileges which extended over the vicinity of their hotels. The pope had obtained from the emperor, from the Kings of Spain and Poland, and from the new King of England, the Catholic, James II., the renunciation of those rights which compromised the safety of Rome by interfering with the movements of the police. The Roman nuncio preferred the same request to Louis XIV. It was enough for him that the other princes had yielded to the wishes of the pope, to determine Louis to refuse. He therefore answered the representations of the nuncio, by saying "I have never been governed by the example of others; on the contrary, God has established me to serve for an example to others;" and as if to frighten the pontiff, on the death of the Duke d'Estrées, he sent to Rome a new ambassador, the Marquis de Lavardin, a proud and untractable man, who made his entry into the city, notwithstanding the prohibition of the pope, escorted by four hundred marines, four hundred volunteer officers, and two hundred men in livery, all armed. Scarce had he occupied his hotel, when he posted sentinels near his dwelling, causing them to go their rounds as in a fortress belonging to the king. Innocent employed against him the weapon of excommunication. The ambassador resisted; and the King of France, in consequence, arrested the nuncio at Paris, took possession of Avignon, and the pope was obliged to submit to superior force. Proud of these triumphs, Louis XIV. firmly awaited the attacks of Europe, which again leagued itself against him.

After the truce of Ratisbon, Leopold, as emperor and archduke of Austria, the King of Spain as next heir to the duchy of Burgundy, the King of Sweden for his possessions in Germany, the elector of Bavaria in his own name, and in that of the circle of Bavaria, the circle of Franconia, the house of Saxe, and the states on the circle of the Upper Rhine, had on the 9th of July, 1686, formed a league at Augsburg, the object of which was to maintain the treaties of Westphalia, of Nimeguen, and of the truce of Ratisbon. This league was definitively concluded at Venice the following year, during the carnival, by the Duke of Savoy. The prime mover in it

was the Prince of Orange. Louis XIV. wished then to prove to the confederates that he would not suffer himself to be surprised, and the pretended truce for twenty years, which he had signed at Ratishon, had never been regarded by him, but as a pretext to afford him an opportunity for re-assembling his troops, and pouring them into Germany. To the negative disposition of the princes, he opposed offensive pretensions, founded on the two following facts: by his sister-in-law, the Duchess of Orleans, he claimed the palatine succession, to which the coalition denied that he had any right; and by the elevation of the Cardinal de Furstemberg to the electorate of Cologne, he wished to overthrow Prince Clement of Bavaria, who was supported by the confederates. The Duchess of Orleans, placed by the Germanic constitution and the golden bull at a distance from the electoral throne, could only claim the allodial succession of her brother. That allodial succession comprehended the greater part of the palatinate. The new elector, Philip William, of the Neubourg branch, replied that the fiefs, whatever were their origin, once incorporated with the electorate, belonged, without division, to the feudal heir. As to the second grievance, that which passed at Cologne, was thus stated: "during the sickness of the last bishop, the king had circulated in the chapter money and promises so effectually, that the Cardinal Furstemberg, Bishop of Strasbourg, was promoted by the chapter to the electorate, at first as coadjutor, and afterwards as titular, on the death of the elector Ferdinand.

But according to the Germanic concordats, it was necessary that the newly elected should be confirmed in his bishopric by the pope, in his electorate by the emperor; now neither Leopold nor Pope Innocent XI. were sufficiently friendly with the King of France to allow his *protégé* to remain master of one of the great principalities of Germany. They opposed to the cardinal the Prince Clement of Bavaria, whom the pope declared eligible, though he was not of the age required, and though he had in the chapter but nine voices out of twenty-four. Innocent got over this difficulty, and confirmed in his case an election, which was very open to be contested. The two rivals were resolved to decide the question by force of arms. Furstemberg received a French garrison at Bonn, Kaiserwert, Rhinberg, and Neuss. Cologne was occupied by a corps of Brandenburg and Palatine troops. It was the interest of Louis XIV. to support his candidate; though the means of Landau, Sarrelouis, and Luxembourg, the elector of Trèves, that of Mayence and of the Palatinate, were in a manner speaking under the cannon of France; only the electorate of Cologne was wanting to render her the mistress of the Rhine. The king published a violent manifesto against the pope and emperor, and caused it to be followed by an army of eighty thousand men, commanded by the dauphin, then seventeen years of age, assisted by Vauban and Marshal de Duras. After sustaining a month's siege, Philipsbourg opened its gates; and in less than two months, Manheim, Keiserlauter, Kreutznach, Worms, Spire, Trèves, Mayence, Heidelberg,

Heibrom, all the palatinate, and the three ecclesiastical electorates were conquered.

We ought not to pass over this period, without noticing the final departure of one who had acted so extraordinary a part in connexion with the great events of the day as the Prince of Condé. His retirement has been mentioned. We may add, he did not escape neglect and suspicion. It was his wish that his son, the Duke d'Enghein, should be associated in the command of the army with himself, and as this was not gratified, he asked permission to withdraw from court. More fortunate than his friend and antagonist, Turenne, his suit was granted, with the gracious expression on the part of Louis, that in yielding it, he could not but regret, that he deprived himself of the ablest man in France. Condé withdrew to Chantilly, there to pass the evening of his life in dignified repose. In his retreat, he lived not as a hermit or misanthrope, but as a philosopher, and as a man of the world. Men of letters and science were always welcome to him. His former companions in arms were not forgotten, and his beloved retirement was awhile forsaken, that he might attend the sick-bed of the Marshal de Grammont, who was thought to have regained health through the soothing attentions of the prince. It was in 1769 that he withdrew from busy life, and at Chantilly he had the advantage of having his attention successfully turned to a sense of the importance of religion, which, though always opposed to impiety, he had been led to neglect. The favourable change was wrought in him by the efforts of his sister, the Duchess de Longueville, who, after a career of open dissipation, continued through many years with a degree of unblushing boldness seldom paralleled, had in old age become a pattern of devotion. Her advice, when dying, found its way to his heart, prevailed over those doubts which had rendered him indifferent to religious observances, and scepticism was no more.

In the year 1688, his health gradually declining, announced that he was soon to pass from that world, in which he had been one of "the foremost" men. He was perfectly collected and serene. He made a public apology for his past infidelity, took the sacrament required by the Catholic church, and received the last unction. He exhorted his son and nephew, and others who were about him when the final hour was at hand, to be faithful to God and the king; and having given directions concerning his funeral, on the 11th of December, 1688, he expired. His remains were removed to Valery, to be interred with those of his ancestors; his heart was deposited in the church of the Jesuits of the rue St. Antoine, at Paris. A solemn service was given at Nôtre-Dame in honour of the prince, in which the celebrated Bossuet gained great fame by the funeral oration he pronounced, and the felicity with which he seized on the stirring scenes and noble traits presented by the career of Condé, as fit themes for admiring eloquence. Bossuet was the intimate friend of the prince, and an able commentator of our own time forcibly remarks on that far-famed discourse, that "it evidently proceeded

as much from the warm gushings of the heart as from the efforts of his genius."

All of a sudden, an immense revolution, one most celebrated in history, arrested the progress of Louis XIV., and involved him in such reverses, that the glory of making a noble resistance alone has saved his name from oblivion and contempt. William of Orange, that daring stadtholder of Holland, who had raised himself on the ruins of De Witt, had married, during the reign of Charles II., the Protestant daughter of the Duke of York, who was a Catholic. The English nation, exasperated at the miserable part which Charles II. had been made to act in the great political discussions of Europe, had not seen without suspicion, nor without ill-will, the throne occupied after his death by the Duke of York. James II. seemed to make it his business to justify these suspicions and apprehensions. He received publicly at his court the nuncio of the pope, caused the English bishops to be arrested, and proceeded to the re-establishment of Catholicism in England with so little moderation, that the cardinals at Rome, endeavouring to dissemble their terror under an appearance of pleasantry, said, that "it was necessary to excommunicate him as a man who was determined to put down the little Catholicism remaining in England." This was at the moment when Louis XIV. made public his revocation of the edict of Nantes. In the midst of the hatred excited by that act against the King of France, James united himself more closely with him than ever, and caused the pamphlets published by the French emigrants to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, while he did not scruple to proclaim, that it was his intention to re-establish the Catholics in all their rights. Conduct like this united all parties against him; Tories and Whigs, supporters of the throne, and friends of the people; members of the English church and Presbyterians, high and low, made common cause in opposition to the fanatical monarch; and the leader on whom their unanimous choice fell at this moment, was the husband of James's daughter Mary, William, Prince of Orange. During the preceding fifteen years, William had been in correspondence with the heads of the Whig, or popular party; and in the present state of things, nothing was more easy than to conciliate the Tories also; and doing this, to isolate his own father-in-law in the midst of his kingdom. James, wholly occupied with the interests of Rome, suspected nothing; vainly did Louis XIV., more clear sighted than himself, perceiving the movements of the Prince of Orange, warn James, by the most pressing letters, to be on his guard, and announcing to him the secret armings which were going on in Holland. All was useless. James contented himself with answering, that he could depend upon his beloved daughter. This did not satisfy Louis. In a letter written to Barillon, his ambassador in England, dated September 30th, 1688, he complains of a want of energy on the part of James. "Your letter," he says, "of the 23rd of this month, informs me of the precautions which the King of England takes to guard himself against an invasion by the Prince of Orange in

England, and I am very glad to learn that he neglects nothing to make the prince repent of so unjust an enterprise; but I am on that account the more amazed at all the steps the said king takes at London and the Hague, to show that he had no part in the declaration which the *Sieur d'Avaux* made by my orders to the states-general. He ought not to doubt, that if any thing is capable of diverting the Prince of Orange from passing into England, it is the interest which I am seen to take in all that regards the said king. In whatever light the declarations which the King of England has made to the states-general are examined, there will always be found a weakness tending to encouraging the Prince of Orange in his first designs."

Louis wished to save the unfortunate king in spite of himself, and accordingly ordered a body of troops to advance towards Holland, at the same time declaring, that the bonds of amity subsisting between him and the King of Great Britain obliged him not only to advance to his assistance, but even to regard as an infraction of the peace, and as an open act of hostility against his crown, the first attack which should be made by Dutch armies or ships on his Britannic majesty. Then it was that to save Holland, and at the same time to further his projects, William concluded the treaty of Augsburg. The pride of Louis XIV. finding itself from that time sported with, it was not very probable that he would sacrifice it to the interests of his kingdom, which impatiently demanded that war should be declared against the Prince of Orange. Besides, had not James publicly disavowed Louis XIV., who, as he remarked, "had taken him under his protection as if he had been a petty prince of the empire!" It was therefore in vain that *Seignelay* proposed to send against the ports of Holland a considerable fleet, and fifty thousand men to *Maestricht*. The rival of *Colbert*, *Louvois*, advised war against Germany; and his counsel was followed. A month after the commencement of hostilities, it was known that a fleet of sixty ships of war, and seven hundred transports, had been some time detained in the ports of Holland by contrary winds, but had at length proceeded to England, and landed at *Torbay*, on the 15th November, 1688, the Prince of Orange, with four thousand five hundred cavaliers, eleven thousand infantry, and a great number of English lords and French refugees. This prince, whom *Voltaire* disdainfully terms "anything but an illustrious individual, who scarcely could boast of 500,000 florins of income," was preceded in due form by a manifesto, declaring that, called by the lords and commons of England, he had acceded to their request, because, as heir to the crown, he was interested in the preservation of their laws and their religion. A free parliament was the only remedy which could be supplied to remove the ills of the nation, and no parliament would ever be free under a king who reigned without regard to the laws. "We have, therefore," he continued, "taken the resolution to cross the sea with a sufficient force to support the decrees of a parliament that has regained its liberty; and also, in order to secure the means of supporting the Protestant religion, and a solid union between the English

church and the various Protestant sects, as well for the defence and repose of all who wished to live peaceably under the government. When James, disabused at last, wished to defend his crown, he could no longer find that energetic spirit which assures the triumph of a cause; he was abandoned by every one. Anne, his second daughter, and her husband, the Prince of Denmark and his favourite Churchill even, forsook his camp. Arrested in his flight, the weak and misguided monarch was taken by force to London by the populace, who had been excited by some of the partisans of William. The latter had for a moment cause for alarm, but his good fortune and his courage carried him through the danger. He made James a prisoner in his own palace, and sent him under a strong guard to Rochester, whence the poor king thought he effected his escape without the knowledge of his son-in-law, who desired nothing better than that he should so depart. That step completed the revolution. A national convention declared James II. to have forfeited the crown, which was then offered to William and Mary. James was safely conveyed to France. The queen, whose flight had been protected by Lauzun, repaired to St. Germain with the Prince of Wales. Louis XIV. went to Chatou to meet her, and said to her, "I render you, madam, a sad service now; but I hope shortly to render you a greater and a



happier one." James, on his arrival, was received with all the honours due to majesty, but his pusillanimity and his extravagant devotion brought upon him the ridicule of the French court. The Archbishop of Rheims, the brother of Louis, said aloud, speaking of him with scornful irony in his antechamber, "There is a pious man, who has given three kingdoms for a mass!"

However great his insignificance, Louis XIV. wished to use him as a scarecrow against William. The new King of England had scarcely taken possession of his throne, when he formed a new coalition against France. It was based on the alliance which the emperor and the states general concluded at Vienna, the 12th May, 1689; and to which William III., King of England, first acceded, December 20th, and Charles II., King of Spain, June 6th, 1690. The confederates agreed to make war in concert against France, and not to conclude a peace with her but on the terms of the treaties of Westphalia and the Pyrenees. They determined also to procure for the Duke of Lorraine the full and complete restitution of his estates. Finally, it was resolved that the succession of Spain, which Louis XIV. had proposed to claim for the dauphin, in case of the death of Charles II., should be secured to the emperor and his heirs. Duke Victor Amadeus of Savoy, adhered to the grand league by two alliances, which were signed, one at Milan with Spain, the other at Turin with the emperor.

But Louis XIV. had already commenced the war. Three hundred and fifty thousand men, divided into four armies, presented themselves on the frontiers of Flanders, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees. James II. had proceeded to Ireland with a fleet of twenty sail of the line. On his departure, Louis XIV., embracing him, said, "The best wish I can give you is that I may never see you again." James was received at Kinsale by the viceroy Tyrconnel, who remained faithful to his cause, and met with little difficulty in getting himself recognised by Catholic Ireland. But instead of passing over to Scotland, where the Highlanders had proclaimed him, and taken the field in his cause, he lost precious time in besieging Londonderry, which was defended by a Presbyterian, named Walker. This delay rendered the succour from France useless. The Chevalier de Chateau Renaud, who had conquered the English fleet commanded by Admiral Herbert, had landed five thousand men in Ireland, and on his return captured five Dutch ships. A fresh convoy afterwards left the ports of Brest, Rochefort, and Toulon. "The ports of Ireland and the English channel were filled with French vessels." At length, a fleet of seventy-two line of battle ships, and twenty fire ships, commanded by Tourville, vice-admiral of France, and having under his orders the Chevalier Chateau-Renaud, met, on the 10th of July, 1690, at Beachy Head, on the coast of Sussex, the Dutch and English fleet, consisting of sixty men of war, and thirty frigates and fire ships, under the orders of Admiral Herbert. The engagement lasted ten hours; seventeen of the allied fleet, disabled and dismasted, were either run aground or burnt; the remainder took refuge in the Thames and the Dutch harbours. Emboldened by this success, Seignelay, "who dared everything," caused the gallies of the Mediterranean to be brought on the ocean; it was a novel spectacle for England. The fleet, re-victualled at Havre, divided itself into many squadrons of cruizers; the gallies were made use of to effect a descent on Tynemouth, where they set fire to four ships of war, and more than thirty

merchant vessels. Unfortunately, the French fleet was unable to intercept the passage of William to Ireland. James, after having raised the siege of Londonderry, which occupied him four months, entrenched himself upon the Boyne. Contrary to the counsels of his generals, he determined to await the enemy in his camp. William, who had with him one of the most celebrated French emigrants of 1685, Marshal Schomberg, crossed the Boyne near Drogheda, his foot soldiers up to their shoulders in water, and his cavalry by swimming. This was on the 11th of July, the day after the defeat which the fleet sustained in the channel. The French alone battled for James; the Irish took to flight. The fallen king did not for an instant show himself in the battle. William, who had witnessed the fall of the veteran Schomberg at his side, and who had himself received a graze on the shoulder from a cannon ball, fought valiantly. For some time he was thought to be dead, and the rumour spread even to France. This false news was received at Paris with an indecent and shameless joy. Some of the inferior prefects incited the citizens, and those in the suburbs, to make illuminations. In many places effigies of William, made of wicker, were burnt, in the same way as Guy Fawkes is annually burnt in London. Cannon were fired from the Bastille, not by order of the king, but through the inconsiderate zeal of the commandant. "One would think," adds Voltaire, "from these signs of joy, and upon the faith of so many writers, that all this riotous demonstration of satisfaction at the supposed death of an enemy was the effect of the terror he inspired; there was none felt however. William, though the conqueror of James in Ireland, did not yet appear in the eyes of the French an enemy worthy of Louis XIV. The Parisians, who idolized their king, believed him really to be invincible. The rejoicings, therefore, were not the fruit of fear, but of hatred. The greater number of the Parisians, born under the reign of Louis, and formed for the despotic yoke, regarded a king as a divinity, and an usurper as a sacrilegious monster. The common people, who had seen James go every day to mass, detested the heretic William. The idea of a son-in-law and a daughter having driven a father out of his kingdom, of a Protestant reigning in the place of a Catholic, in short, of an enemy of Louis XIV. exulting in his triumph, transported the Parisians into a kind of fury; but wiser men thought more moderately. William, however, gave himself little concern about what was said at Paris concerning his supposed death. He tranquilly went on fixing himself firmly in his new kingdom, and rallied around him all parties by his moderate but firm policy. James, despairing of his cause, embarked at Waterford and returned to France. There remained to him in Ireland a great number of partisans and some strong places. Limerick, among others, valiantly defended by a captain of the guards, named Boisseleau, resisted the conqueror of the Boyne.

Louis, the source of whose generosity could not be mistaken elsewhere, found it necessary to keep William perpetually employed in his own

dominions. James had scarcely set his foot a second time on the French soil, when the French king caused a fleet of twelve ships of the line, and forty transports, to sail from the harbour of Brest, in order to land in Ireland three thousand regular troops, with engineers, cannoniers, bombardiers, and two hundred masons, sending at the same time saddles, bridles, housings for more than twenty thousand horses, cannons with their carriages, guns, pistols, and swords, to arm twenty-six thousand men, as also provisions, coats, and even twenty-six thousand shoes.

The forces sent were under the command of M. St. Ruth, who with other French officers had received commissions from James, though the orders of the French general were issued in the name of Louis. In January, Tyrconnel had arrived with three frigates and nine vessels with like succours. But these proving insufficient, bands of rapparees had been formed, who, as the companies had formerly done in France, subsisted on rapine, and indulged in the most horrible barbarities. Against these General Ginckel took the field for King William, and announced to the Catholic rebels that he was authorised to receive them if they would return to their duty, but this intimation produced little effect.

After various operations, desperate in themselves, but not very important in their consequences, St. Ruth having established himself at Aghrim, and being at the head of an army of twenty-five thousand men, resolved to hazard a general engagement.

The troops under Ginckel did not exceed eighteen thousand; but he was content to give battle. St. Ruth took up a strong position. His centre extended along a rising ground, intersected with ditches, with an almost impassable bog in his front; the castle of Aghrim defended his left, and he was strongly entrenched on the right. Before the strife commenced, he addressed to his men an animated harangue, calling upon them to strain every nerve, while fighting for their holy religion and labouring to extirpate heresy. He touched upon the importance of restoring a pious king to his throne, and added, to sustain their courage, the prayers of the church were theirs, and saints and angels attended to convey to Heaven those who might fall in the sacred cause.

It was on the Roscommon side of the river Sue that Ginckel encamped. Having reconnoitered the enemy on Sunday, 12th of July, the army passed the river at two fords and a stone bridge. About twelve o'clock the contest was begun, his men having advanced to the edge of the bog and attempted to force their way to the ground beyond. The enemy fought with fury, and the English horse were several times repulsed; but at length the troops on the right carried their point. It was, however, so late, that Ginckel resolved to suspend his operations till the next day, when, perceiving some disorder in the French camp, he changed his resolution. The left wing of the English, at six o'clock in the evening, engaged the right of the Irish. The latter was supported by St. Ruth, who perceived they were about to be over-

powered. This was observed by Mackay, who, aware that the French general had weakened himself by these detachments, ordered three battalions to skirt the bog and attack the enemy on the left, while the centre marched straight forward through the morass, the men being up to the waist in mud and water. Having gained the further side, they had to climb a hill defended by hedges and ditches, lined with musketeers, and at certain intervals provided with squadrons of horse. The assailants made a fierce attack, but were repulsed; and St. Ruth, confident of victory, shouted "Now will I drive the English to the gates of Dublin." Reinforcements, however, being timely brought up by Mackay, again turned the tide in favour of the English. Major General Ruvigny advanced with five regiments of cavalry to sustain the centre. To prevent the execution of his design, St. Ruth resolved to fall on him in a hollow way which he had to pass; and for this purpose was descending Kircommodon hill with his reserve, when he was killed by a cannon ball. His troops were dispirited and thrown into confusion by that event; and Ruvigny, having passed the hollow way, now charged the enemy in flank; the centre forced the Irish to the top of a hill; and then the whole line, overpowered, threw down their arms. The foot fled in one direction, the horse in another, and being closely pursued, the carnage was terrific. Above four thousand of the enemy were slain in this battle, which lasted but two hours. Six hundred were made prisoners, together with all their baggage, tents, provisions, colours, standards, and the whole of the supplies recently arrived from France. Of the English only eight hundred were left on the field. The vanquished retreated to Limerick, where Tyrconnel died of a broken heart. Limerick could not resist the conquerors. The Chevalier de Chateau-Renaud received on board his fleet the French auxiliaries, and fifteen thousand Irish, who preferred exile to remaining in Ireland in the situation to which it was then reduced, and from which it has even yet scarcely recovered.

But other effects were produced by the revolution in England. It arrested the progress of France in the electorates; while succouring James II., it was impossible to maintain the army on the Rhine in a position so formidable as that which it had assumed at the opening of the campaign, and to preserve all the countries which had rapidly been conquered. An order came to the army from Louis, signed Louvois, to reduce everything to ashes. This was a system of intimidation much favoured by the minister. "The French generals, who dared not refuse to obey," Voltaire writes, "were then obliged to drive out, in the middle of winter, the unfortunate inhabitants of the Palatinate and the neighbouring provinces. It was the second time, during the reign of Louis XIV., that this beautiful country was rendered desolate; but the fires with which Turenne had burnt two cities and twenty villages of the Palatinate, were but sparks in comparison with this last conflagration. Spires, Worms, Heidelberg, Manheim, and a multitude of burghs and villages, were given to the flames. The Palatinate, the Electorate of

Trèves, and the Margraviate of Baden, were covered with ruins. Never had the Vandals, who, at a former epoch, passed over this country, committed such awful atrocities. The principal agent of this devastation was a field-marshal named Méac, the creature of Louvois. This man, according to the memoirs of the times, was not deficient in valour, and had followed the trade of a partizan with credit, till he attained the dignity of colonel. But his merits were obscured by miserable defects. Among other weaknesses, he wished to pass for an atheist, and maintained that there was no devil. Of that he said he was convinced, because he had done everything in the world to have commerce with him, without being able to succeed. The Marshal Duras had principally employed him in these horrible burnings, which were continued through two years; he had executed this cruel commission with the most inflexible rigour; all the German peasants believed him to be a sorcerer, and his name had become the terror of the people. It was his fancy to sleep with two great wolves in his bed chamber, to give him an air of greater ferocity. The whole of Germany rose to protest, in arms, against this anti-social barbarism. Scarce had the diet of Ratisbon declared war against Louis XIV., than France was menaced by three armies. The first, commanded by the Prince of Waldeck, was combined with the Dutch in the Low Countries, with the Spanish and English, under Churchill, known as the Duke of Marlborough, and overcame Marshal d'Humières at Valcourt; the second, under the orders of the Duke of Lorraine, besieged Mayence, where the Marquis d'Uxelles was shut up; and the third, commanded by the Elector of Brandenburg, besieged Bonn, which was defended by Baron d'Asfeld.

These two places made an obstinate resistance for the space of three months; but through the inertness of Marshal Duras, who ought to have brought them assistance, they were compelled to capitulate. Marshal d'Uxelles made twenty-one sorties, but was at last forced to surrender from the want of ammunition. "Nevertheless," says Voltaire, "Paris, that immense city, filled by a lazy multitude, who must judge of everything, and who had so many ears and tongues, and so few eyes, took upon themselves to insult the Marshal d'Uxelles. This man, to whom the best officers gave the highest praise, was publicly insulted at the theatre, with hisses and shouts of 'Mayence,' on his return from the campaign. He was obliged to retire from public life, not without feeling, in common with all wise men, contempt for a people who so badly appreciated merit, but whose praise he had been ambitious to obtain." This campaign cost France 120,000,000, for Colbert had let no one into the secret of his financial genius. The following year, Luxembourg, the accused of the *chambre ardente*, being reconciled with the king, replaced D'Humières in the Low Countries, contrary to the wish of Louvois, whose favour was wonderfully on the decline. "I promise you," said the king to Luxembourg, on his departure, "that I will see that Louvois goes right. I will compel him to sacrifice for the good of my service

the hatred he has for you ; you shall not have to write to him ; your dispatches shall come direct to myself." France had five armies in the field ; Luxembourg in Flanders ; Boufflers in the Moselle ; De Lorges, with the dauphin, in Germany ; Noailles in Catalonia ; and Catinat in Italy.

In France, the Prince of Waldeck, who had beaten D'Humières, threw himself upon the Sambre, behind Fleurus, near Charleroi, for the purpose of joining the Elector of Brandenburg, who was manœuvring on the side of the Moselle. Luxembourg resolved to reach the elector before this junction could be completed ; he therefore paraded on the Sambre, in order to occupy the enemy, gave Boufflers time to rejoin him, then precipitated himself on the camp of Fleurus, and obtained a most complete victory ; taking eight thousand prisoners, two hundred flags, all their artillery, and leaving six thousand dead on the field. Unfortunately, Luxembourg lost the opportunity afforded for profiting by this success. He permitted the enemy to rally at Brussels, behind the army of the elector, whose superior numbers prevented him from attacking them in front. Upon the Rhine, the ninety thousand men, under the command of the dauphin and Marshal de Lorges, rested on their arms before the Elector of Bavaria, successor to Charles of Lorraine, without daring to risk a battle. The same occurred in Catalonia ; but the army of Italy showed itself worthy to rival that of Luxembourg. Catinat, with twenty thousand men, threw himself upon Saluces, whilst a body of troops, detached from the army of the Rhine, subjected Savoy. The Duke of Savoy, who endeavoured to cut off the communications between Catinat and Feuquières, whom he had left behind him, found himself awkwardly engaged in a bad position, near the abbey of Staffarde, and was completely beaten. The result of this victory obtained for France Suze and Saluces ; and in the following year, Villefranche, Nice, and Montmélián, which latter was considered impregnable.

In the Low Countries, the king himself had resumed the command of the army. William III., who had re-crossed the sea, leaving the pacification of Ireland to his lieutenants, could not prevent the capture of Mons, which surrendered after the trenches had been opened nine days. The King of England was more fortunate before Liege, having compelled the Marquis of Boufflers, who besieged it, to withdraw. The retiring of the two kings, who each thought he had done enough for his part, did not terminate the campaign ; Luxembourg surprised the Prince of Waldeck in his retreat, and overpowered the rear-guard at the battle of Leuze.

The campaign of 1692 was opened by the taking of Namur, at which Louis XIV. and William were present ; the former as principal actor ; the latter as a forced spectator—Luxembourg having kept him in check during the whole of the siege. William wished to have his revenge on this general. Luxembourg, deceived by false intelligence, was quietly seated in a defile between Steinkerque and Enghien. Most unexpectedly, he was informed that the brigade of Bourbonnais had been routed by the King of England.

Though severely indisposed at the time, Luxembourg rallied the fugitives, put himself at the head of a brigade of guards, with the Duke of Orleans, Condé, the duke, grandson of the great Condé, and the Duke de Vendôme, and sent M. Choisseul with the king's household troops against an advantageous position which the English occupied. In a few moments the battle was restored. The cavalry, which could not act in that mountainous country, remained quiet spectators of the struggle; it was the first



victory that the infantry had won wholly by themselves, and it gained them immense popularity. The princes having dressed themselves hastily for the battle, had negligently thrown their laced cravats round the neck; and in consequence of this becoming known, the ladies wore ornaments made on that model which they called *Steinkerques*. All the new jewellery, made at that period, was required to be "*à la Steinkerque*." Luxembourg became the idol of the nation; the name of "*Upholsterer to our Lady*," formerly bestowed upon him, was heard no more.

In this battle, the Duke de Chartres, then under fifteen years of age, distinguished himself by the fury with which he, in concert with the other dukes, assailed the English, who were ill supported by the Count Solms, who commanded the centre of the allied army. He, indeed, grossly failed in his duty; for when the Prince of Wirtemberg had taken a battery and penetrated the enemy's lines, seeing himself likely to be overpowered by numbers, sent an aide-de-camp twice to solicit aid from the count, instead of succouring him, he made a jest of his perilous situation; saying to those about him, "*we shall now see what sport these English bull-dogs will make.*" When ordered

by the king to sustain the left wing, he made a movement with his horse, which he was aware could not then be made available, but did not push forward his infantry; and in consequence the whole brunt of the day fell on the British, strengthened by a few Dutch and Danish auxiliaries. They, however, gallantly maintained the strife; and the fate of the day remained doubtful till Boufflers joined the French army with a strong body of dragoons, which it was impossible for them to resist, when they retreated in tolerably good order.

Even in defeat, France had incontestably found glory. Louis XIV. had never despaired of re-establishing James II., at least in Ireland, thereby chaining in his new dominions the rival whose ambition he dreaded—William of Orange. Seignelay was dead; but he had left the navy in a flourishing state. Pontchartrain, secretary of state, plumed himself on this inheritance before Louis XIV., and had no difficulty in assembling, between La Hogue and Cherbourg, three hundred transports, which, thanks to the care of his predecessor, were in a complete state of preparation. In these, fifteen thousand men were embarked, under the orders of James and Marshal de Bellefond. Tourville and Count d'Estrées had orders to sweep the Channel, where the English admiral Russell then cruized. Tourville fell back, waiting for the squadron under D'Estrées, consisting of thirty sail. But the wind changed, and the count could not rejoin Tourville. Louis, who believed that he had intelligence on which he might safely depend, of the state of things in the enemy's fleet, gave positive orders to his admiral to engage. Tourville, whose squadron consisted but of forty-four men-of-war, and eleven fire-ships, fell in near La Hogue with the combined Dutch and English squadrons, nearly a hundred sail strong, with eighteen fire-ships. Louis had been apprised of the junction of the Dutch and English fleets, and had sent a letter, countermanding the order previously given to Tourville, by two several vessels; but one of them was taken by the English, and the other did not arrive till it was too late to be of any service. Obeying the order he had received, Tourville bore down on Russell's own ship, which he engaged with great fury. At one o'clock, his rigging and sails being considerably damaged, his ship, the "Rising Sun," was taken out of the line in great disorder. The engagement continued till three, when it was interrupted by a thick fog; and after this had passed away, the enemy were seen steering to the northward. Russell gave chase, and came up with the enemy about eight in the evening, and engaged them for half an hour, during which period, Admiral Carter having received a mortal wound, exhorted his captain to fight so long as the ship could float, and expired.

Their superior strength gave victory to the allies; but not one of Tourville's ships was compelled to strike. Unfortunately, the port of Cherbourg could not receive nor afford protection to the French fleet. The "Rising Sun" having lost her masts, ran ashore near Cherbourg, where she was burnt by Sir Ralph Delaval, together with the "Admirable," another first-rate, and

the "Conquérant," of eighty guns. Twelve ships, run aground by Tourville in the open roads of La Hogue, were also consumed. The rest retreated to Brest and St. Malo, the only fortified port which France had on the line of the Channel. "Is Tourville safe?" asked Louis, when he received news of the loss of the battle. "New ships we may procure, but an officer like him could not easily be replaced." The vanquished admiral received the baton of a marshal.

The defeat of La Hogue was not, whatever may be said, the ruin of the French marine. A few days after the battle, the ships which had withdrawn to St. Malo succeeded in capturing two merchant fleets. In the following year, the squadron of Tourville and D'Estrées formed together ninety-five sail. On the 27th of June, 1693, Tourville attacked, between Logos and Cadiz, a convoy of the Levant, escorted by twenty-seven ships of war, commanded by Admiral Sir George Rooke. But fifteen ships of the escort escaped; the rest were taken, or sunken with the convoy, consisting of eighty sail. This victory cost the allies more than 40,000,000. But it was not so much the royal navies that damaged the commerce of England and Holland as the corsairs, which were most active in their depredations. Squadrons, or single cruisers, commanded by Duguay-Trouan, Jean Bart, Forbin, Nesmond, Pointis, Ducasse, enriched with the spoils of the merchants of London, Cadiz, and Amsterdam, the privateers of Dunkirk, Dieppe, Havre, and St. Malo. In the course of nine years, the last-mentioned city saw two hundred and sixty-two ships of war, and three thousand three hundred and eighty merchant vessels, brought into its harbour. The English wished to make short work of these insignificant towns. St. Malo was attacked the first; but the infernal machine, which was to have reduced it to ashes, missed its aim. It illumined the ocean for more than half a league around.

In the following year, the turn of the other cities came; a *coup de main* against Brest was attempted by the English, but in vain. Vauban had armed the road with four hundred pieces of cannon; but Dieppe, not equally fortunate, was reduced to a heap of ruins. Havre was bombarded, but with little effect; and two new infernal machines failed before Dunkirk, as the first one had done before St. Malo. The Dutch had even the mortification to see on their coast a corsair from Dunkirk disperse their fleet, snatch from it a convoy of grain, which Louis had caused to be brought from the Baltic, and return to Dunkirk through the midst of an English squadron, which blockaded the port. Luxembourg, the conqueror at Steinkerque, recollected that William had attempted to surprise him, and was not desirous to remain in debt; but William had just escaped with forty thousand men from Louis, who had held him shut up with a hundred thousand men, as Turenne had held Montécuculli, eighteen years before, at Saltzbourg. It was recollected, that Louis XIV. had previously suffered an opportunity for defeating William to be lost in 1676, at the siege of Bouchain. It may be remarked, that this was the last time he appeared at the head of an army.

While William supposed Luxembourg to be fully occupied under the walls of Liege, after having routed the Austrian general Tilly near Maestricht, the marshal attacked his entrenched camp at Nerwinde, defended by a hundred pieces of cannon. Three times the village was taken and re-taken. Luxembourg threw himself into the entrenchments. William, at the head of the French regiment of Ruigny, which was formed of Protestant gentlemen, sustained the attack for ten hours. At length, the king's household troops, which had not yet been engaged, having taken Nerwinde in the rear, established Luxembourg definitively in possession of the village. "Oh! the insolent nation!" is reported to have been the exclamation of William, in retiring from the charge of the French cavalry. That movement decided the fate of the battle; and the allies precipitately retreated. Their loss was severe; they left on the field of battle twelve thousand killed and wounded, two thousand prisoners, seventy-six pieces of cannon, eight mortars, nine pontoons, the materiel of their artillery, sixty standards, and twenty-two colours. It is, however, to be added, that Luxembourg lost no fewer than eight thousand men. Looking at so great a loss, it was remarked on this occasion, that it would be proper to sing *de profundis*, rather than *Te Deum*. "If anything," says Voltaire, "could console us for the horrors of war, it would be the speech made by the Count de Solms, as he lay wounded and a prisoner in Tirlemont." The Marshal de Luxembourg was attending to him with the most assiduous care. "Of what nation are you?" inquired the prince; and this being answered, he added, "There are no enemies more to be feared on the battle field, and no friends more generous after the victory is gained!"

Catinat seemed also to have no wish to remain in arrear with the conqueror at Fleurus, at Steinkerque, and at Nerwinde. The Duke of Savoy, who, after the battle of Staffarde, had received a reinforcement, and again ventured on offensive operations, had thrown himself on the frontiers of Dauphiny. Repulsed by Catinat, he occupied himself with the siege of Pignerol. To make a diversion in his favour, the marshal feigned a disposition to attack Turin, and drew the enemy to a spot near La Marsaille, where the Duke of Savoy was in great force prepared to receive him. The battle was gained by a charge of the bayonet of twenty French battalions. This was another victory obtained by infantry. The enemy left twelve thousand men, and all his artillery, on the field of battle, and abandoned Piedmont to the victors. On the Rhine, the war continued to spread desolation over the country; and the generals who ravaged it officially disgraced themselves by the greatest cruelties at Heidelberg, affecting to exercise extreme severity towards marauders. "They caused," writes Yillian, "about twenty soldiers to be hanged daily."

The campaign of the year 1694 was not signalized by any remarkable success, save the victory of Ter, gained by Noailles over the Spaniards, who, however, failed before Barcelona. We must here particularise, as a *chef*

d'œuvre of stratagy, the famous march of Luxembourg, who, unknown to William of Orange, traversed forty leagues in four days, and, by this rapid manœuvre, covered the frontiers from the Scheldt and La Lys to the ocean, and saved the cities of maritime Flanders, on which William had pressed with his army and fleet.

This was the last, as it was the most admirable campaign of Luxembourg. That great captain, the worthy pupil of Turenne and Condé, died at Versailles, January 4th, 1695, at the age of sixty-seven years. His post of captain of the guard, and his command, were given to Marshal la Villeroy, a courtier, whose operations were marked but by a series of faults.

Luxembourg was dead; Seignelay was dead; Louvois himself was dead. The king, who had found himself disposed to confide for a short time the marine department to the son of Colbert, had also some hope from the son of Louvois, Barbazieux, a young man twenty-four years of age. "I have formed your father," said he to him; "I will form you in the same manner." Louis XIV. had, however, no longer at his call the fine armies which Louvois had created, perfectly equipped, and full of enthusiasm. The care of the navy and the administration of the finances, together, perhaps, overpowered a skilful man, Pontchartrain; but the genius of Colbert was wanting to sustain a navy which had had no infancy—which was born amidst the convulsions of war, and to find in France, exhausted as she was, money, as Louis had found men. Voltaire gives, in four sentences, an epitome of her situation. "It now began," said he, "to be found very difficult to find recruits in France, and even still more difficult to obtain money. The severity of the season, which cut off the fruits of the earth, failed not to introduce famine. The people perished in misery, while *Te Deum* was sung, and amidst general rejoicings. The spirit of confidence and superiority—the soul of French troops—had, however, been already diminished."

Villeroy was not the man who could restore things to their former state. With an army of eighty thousand men under his command, he suffered William III. to retake Namur, into which Marshal de Boufflers had thrown himself with seven regiments of dragoons. Instead of acting directly against the besiegers, which he might have done, as he was superior in numbers, he thought to save Namur by taking Dixmude and bombarding Brussels. This was useless—a piece of unnecessary cruelty.

In the course of ten years, the expenses of the war had absorbed 703,416,000 francs. The re-coinage and the alteration in the money current, by deteriorating it, had given 40,000,000. The "taille," or poll tax, had been doubled; small towns erected into governments; the titles of the noblesse, the offices of the municipal functionaries were sold, and forty thousand new offices were created in the course of thirty years. Pontchartrain, we read in the memoirs of Choissy, had produced in eight years 150,000,000 by means of parchment and wax, in imagining situations, and making foolish bubbles for sale, which were readily sold. Necessity caused an impost to be created,

the last and most just of all, a capitation tax. All the heads of families, without distinction of order or rank, were liable to it; and divided into twenty-two classes, the king being in the first. This impost produced twenty-two millions. The people now perceived the embarrassments of the government; the war and the ambition of Louis XIV. were become unpopular. As is usual in such cases, satirical songs were produced; and squibs were circulated on Père la Chaise, on the Jesuits, and on the king's bastards. Some of them did not scruple to attack the king himself; and even went the length of calling him the son of Cardinal de Mazarin. Calvinistic pamphlets were seen in every part of the kingdom; and they spared not the prince who had revoked the edict of Nantes—he was the Ahasuerus of France, who had made himself pope, mufti, high priest, and absolute monarch, over all sacred things.

Everything proved that the war was grievously out of favour; and Louis himself began to grow weary of it. It would have been impolitic to offer, or rather to demand, peace from the allies *en masse*; it was judged better to do as had been done at Nimeguen, to separate their interests, and make or obtain from each the requisite concessions. In the year 1693, Louis had invited the mediation of Sweden; and proposals had been submitted by the mediator to the states general and the emperor. While all attention was absorbed on that side, Louis XIV. deputed to the Duke of Savoy, first the Count de Tessy, afterwards the Marshal de Catinat. Preliminaries were agreed to at Our Lady of Loretto; and afterwards a definitive treaty was concluded at Turin, on the 20th of August, 1696. Louis gave back to the duke all his conquests, even Pignerol, the fortifications of which were to be razed. It was stipulated that Mary Adelaide, daughter of Victor Amadeus, should marry the son of the Duke of Burgundy, grandson to Louis XIV. The Duke of Savoy was henceforth to be placed on the footing of a crowned sovereign.

That which he had foreseen occurred; each power made a separate peace. Spain, following the emperor, subscribed to the neutrality of Italy, which was provided for in the treaty. At length a congress was opened at Ryswick, in Holland, under the mediation of Sweden. The king was represented at it by Messieurs de Harlay, de Crécy, and de Colières. Negotiations appeared likely to be spun out to a great length. The armies, however, moved to accelerate their progress. In Flanders, Ath fell into the hands of the Marshal de Catinat. In Spain, Barcelona, besieged by land and by sea, surrendered, after resisting for fifty-two days, to the Duke de Vendôme and to the Count d'Estrées. Vendôme was made Viceroy of Catalonia, and the Count de Coligny governor of Barcelona. In the new world, the Commodore de Pointis surprised Carthagena, the richest city in Mexico, inflicted on the Spaniards a loss of 30,000,000, and returned to France, having successfully avoided the English cruisers; while Duguay-Trouin captured a Dutch fleet on its way from Bilbao.

Spain hastened to come to a conclusion. On the 20th September, 1697, peace was signed between England, Spain, Holland, and France. All the conquests made by Louis since the treaty of Nimeguen were given up, and William III. solemnly recognised as King of England, to the exclusion of the Stuarts from the throne. The treaty with the emperor and the empire was not signed till 30th October. Louis XIV. retained Strasbourg; but he relinquished all the places which he had gained since the treaty of Nimeguen, and Fribourg, Philisbourg and Brisach. Leopold, son of Duke Charles V., regained possession of Lorraine, with the exception of Sarrelouis, the King of France reserving to himself the right of a free passage through the duchy. Clement of Bavaria was recognised by Louis XIV. as Elector of Cologne; the Cardinal de Furstemberg was reinstated in his property, honours, and dignity, by the emperor; finally, the pretensions of the Duchess of Orleans to the succession of the Palatinate was arranged by a pecuniary indemnity.

Whatever might be the good disposition of the parties who were concerned in all the treaties made since the peace of Westphalia, to maintain what statesmen now began to call "the equilibrium of Europe," they proved, through the influence of some parties, or by the force of events, merely armistices. At Nimeguen, as at Aix-la-Chapelle, as at Ratisbon, it was Louis XIV. who reserved to himself, in *petto*, the right and the occasion to recommence the war. At Ryswick he wished for peace, as did every one; but the course of events decided otherwise. One of the high contracting parties, Charles II., King of Spain, King of Naples and of Sicily, sovereign of Flanders, of a part of Italy, of many islands in the ocean, of the Mediterranean, and the Indian sea, Emperor of Mexico and Peru, languished, threatened by approaching death. He could leave no legitimate heirs; and thus a vast field for speculation was opened to various pretenders. Not to speak of the King of Portugal, whose claim rested but on an old alliance of the fifteenth century, there was the dauphin of France, sustained by Louis XIV., the Archduke Charles, second son of the Emperor Leopold, and Prince of Bavaria, son of the elector, protected, the one by the Queen of Spain, the other by the mother of Charles. The latter princess had obtained from her son a will in favour of the young Prince of Bavaria. After the death of the queen mother, in 1696, the Count de Harrach, ambassador from Leopold to Madrid, had procured the will to be annulled, and obtained new promises in favour of the Archduke Charles. These intrigues were going on when the treaties of Ryswick were concluded. William III., who was equally afraid of seeing the immense Spanish succession pass into the hands of the Bourbons, or into those of the house of Austria, proposed secretly to Louis XIV. a treaty of eventual partition, which was signed at the Hague, October 11th, 1698, by France, England, and Holland. It was agreed that the dauphin should possess the kingdom of the two Sicilies, the presidencies of Tuscany and Guipuscoa; the Archduke Charles, received the Milanese; the Prince of Bavaria, the remainder of the Spanish monarchy in Europe and in America.



The Duke of Anjou recognised as King of Spain.

The dying king, on learning that this division of his monarchy had been decided upon while he was still in existence, was outrageously indignant at the step, and declared the Prince of Bavaria his sole and universal heir; but that prince died a few months afterwards at Brussels.

New intrigues soon agitated the courts of Madrid, Vienna, Versailles, London and the Hague. Notwithstanding the feeling manifested by Charles II., a new treaty of partition was agreed to in London, between France, England, and the states general, in March, 1700. On this occasion, the Archduke Charles had that portion of the Spanish possessions assigned to him, which, in the first instance, was reserved for the Prince of Bavaria. The share of the dauphin was augmented by Lorraine, in exchange for which Duke Leopold was to take the Milanese. The emperor was blind enough not to accept a treaty so advantageous for the house of Austria; he was determined, he said, "to have all or nothing," and in this latter point he was satisfied. Charles, yielding to the solicitations of the grandees of Spain, gained over by the Marquis d'Harcourt, ambassador of Louis XIV., and threatened by an assembling of the Cortes, declared Philip, Duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin of France, his legitimate and universal heir. This was his last will. He died a month afterwards, on the 1st November, 1700. The will thus obtained was kept so profound a secret, that the Count de Harrach flattered himself still that the archduke was recognised as successor to the throne. He awaited for the result of a grand council, held immediately after the death of the king. The Duke of Abrantes at length advanced to him with open arms. The ambassador never doubted but that the crown was his, when the duke, embracing him, said, "*Vengo a despedirme de la casa de Austria*," (I have just taken leave of the house of Austria). So little idea had Louis of this when he signed the treaty of Ryswick, that it was some time before he could bring himself to recognise the will of Charles II. The majority of the council, however, as well as Madame de Maintenon, being in favour of accepting it, he at length gave way. On leaving the council he met the Princesses de Conti. "Well," he said to them, "what part have you taken?" He added, without waiting for their reply, "whatever part I may take, I know very well I shall be blamed."

One month after the death of Charles II., Louis sent his grandson to Spain, making use of these remarkable words, "The Pyrenees have ceased to exist." Philip V. had been proclaimed at Madrid on the 14th November, 1700. He made his solemn entry into his capital on the 14th April, 1701. "Europe," says Voltaire, "appeared astounded and powerless with surprise, when she beheld the Spanish monarchy subjected to France, whose rival she had been for the last three centuries. Louis XIV. might now be regarded as the most powerful, as well as the most fortunate monarch of the earth. He saw himself, at the age of sixty-two, surrounded by a numerous posterity. One of his grandsons was about to govern, under his orders, Spain, America, half of Italy, and the Low Countries." England, Holland, the Duke of

Savoy, and the Elector of Bavaria, had recognized the new king; the emperor alone hazarded a timid protest. There was but one fault which could change the friendly disposition of Europe; and Madame de Maintenon's influence with Louis XIV. made him commit that fault. James II. had died at St. Germain. The council refused his son, known under the name of the Chevalier St. George, the title of King of England; but the advice of De Maintenon prevailed, and on the very day the council had decided not to recognise him, he was proclaimed James III. William had not been easily inclined to amity with the King of France, but had been brought to it because it was exacted by the Tories of his parliament; this injury inflicted on him by Louis gave him back at once his original hate for him, and that at a moment when the Dutch had themselves been grievously insulted. Twenty thousand French had taken possession of the Low Countries, and had forced the Dutch troops to evacuate every place which they held in garrison, by virtue of the treaties formed with Charles II. On the 7th of September, 1701, a treaty of alliance was concluded at the Hague, between the emperor, the King of England, Holland, and the Electors Palatine of Brandenburg and Hanover, in order to procure to his imperial majesty a reasonable satisfaction on the subject of the Spanish succession; and to Great Britain and to the United Provinces a satisfactory guarantee for the security of their possessions, commerce, and navigation. William caused a special article to be added, in which the emperor engaged never to make peace with France till Great Britain had received satisfaction for the recent injury she had sustained. The league was successively increased by the accession of the King of Prussia, Frederick I., and all the circles of Germany, Portugal, Sweden, and Savoy. Death arrested William in his vast projects, March 19th, 1702; but all his hatred to France he bequeathed to his sister-in-law, Anne Stuart, wife of the Prince of Denmark, and second daughter of James II. The English minister, Godolphin, and the grand pensioner of Holland, Heinsius, replaced William in the council of the great alliance, as Eugene and Marlborough did in his armies. What, under these circumstances, was the situation of France and its monarch? An old man, isolated in the midst of new generations, deprived of his great contemporaries, reduced to make Chamillard fill the post which had been occupied by Colbert and Louvois; while Turenne, Condé, and Luxembourg, had for their successors Marsin, Tallard, and Villeroy. Believing that his choice endowed with genius, that his will compelled victory, and suffering his choice to be directed, and his will inspired, by Madame de Maintenon, he had at this date reached the decline of his fortunes, and the commencement of his reverses." "The old sultana," continues Mignet, the writer just quoted, "had concentrated the kingdom in her chamber; it was there the councils were held, generals appointed, and plans of campaigns laid down. If the general wished to undertake any great enterprise, it was often indispensable that her permission should be solicited, and a courier being despatched to obtain this,

might find on his return that the favourable opportunity had been lost, or the general defeated. Madame de Maintenon wished to resemble Queen Anne of England; but she had no minister like Godolphin, and no general like Marlborough. By her it was that the famous Prince Eugene, the son of the Countess de Soissons, the co-accused of Luxembourg in the scandalous affair of Voisin, was made an enemy of France."

Under a veil of modest diffidence and pious resignation, this woman cherished the most extravagant ambition. It was not enough for her that, from having been happy to become the wife of Scarron, to rescue herself from want, she had now become the consort of a powerful monarch, she aspired, lowly as her origin was known to have been, to be publicly proclaimed Queen of France. An anecdote on this subject is recorded by the Duke de St. Simon, which tells not a little in favour of Louvois, considering the sort of pact which had been formed between him and Madame de Maintenon. It would seem to shew that, in an extreme case, he could prefer the honour of his king to the smiles of his associate in power. Perhaps it may be surmised, that he apprehended, if her object were gained, she would have felt his co-operation no longer necessary to carry out her schemes. The duke tells that Madame de Maintenon had nearly succeeded in gaining her object, and the king had consented to make public the marriage. The affair was about to transpire, when, determined to prevent such an exposure, Louvois deemed it expedient to obtain a renewal of the promise, which the king had made to him and to the archbishop, when the nuptial ceremony was performed. "Such being his purpose," St. Simon writes, "he sent for the Archbishop of Paris to Versailles, and, immediately after dinner, took some papers, and went to the king's apartments, and as he was used, went straight into the cabinet. The king had just risen, and was arranging his clothes. Seeing Louvois at an hour not usual with him, he demanded what brought him. 'Something of great importance that requires despatch,' said Louvois, with an air of sadness that astonished the king, who told him to send away the valets of the interior, who were waiting. They went away, it is true, but they left the doors open; so that they heard all, and saw as well by means of the mirrors. This was the great danger of the cabinets. When they had left, Louvois did not hesitate to tell the king what brought him there. The king was unable to deny the fact, but attempted to turn it off with some evasions that required no penetration to see through; and being pressed by the minister, he began to make for the interior cabinet, where the valets were, and thus deliver himself. But Louvois, who saw the device, threw himself on his knees before him and stopped him, drew from his side a little sword which he wore, presented the handle to the king, and begged his majesty to put him to death instantly if he persisted in declaring his marriage, in breaking his royal word, and in the eyes of all Europe covering himself with an infamy which he, Louvois, would never live to see. The king stamped and started, and bade him instantly let him go; but Louvois held

him by the legs still tighter, for fear he should escape, and went on representing the horrible contrast of his crown and personal glory, with the disgrace he was going to join with it, and which would eventually kill him with remorse: in a word, he succeeded in getting a second promise from the king, that he never would declare his marriage. The Archbishop of Paris arrived in the evening. Louvois related to him what he had done. The courtly prelate would have been utterly incapable of such an effort, and, in fact, it was an action," adds St. Simon, "which, if properly viewed, ought to be considered sublime. Louvois at the time was all-powerful; he was passionately attached to his place, its duties, and its authority; and at the same time he knew that Maintenon was supreme, and felt all the weight of her influence. He was also well aware that she was too well informed of everything that passed not to be able very soon to trace her disappointment to the right source, and that her inextinguishable hatred would be the consequence. The archbishop, who had nothing to do but to confirm the king in the promise he had at the marriage given to both, and which had just been repeated to the minister, could not refuse his aid. He, therefore, spoke to the king next morning, and had no difficulty in drawing from him the renewal of his promise."

We are told, on the same authority, that Louvois was poisoned and the archbishop disgraced. The insinuation meant to be conveyed, it is quite obvious, was, that disappointed rage on the part of the devout Madame de Maintenon caused the death of the minister, as it did the fall of the archbishop.

Hostilities had commenced in Italy from the year 1701. Prince Eugene had marched into the valley of the Adige with thirty thousand imperialists, and had beaten Catinat near Carpi, in the duchy of Modena. The fault was not in the general, but in his lieutenants; but more especially of the bad plans of the campaign, prepared by Chamillard, in the closet of Madame de Maintenon. "M. Catinat knows his trade," drily remarked the sainted devotee, "but he does not know God, and thinks that his proud philosophy is all-sufficient. His majesty likes not to confide his affairs to men who have no devotion." The courtier Villeroy offered himself to succeed the conqueror of Staffarde. On his arrival, he foolishly resumed the offensive, and caused his army to move forward against the camp of Chiary, where the imperialists were entrenched, remarking at the same time to Catinat, "I have not the faculty of being circumspect, especially when I am stronger than the enemy." Catinat himself set the example of subordination. "Let us go, gentlemen," said he to the officers who hesitated, "we must obey." Wounded as he had been in this attack, he directed the retreat of the beaten army; and when he had provided for its safety, he hastened to justify his conduct at Versailles. Villeroy remained alone, and rested in perfect security. He removed his winter quarters to Crémona. One morning, he was suddenly awakened by the report of musketry, and soon found that

Eugene had penetrated the city. The unfortunate general was made prisoner; but the Marquis de Praslin succeeded in saving Crémona.

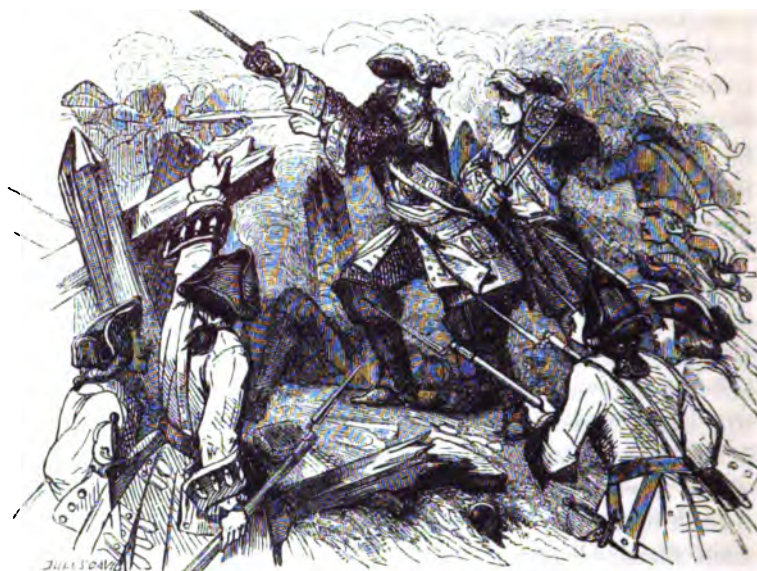
On this subject the Parisians made a song, which the court and army repeated:—

“ Frenchmen, render thanks to Bellona,
Great, indeed, your good fortune to day;
Happily you have preserved Crémona,
While your general is taken away.”

“ They attack him because he is my favourite,” said Louis XIV. “ An expression,” remarks Voltaire, “ which he never applied to any one but in this single case, in the course of his life.” The Duke de Vendôme was about to assume the command in Italy. The grandson of Henry IV., he was as brave, as kindly disposed, and as popular as that monarch. He could only be reproached for not being sufficiently attentive to maintain discipline, and for giving up too much time to the pleasures of the table and to bed. His *début* was very fortunate. After having caused the siege of Mantua to be raised, and swept the imperialists from all the Mantuan territory, he defeated General Visconti at Santa Vittoria; and a fortnight after, ably sustained the shock of Eugene at Luzzara. The loss on each side was from three to four thousand men. *Te Deum* was sung both at Paris and at Vienna; but the French remained masters of the field, and Eugene withdrew behind the Mincio. The war had been rekindled in the Low Countries and in Germany. On the Lower Rhine, Marlborough, the generalissimo of the English and Dutch armies, had carried Venloo, Ruremonde, and the citadel of Liege. It is true, that his adversary, the Count de Tallard, had taken Trèves and the Château de Trazbach. On the Upper Rhine, the Margrave of Baden and the Archduke Joseph, King of the Romans, had captured Landau within sight of Catinat, who was too weak to attempt the offensive. Villars, his lieutenant, who had declared it to be his resolve, “ to be marshal of France or to die,” obtained *carte blanche* from the court to attack the enemy, then entrenched at Friedlingen, on the summit of a mountain covered with wood. He did so, and won the battle, amidst shouts of “ *Vive le Roi!*” His army proclaimed him marshal of France on the battlefield; and a fortnight afterwards, the king confirmed the military election. Catinat was in complete disgrace. Throughout this campaign, brilliant successes fell to the share of France—the happy results to her allies. The maritime operations were still less fortunate for Louis XIV. On the 22nd of October, the Duke of Ormond and Admiral Sir George Rooke, blockaded in the port of Vigo the fleet of the Count de Château Renard, which was acting as an escort to the galleons of Mexico. The French admiral caused fifteen ships to be burnt, and twelve galleons, but twenty others were taken by the enemy, who obtained a booty of 8,000,000 piastres.

The Elector of Bavaria, whose alliance Louis had purchased, by conceding to him the name of Philip V., with the sovereignty of the Spanish Low

Countries, had beaten the imperialists at Scardin and at Hamburgh, and had invested Ulm; but Bavaria, while he thus occupied himself, was invaded.



Villars, who wished at any cost to bring about a defection, had conceived the idea of rejoining him. Under these circumstances, it was not expedient for him to force the lines of Stolhofen, where the Prince of Baden was entrenched. The marshal, changing his plan, returned to Kinsing, and rejoined, after a forced march, the elector at Dutlingen. A month afterwards they separated: Villars to oppose the Prince of Baden in Swabia; the elector to proceed by the Tyrol to support Vendôme, in the Milanese. The insurrection in the Tyrol prevented the execution of this bold project, and threw back the elector, discouraged, on Villars. The marshal dragged him on, in spite of himself, to meet the Count de Styrum, who threatened to effect his junction with the Prince of Baden, and forced him to share with him in the battle of Hochstadt. Augsburg surrendered; Vienna was threatened. Leopold, for a moment, thought of quitting his capital; he was everywhere defeated. On the Lower Rhine, Boufflers had routed the Dutch at Echeren; in Italy, Vendôme had succeeded in entering the Milanese territory; and while the Duke of Savoy negotiated with the emperor, the Marshal de Tessé took from him his duchy of Savoy, and Vendôme compelled six thousand of his men to lay down their arms. Finally, on the Upper Rhine, the Duke of Burgundy had taken Vieux-Brisach. Two months after that, Tallard defeated at Spire the Prince of Hesse. On this occasion he wrote to the king as follows:—"Sire, your army has taken more

standards and colours than it has lost private soldiers." Louis XIV. undertook to justify his high military pretensions by sending him to supersede Villars in Germany, who was disgusted with the wavering and arrogance of the Duke of Bavaria. Chamillard, who had no liking for the marshal, sent him to the Cevennes to put down the fanatical peasants, who had there broken out into rebellion.

Since the year 1685, the *dragonnades* had been continued in Languedoc. Prophets and apostles traversed the mountains to encourage resistance; and one of them, named Claude Brousson, having been broken alive on the wheel at Montpellier, became for the sect a martyr. At length, in 1703, the revolt burst out; the Camisards, as they called themselves, overrun the country, burnt the churches, and murdered the priests. The principal chiefs, Laporte, Roland, and Cavalier, organised them in troops, and put themselves in communication with the Protestants in Germany and England. Marshal de Montrevel was sent against them with four battalions, three regiments of cavalry, and eight regiments of militia, formed to predatory habits by the intendant Basville. A crusade was preached by the bishop. Clement XI. granted plenary indulgence to those who consented to take part in it. On the other side, an English squadron carried to Languedoc arms and provisions; the Dutch sent subsidies; and the revolt in the Cevennes extended itself to the Alps. On both sides the war, as carried on, was most atrocious in its character. Montluc and the famous Baron des Adrets were surpassed by their Catholic and Protestant successors. Montrevel was considered to be "too good a man," by the court; and Villars was sent to displace and to take his command. After having defeated the rebels many times, he caused an amnesty to be offered to them, which some of them accepted, Cavalier among others. He claimed hostages, and hostages were given to him. He then obtained consent that the king should form four regiments of the insurgents, and take them into his pay. They, he stipulated, should preserve their liberty of conscience; he himself was to be colonel of one of these regiments. "The old baker-boy repaired to Versailles," says Voltaire; "the king saw him, and shrugged up his shoulders."

It is not known whether or not this gesture occupied the observation of Cavalier, but shortly afterwards he passed into the service of the allies. All the insurgents had not submitted with their chief. Villars, recalled from Languedoc, was replaced by Marshal de Berwick. The new general had nearly been taken at Nismes, with the intendant Basville. There were a thousand conspirators engaged in the plot. One had the baseness to reveal all that was in contemplation. Two hundred were immediately put to a cruel death. Berwick stifled the revolt in blood.

The campaign of 1704 had been unfortunate for France. For a moment the emperor believed all was lost; but he was saved by Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough. The English general had quitted Flanders with the *élite* of his troops, rejoined the Margrave of Baden, and forced the lines of the

Bavarians, commanded by the Count d'Arco, at Donawerth, on the Schellemberg. The French and the elector marched on Augsburg; and the arrival of Tallard, with thirty thousand men, enabled them to resume the offensive; but while they were retreating, Marlborough had effected a junction with Eugene, and the two armies met on the same ground on which, in the preceding year, Villars had gained a splendid victory.

The French were strongly posted on a hill near Hochstadt, their right covered by the Danube and the village of Blenheim; their left by the village of Lutzingen; and their front by a rivulet enclosed within steep banks. The commanders of the allied army determined at all events to give battle. A letter to the Elector of Bavaria from Marshal Villeroy, stating that his orders were to ravage the country, and intercept the communication with the Rhine, mainly contributed to prompt the daring resolution which the Duke of Marlborough and his coadjutors adopted. The forces under their direction advanced into the plain on the 13th of August. About nine in the morning a heavy cannonnade commenced, which continued during four hours without intermission. The French and Bavarians numbered sixty thousand men. The right wing was commanded by Marshal Tallard, who posted twenty-seven battalions, with twelve squadrons of cavalry, in the village of Blenheim, on which he expected the allies would make their grand attack. The left was commanded by the Elector of Bavaria, assisted by Marsin. The number of the allies fell short of the French by four or five thousand men. Prince Eugene took charge of the right wing; the Duke of Marlborough placed himself at the head of the left. A body of English and Hessians, under General Wilkes, passed the rivulet at noon, filed off to the left, and attacked Blenheim. They were thrice repulsed; but in the mean time the centre and right wing crossed the rivulet, by means of planks, in different places, and were suffered to form on the other side without being molested. They were, however, soon impetuously attacked by the French cavalry; and being at the same time severely galled in flank by the troops posted at Blenheim, gave way in disorder, and some of them re-crossed the rivulet. A fresh body of dragoons coming to their aid, they rallied with such energy, that the French cavalry were unable to sustain the shock, and were forced back to the village. By this time, the left wing of the allied army having completely formed, marched up the hill in a solid mass. They fell with fury on the French horse, which could not maintain itself. It was compelled to give way, but bravely rallied more than once. Tallard, in order to retrieve the day, ordered ten battalions to fill up the intervals presented by his cavalry. The object of this movement did not escape the Duke of Marlborough, who sent three battalions of the troops of Zell to sustain the dragoons. The strife was most obstinate, and the result for a time doubtful; but the cavalry of the French being at length routed, retreated, and the infantry, thus forsaken, were all but annihilated. Marshal Tallard rallied his cavalry behind the tents that remained standing, and determined to remove

the troops he had posted at Blenheim. For this purpose he sent to Marsin, who was with the Elector of Bavaria, to desire him to engage the allies on the right of the village of Oberklau, so as to keep them occupied, and favour the retrograde movement from Blenheim. Marsin replied to this message, that far from being able to spare troops to meet the views of Tallard, he even, without being so weakened, was hardly capable of maintaining his position. There was now little hope for the French. Worst of all on every side, their cavalry being totally discomfited, they attempted to gain the bridge which had been thrown over the Danube, between Hochstadt and Blenheim; but closely pursued by the enemy, the carnage was dreadful, and many only escaped the victor's sword to perish miserably in the river. Near a mile behind the village of Sonderen, Marshal Tallard himself was surrounded and made prisoner, together with the Marquis of Monteperouz, and the generals De Sepperville, De Scilly, De la Vallière, and many other commanders of rank. Marsin's quarters, at the village of Oberklau, were at the same time attacked by ten battalions, under the Prince of Holsteinbeck, who had passed the rivulet with great resolution; but when forming his men on the other side, he fell, mortally wounded, and was taken prisoner. Notwithstanding this misfortune, his battalions being strengthened by detachments of Danish and Hanoverian cavalry, returned to the charge, but were met with such determined courage, that they were compelled to fall back. The Duke of Marlborough in person then brought up a portion of the reserve, and further effectual resistance on the part of the French was impossible. While this was passing, the left wing was compelled to give way by Prince Eugene. After a most desperate struggle, the prince had the mortification to see his cavalry three times repulsed. The Duke of Marlborough prepared, after his success against the right wing, to supply a reinforcement, when he had the satisfaction to learn that the danger was at an end, and that his highness, also successful, had no occasion for additional forces. The elector, with De Marsin, having abandoned Oberklau and Dutlingen, retreated in confusion. They were pursued to a considerable distance from the field of battle; and the allies, surrounding the village of Blenheim, cut off the retreat of the seven and twenty battalions, and the twelve squadrons posted there, who, at eight o'clock in the evening, laid down their arms, gave up their colours and standards, and surrendered as prisoners of war, having stipulated that the officers should not be rifled. Ten thousand French and Bavarians were left dead on the field of battle; the greater portions of thirty squadrons of horse were lost in the Danube; fourteen thousand prisoners were made; and one hundred pieces of cannon taken, together with twenty-four mortars, a hundred and twenty-nine colours; a hundred and seventy-one standards; seventeen pair of kettle-drums; three thousand six hundred tents; thirty-four coaches; three hundred laden mules; two bridges of boats; fifteen pontoons; and eight casks filled with silver. On the part of the allies, four thousand five hundred men were

killed, and about eight hundred wounded or taken. This catastrophe was generally ascribed to the error committed by Tallard in weakening the centre; but to the personal conduct of the Duke of Marlborough, who rode through the hottest fire with the most perfect calmness, giving his orders with the greatest deliberation and precision, was mainly attributed the success of the allies. On this occasion, by soothing attention to his prisoners, he evinced the most refined courtesy, which sheds lustre on the horrors of war. He visited Tallard on the day following the contest; testified his great esteem for the French general, and was sorry personally for the misfortunes which had overtaken him. Tallard, on the other hand, congratulated his conqueror "on having vanquished the best troops in the world." Marlborough replied with pleasantry, that "that distinction he must claim for his own troops, who had prevailed over so gallant an enemy."

Marsin and the elector having been forced into the Black Forest, did not feel themselves in security till they had effected their junction with Villeroy on the other side of the Rhine, in the defiles of the Vosges. The electress, seeing Bavaria overrun on all sides, concluded a convention with the emperor—that of Illersheim. She gave up all the cities conquered from Austria, as also the strong fortresses in Bavaria, disbanded her troops, and only retained her capital, which was dismantled. The hesitation of the Prince of Baden saved France from an invasion. During two months, the allies were occupied with the siege of Landau, while Marlborough possessed himself of Trèves. In Italy, the departure of Prince Eugene allowed the Duke de Vendôme to capture Verceil, Yvrée, Suze, and Pignerol; but the shock of the battle of Hochstadt was felt even beyond the Alps. The imperialists re-took Mantua and Modena. In the Peninsula, the Archduke Charles, proclaimed king by all the members of the grand alliance, had been landed at Lisbon, with ten thousand men, from an English fleet. He was joined by twenty thousand Portuguese; but Marshal de Berwick prevented them from passing the frontier. The English fleet, after having in vain attempted a *coup de main* at Barcelona, succeeded better at Gibraltar, which the Count de Toulouse was unable to retake. The naval engagement off Malaga, though it was doubtful to which side the victory belonged, was nevertheless felt as a disaster by the French marine; this was the last effort of the naval power of Louis XIV. The battle of Blenheim, and the fall of Gibraltar, had struck terror to the heart of France. The *arrière ban* was convoked, and a militia of twenty thousand men was raised. Villars was recalled from the heart of the Cévennes. "Make use of me," said he to the king, "for I am the only general in Europe with whom the good fortune of war has never changed. May God preserve to me that good fortune for the service of your majesty."

The allies had opened the campaign of 1705 by the siege of Sarrelouis, with the design of penetrating into Champagne. Villars forced them to renounce their project of invasion. The first conqueror of Hochstadt, Villars, who, it

will be remembered, won a battle on the same ground a year before the great day of Blenheim, had compelled the other to fall back ; it was a kind of moral advantage for the people. The Duke of Marlborough, who was desirous of obtaining the esteem of Villars, wrote to him on withdrawing his troops. " Do me the justice to believe that my retreat is owing to the fault of the Prince of Baden, and that my esteem for you is greater than my anger towards him." The allies hoped to succeed better with the Elector of Bavaria and Villeroy in the Low Countries. The Duke of Marlborough forced in their lines at Illersheim, and threw them back upon the cannon of Louvain, behind the Dyle. The following year, Villeroy, being desirous of repairing his losses, and retaking Tirlemont, re-crossed the Dyle, and placed himself in order of battle before the Duke of Marlborough at Ramillies, on the 13th of March, 1706. It is said, that he placed his men in such a manner, that every general of experience could foresee the evil consequences. The Lieutenant-general de Gassion cried out to the marshal, " You are lost if you do not change your order of battle. Weaken your left wing, in order to oppose an equal force to the enemy ; bring your lines closer together. If you delay a moment longer it will be too late." Villeroy would listen to nothing ; and, indeed, it may be said, Marlborough allowed him no time for reflection.

The French camp was established in a strong position, the right extending to the town of Hautemont, on the side of the Mehaigne ; their left to Anderkirk ; the village of Ramillies being near the centre. The army of the confederates was drawn up, the right wing near Foltz, on the brook of Yause, and the left near the village of Franquénes, which the enemy had occupied. Lieutenant-general Schultz was ordered by the Duke of Marlborough to commence the action by attacking Ramillies with twelve battalions and twenty pieces of cannon. The place was well defended by artillery ; and while thus assailed, Field-Marshal d'Auverquerque ordered Colonel Wertmuller, with four battalions and two pieces of cannon, to dislodge the enemy's infantry from the hedges of Franquénes. These orders were successfully obeyed. The left wing was charged by the Dutch and Danish horse with great courage ; but the household troops of the French king gave them such a reception, that they were forced to fall back, when the Duke of Marlborough sustained them with a body of the reserve, and twenty squadrons drawn from the right wing, where a morass had prevented them from manœuvring. He bravely exerted himself to rally the broken squadrons, in order to renew the charge, when his horse falling, he was surrounded, and must have been killed or taken prisoner, had not a body of infantry come to his relief. He had scarcely escaped this extreme danger, when, being remounted, Colonel Bryanfield, his gentleman of the horse, while holding the duke's stirrup, had his head carried off by a cannon-ball. Before the reinforcement arrived, the best part of the French musketeers were destroyed ; all the troops posted at Ramillies were either slaughtered or

made prisoners. The remainder of the French infantry began to retreat, under cover of the cavalry, on their left wing, formed in three lines between Ossuz and Anderkirk ; but the English horse, passing the rivulet which had intervened between them and the enemy, made so fierce an attack, that the French could not stand their ground, but gave way on all sides. The cavalry fled in three different directions, but were so closely pursued, that very few escaped. Several waggons of the French van-guard obstructed the road in such a manner, that the baggage and artillery could not proceed, nor could the troops defile in order. This accident becoming known, the cavalry of the allies pressed on them so vigorously, that great numbers threw down their arms, and were made prisoners. The pursuit was continued through Judoigne till two o'clock in the morning, to within two leagues of Louvain, being five leagues from the field of battle. Marlborough obtained a complete victory ; the French lost all their baggage and artillery ; about one hundred and twenty colours and standards ; six hundred officers and six thousand men were taken prisoners, and about eight thousand were either killed or wounded. Prince Maximilian and Prince Montbazoh lost their lives ; the Major-General Palavicini and Mezières were taken, as were the Marquises de Bar, De Monant, and the son of Marshal Tallard, the Marquis de la Beaume, with De Montmorency, nephew to the Duke of Luxembourg, and many other persons of note. The allies did not lose more than three thousand men. Prince Louis of Hesse, and Mr. Bentinck were killed. The French precipitately retired to Brussels ; while the allies took possession of Louvain, and encamped the next day at Bethlem. The conquest of all Brabant followed immediately this great triumph. Mechlin, Brussels, Antwerp, Ghent, and Bruges, offered no resistance. Ostend surrendered, after a siege of ten days ; and Menin, the strongest fortification in the Netherlands, defended by six thousand men, did the like. The garrisons of Dendermond and Ath also submitted ; and those who had held them became prisoners of war.

After this disaster, Villeroy was so dispirited that he could not immediately write to the king. It was not until five days had passed, that he summoned up resolution to do so. When he again appeared at court, Louis uttered no reproach, but merely said, " Monsieur le Marshal, men at our time of life are no longer fortunate." He affected to bear the misfortune with calmness and equanimity ; but the effort to dissemble his anguish, and bitter disappointment, proved extremely prejudicial to his health, and frequent bleedings in consequence were ordered by his physicians. His court, formerly the scene of boundless gaiety and victorious exultation, was now mournfully changed. Military affairs, once the constant theme of conversation, were no longer mentioned ; all was silence and impenetrable gloom.

Vendôme had continued to sustain the honour of the French arms in Italy, and had just repulsed Eugene himself at Cassano ; when it was

thought necessary to recal him to oppose the alarming progress of the victorious Marlborough. The Duke of Orleans was ordered to Piedmont in his place, with the Duke de la Feuillade, whom his brother sent to Italy, with a view of his there gaining a marshal's baton. To the Duke of Savoy there now only remained Turin, the siege of which being vigorously pressed, seemed about to complete the triumph of his enemies. Suddenly Prince Eugene appeared before it. The Duke of Orleans wished to fight beyond the lines, where not more than eight thousand men could be engaged. Marshal de Marsin, sustained by instructions from the court, was of a contrary opinion. Eugene attacked, and, at the end of two hours, the lines were broken. Sixty thousand men fled, without any one attempting to rally them till they reached Dauphiny. The Marshal de Marsin, wounded in the thigh, had been taken prisoner. He did not survive an amputation, which was performed on him by the surgeon of the Duke of Savoy. The materiel of the siege which fell to the conquerors was immense: a hundred and forty pieces of cannon, a hundred and ten thousand bullets, a hundred and ten thousand cartridges of one make, and three hundred thousand of another, twenty-one thousand bombs, twenty-seven thousand hand-grenades, fifteen thousand sand-bags, thirty thousand pioneers' implements, and twelve hundred thousand pounds of powder, were among the trophies of the day. There remained in the Milanese a small body of troops, commanded by the Count de Mèdasy. Incapable of defending himself after the rout of Turin, the count signed at Milan a capitulation, by which he purchased a free passage for his troops to France. The new emperor, Joseph I., son of Leopold, accepted the capitulation, and the Duke of Savoy regained possession of his estates.

Philip V. was as unfortunate as his grandfather. In 1705, the Anglo-Portuguese army, commanded by the Marquis de las Minas, and the French officer Louvigny, a Protestant, but now become a peer of England, under the name of Galloway, had taken Saltaviera, Valencia, Alcantara, and Albuquerque. In Catalonia, the successes of the archduke were not less rapid. He had with him only Lord Peterborough, a man who resembled in every respect those heroes with whose adventures Spanish imagination has filled so many books. He made war in Spain almost at his own expence, and supported the archduke and all his house. The taking of Barcelona was the signal for Catalonia and Aragon to declare in favour of the archduke. In the following year, Philip V. and the Marshal de Tessé took upon themselves the task of reducing the rebel province. Siege was laid to Barcelona, which was blockaded by the Count de Toulouse with a fleet of twenty-five sail, the wreck of the French navy; but the sudden arrival of the English fleet, commanded by Vice-Admiral Leake, saved the town. Whilst Philip fruitlessly wasted his time at this siege, the Portuguese, under Galloway, took possession of Madrid, and proclaimed Charles V.; but the attachment of the Spaniards to Philip preserved the grandson of Louis XIV. The Portuguese were

repulsed from Toledo, amidst cries of "Long live Philip!" They were afterwards driven out of Madrid by De Berwick, who forced them to their own frontiers, and gained the celebrated victory of Almanza over Galloway and Las Minas; and at length no enemies were left in the Peninsula. The archduke preserved but a small portion of Catalonia. In the Low Countries both sides remained on the defensive. Villars, upon the Rhine, forced the lines of Stolhofen without losing a man, drove the Margrave of Bayreuth, the successor to Louis of Baden, into Germany, and laid the countries of Baden, Wurtemberg, Franconia, and as far as Nuremberg, under contribution. The Elector of Hanover, who had succeeded the old Margrave, could not stem the tide of victory in his retreat, notwithstanding the superiority of his forces. In Italy, the imperialists possessed themselves of the kingdom of Naples; whilst Eugene and the Duke of Savoy, having penetrated Provence, laid siege to Toulon by land and by sea. That important place was, however, saved through the able defence made by Marshal de Tessé.

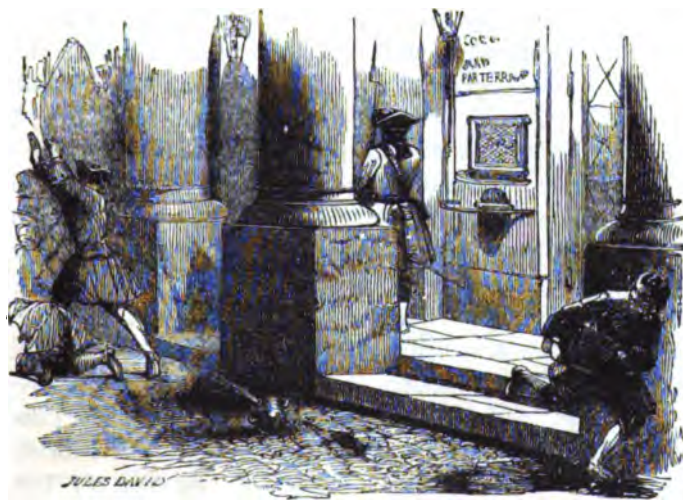
Tired of this war, which was ruinous to France, Louis XIV. resolved to try a last and grand effort. Recruiting parties "hunted up" the country



for men, and at length an army was raised, amounting to a hundred and ninety thousand men, which was sent into Flanders, under the orders of the Dukes of Burgundy and Vendôme; and twenty ships of war and seventy transports were with great difficulty collected at Dunkirk. The object was nothing less than to transport the pretender, the son of James II. into Scotland,

where he had friends anxious to seat him on the throne. Six thousand men were embarked. The Chevalier Forbin-Janson conducted the prince to the mouth of the Forth. Instead, however, of meeting friends, they were encountered by an English fleet of fifty sail of the line, before which they were of necessity compelled to retire. This expedition, consequently, proved a complete failure.

The campaign in Flanders was commenced with success by the new army. Secret treachery had opened to the Duke of Burgundy the gates of Ghent and Ypres: but on the 11th of July, 1708, the French were defeated by Eugene and Marlborough. The fugitives retired in disorder to Ghent, Ypres, and Tournai, leaving Prince Eugene to besiege Lille with a feeble body of troops. The vanquished army, which was far superior to that of Eugene, did not make the smallest demonstration in favour of the besieged. The heroic defence of Marshal Boufflers retarded the capture of the town four months. "The inhabitants," says Voltaire, "were so accustomed to the noise of cannon, and all the horrors consequent on a siege, that plays were acted as often as in times of peace, and a bomb, which actually fell within the theatre,



did not interrupt the performance." They were obliged, however, to surrender at last. The courtiers, who dared not accuse the Duke of Burgundy, spoke freely against Vendôme. "You see what comes of never going to mass," said a devotee one day to Madame de Maintenon, "we may trace all our misfortunes to it."—"Do you think," said Vendôme, when he heard this remark gravely uttered, "that Marlborough goes to mass oftener than I do?" The fall of Lille opened the road to the capital. A party of

Dutch had actually the audacity to penetrate as far as the vicinity of Versailles.

Terror prevailed everywhere in Paris. It was at this period tidings arrived that Pope Clement XI., who had declared war against the emperor, had been forced to submit to such conditions as the court of Vienna thought fit to dictate. He first consented to address the archduke thus: "To our very dear son the Catholic King of Spain." An English fleet in the Mediterranean, and the German troops on his hands, soon compelled him to write, "To our very dear son the King of the Spains." The emperor put under the ban of the empire the Duke of Mantua, the ally of France, confiscated his duchy, and did not leave him and his family more than a few petty principalities. At the same time, the Duke of Savoy received the investiture of Montferrat, and the provinces of Alexandria and Valencia, to possess them himself, and to transmit them to his male descendants as imperial fiefs. The grand effort of Louis had failed. His disorganised armies were no longer capable of continuing the war with a prospect of success; the treasury was overwhelmed with debts, to which may be added the evils growing out of the severe winter of 1709, which produced a famine; and such was the state of things, that, at Versailles, the court was obliged to eat barley bread. In this situation of affairs, it became necessary for him to humble himself in the face of all Europe, by soliciting peace as a matter of favour. Some attempts at bringing about a pacification had been made after the battle of Ramillies; but Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough had rendered them of no avail. On this occasion, on the 1st of May, 1709, Louis sent the Marquis de Torcy, his minister for foreign affairs, and the president Rouillé, to the Hague. Nothing could surpass the arrogance with which the Dutch commissioners treated their allies. "Let them come to Holstein to speak to us" was their speech. The fact was, these "fish merchants" held in their hands the gold which moved all Europe against Louis. The allies were impracticable. They scarcely took pains to conceal that their object was the absolute destruction of France. The ultimatum they offered was this: "That Charles V. should be recognised; that Strasburg, Landau, Brisach, and Kehl, should be restored to the empire; Lille, Condé, Maubeuge, Furnes, Menin, Ypres, to Holland; to raze the fortifications of Alsace, Basle, and Philipsbourg; to block up the port of Dunkirk; to recognise Queen Anne, the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Hanover; and if in two months Philip of Anjou did not accede to these conditions, Louis XIV. was to bind himself to carry into effect the decision come to by the allies against him. The answer of the King of France to these demands was, "Since we must have war, I prefer making it against enemies rather than on my own children." It was no longer the ambition of Louis that animated him; it was the honour of the country which was at stake. Louis proved his confidence in the justice of his cause, by publishing a declaration, in which he gave a circumstantial account of his efforts to make peace, and

of the answer he had received from the allies, in order to shew that if the war were not terminated, France was not in fault. A hundred thousand men were sent into Flanders, under the command of Villars, and twenty thousand into Upper Alsace, to watch the movements of the Elector of Hanover, who waited on the side of Franche-Comté to put himself in communication with the Duke of Savoy. The elector was defeated at Rumersheim, by the Count du Bourg, and Alsace was saved.

Villars was directed to advance against Prince Eugene and the Duke of Marlborough, who besieged Menin, after having taken Tournai. This commander had nothing to boast of on the score of birth. His father, who had risen from obscurity by his skill in the use of the small sword, had been retained in the household of some of the nobility, and frequently acted as second in their duels. Villars was a great boaster, had the highest possible opinion of himself, and was prepared to make any sacrifice of principle to advance his fortunes, or uphold his authority. A prey to the most unsparring avarice, the movements of an army under his orders were frequently regulated solely with a view to pillage. In this way he amassed great wealth, and made a jest of the discreditable means by which he obtained it. He was a gambler, and a man of loose habits; but as a general he had the merit of masking his real views; and he knew how to bring his whole force to bear on a particular point at the proper moment. In action he was always cool; his personal courage was undoubted; and at this period he enjoyed the reputation of being the most fortunate general of France.

Such was the man now opposed to Marlborough and Eugene. Marshal Bouffiers, though his senior, consented to act under him; and having solicited this as a favour, arrived in the French camp on the 7th of September. The allied generals received information that the French were about to attack their advanced body, under the Prince of Hesse, and hastened to support him. On the 9th, the hostile armies came in contact, and a mutual cannonade commenced. Villars had posted his forces, consisting of a hundred and twenty thousand men, behind the woods of La Merte and Tanieres, in the neighbourhood of the village of Malplaquet. The allies, about equal in numbers, encamped with their right wing near Sart and Blerou, and the left on the edge of the wood of Laguiere. Their headquarters were at Blaregnies. The French fortified their camp, which was strong before, with treble entrenchments; and the allies suffered them to do this without hindrance, waiting for eighteen battalions to join them, which had been engaged in the siege of Tournai. Favoured by a thick fog, on the morning of the 11th of September, they erected batteries in front of each wing, and in their centre. At eight o'clock, the weather having cleared up, the battle began. Eighty-six battalions on the right, under the command of General Schuylemburg, the Duke of Argyle, and other generals, supported by twenty-two battalions, commanded by Count Lottrim, attacked the enemy's left with such vigour, that in less than an hour they were driven

from their entrenchments into the woods of Sart and Tanieres. The right of the French was attacked by thirty-six Dutch battalions, commanded by the Prince of Orange and Baron Fagel. Posted in the woods of La Merte, the French fought with desperate valour, but were obliged to abandon their first entrenchment. The Dutch advanced against the second, but were repulsed with great loss. With signal intrepidity the Prince of Orange renewed the attack; and notwithstanding he had two horses killed under him, and saw most of his officers slain or disabled, he at length compelled them to retrograde. In this appalling struggle, Villars was severely wounded. Boufflers assumed the command, and admirably conducted the retreat. The French retired to Quesnoi and Valenciennes, abandoning the field of battle to the allies, but preserving all their colours and artillery, and carrying off many standards taken from the English. This statement, though confidently made by French authors, is at variance with the English account of the engagement. According to the latter, forty colours and standards, sixteen pieces of artillery, and many prisoners, remained in the hands of the allies. The victory, however, cost them dear, as not fewer than twenty thousand of their best troops were slaughtered, while the loss on the part of the French was far from being equally severe, and did not indeed exceed eight thousand slain. For the allies, this battle was the most terrible fought during the war; and the French, though compelled to yield, retired at leisure, relieved from that apprehension with which of late they had been oppressed, in consequence of the long continued good fortune of their adversaries. On the side of the latter, Count Oxenstiern, Count Lottrim, General Tettan, and the Marquis of Tullebardine, were killed; with many other officers of note. Lieutenant-General Webb received a shot in the body; Prince Eugene was slightly wounded in the head. The Duke of Argyle, who greatly distinguished himself in this memorable contest, escaped without injury, though he was in the hottest of the fight, and though bullets had penetrated his clothes, his hat, and his wig. On the side of the French, the Chevalier St. George fought bravely. He charged twelve times at the head of the household troops, and in the last encounter received a sword wound in the arm. Great rashness was ascribed to the allies for attacking the French in a position so strongly fortified; and party, which governs everything in England, was supposed to have induced Marlborough to take a step which his experience as a commander could not approve, because a victory was necessary to support his influence, and that of the Tory party at court. To attain this object, thousands of brave men were said to have been sacrificed.

Villars, little humbled by miscarriage, boldly declared that the loss of the battle was owing to the fatal accident which had befallen him. Had he not been disabled, he affirmed the allies must have been defeated. If this assertion could not be completely disproved, it can by no means be regarded as unquestionably true. Though in many instances fortunate, Villars was not a captain whose judgment could always be relied upon, and it seems

more probable that the skill of Boufflers averted in a great measure the catastrophe which impended over the French army, than that they failed to be victorious through the accident of Villars. At all events, the retreat of the former general was universally admired, and Menin surrendered; but the imposing attitude which Boufflers was enabled to take under the walls of Quesnoi and Valenciennes saved Picardy, and indeed may be said to have saved France.

In Spain, Philip V. had resumed the offensive. The Marquis du Bay defeated Galloway at Badajoz, and took Alicant from the Portuguese. The circumstances connected with its fall were remarkable. It had been bravely defended by two English regiments during the winter. The Chevalier d'Asfelt, who conducted the operations against the castle, having undermined the rock, and lodged two hundred barrels of gunpowder in the mine, gave Syburg, the governor, an intimation of what had been done, and at the same time invited him to send two of his officers to satisfy himself of the actual state of the works. The offer was accepted, and D'Asfelt accompanied them in person to the mine, and declared it would give him infinite pain to see so many brave men destroyed in a place they had so gallantly defended, without a possibility of their courage being of the slightest avail; and he therefore invited him to surrender, and gave the governor twenty-four hours to consider of this proposition. Notwithstanding the report of his officers, Syburg obstinately refused to give up the place, and determined to meet the consequences of the explosion. Sentinels were stationed on the side of the hill; and when they, by a preconcerted signal, gave notice that the mine was fired, the governor ordered the guard to retire, and walked to the parade with several officers. To them, as might be expected, the consequences were fatal; the mine being sprung, the rock opened beneath their feet, and falling into the chasm, Syburg and his companions were crushed to death. The place still held out; but all efforts to relieve it proving vain, eventually capitulated.

In the following year, the archduke defeated Philip at Almanza, and afterwards at Saragossa. Aragon again declared in favour of Charles, and opened her gates to his troops. The conqueror, instead of improving his successes, and driving his rival into France, preferred enjoying the vain honour of a triumphal entry into Madrid, where he had not a single friend.

Philip, having withdrawn to Valladolid, had raised a new army, and found a skilful general in Vendôme. Driven in his turn from Madrid, Charles retreated towards Barcelona. Five thousand men of his advanced guard, under the English general Stanhope, were surprised by the Spaniards near Brehuga; and Count Stahrenberg, who hastened with other troops to succour them, met the army of Vendôme near Villa Viciosa, and was completely defeated. Philip V. was firmly secured on the throne of Spain. The two cities of Tarragona and Barcelona alone remained to his rival. In Flanders, the military events were limited to the capture of a few fortresses on each side.

Villars was contented with observing Eugene and Marlborough, who, on their side, manœuvred with great circumspection. Bouchain was invested on the 10th of August, 1711. Marlborough exerted himself to the utmost to reduce the fortress, feeling that success in this case would be of great importance to himself, as well as his party. Villars took every precaution to defeat the efforts of the English commander. He made repeated attempts to raise the siege; but all were ineffectual, from the consummate skill and prudence opposed to him by Marlborough. He tried to surprise Douai; but this failed; and in twenty days after the trenches were opened, the garrison was obliged to surrender. This achievement, considering that Marlborough had, in the execution of his plan, to form lines, erect regular forts, raise batteries, construct bridges over a river, make a causeway through a deep morass, and provide for the security of convoys necessary to the subsistence of his troops, against the efforts of a large army on the one side, and the garrisons of Condé and Valenciennes on the other, may be considered to rank among his greatest triumphs.

To break the monotony of the war of tactics now carried on, it may be mentioned, that in this year a fleet was fitted out by merchants, and placed under the command of the famous Duguay-Trouin. This expedition was sent against Brazil. It forced an entrance into the port of Rio Janeiro, burned a Portuguese fleet, and compelled the city to pay a ransom of more than eight millions.

After the battle of Malplaquet, and before that of Villa Viciosa, the negociations broken off at the Hague had been resumed at Gertrenberg. Louis sent the Marquis d'Uxelles and the Abbé de Polignac to represent him. He offered to recognise Charles V., and even to furnish money to effect the dethronement of his own grandson; but notwithstanding, this attempt at a pacification failed; the pride of the allies was inflexible, and he found that he had no alternative but to continue the war.

At the moment when reduced almost to despair, Louis was about to sacrifice the last man, and the last pecuniary aids he should raise in France, with the resolution, in case of new disasters, to bury himself under the ruins of the monarchy, unforeseen events revived the hopes of concluding a peace, which was at this period most essential to the interest of France—for embarrassments of every kind pressed on the government. Successive losses had drained the country of its youth and manhood; the treasury was almost empty; and an attempt to supply the place of gold by an issue of government bills, in imitation of English bank notes, succeeded so indifferently, that all the authority of the state could not save them from falling to a discount of fifty-three per cent. The lands were in many parts left uncultivated; the manufactories of the kingdom were at a stand; and the horrors of famine were experienced to complete the melancholy picture. A long career of success had, happily for France, rendered the Duke of Marlborough haughty; and the machinations of his enemies, labouring to make his

triumphs appear but of moderate importance, or achieved rather by the genius of others than by his own incomparable skill, or representing the war to be protracted for his benefit, caused him in some degree to decline in the queen's estimation. The Whigs acted with a want of moderation that gave offence; and their fall from power was the consequence. With a change of ministers, a change of disposition in regard to France was soon perceptible. Negotiations were secretly opened between the two courts, the progress of which was accelerated by the death of Joseph I. The Archduke Charles, now become emperor, could no longer pretend to the succession of the Spanish crown, without violating the law laid down relative to the balance of power in Europe. England demanded of Louis the recognition of Queen Anne and a Protestant line of succession; that he should abandon the Low Countries, Naples and the Milanese, to Austria; that he should demolish the port of Dunkirk; and adopt the necessary measures to prevent the union of the Spanish and French crowns on one head. Louis accepted these propositions; and a preliminary treaty was signed at London on the 8th of October, 1711, between Torcy and the English minister, Bolingbroke, then the leader of the Tory party. Holland was inclined to dispute on the subject; but it was in vain. Marlborough being disgraced, his place in the command of the English forces was conferred on the Duke of Ormond, who seceded from the army of the allies on the 17th of July, 1712. Under the influence of England, a general congress was convened at Utrecht, on the 29th of January of the next year. The emperor, and especially Holland, advanced pretensions utterly irreconcilable with the new situation of France. The threat which England held out—of treating separately—appeared to make but little impression on the commissioners of the United Provinces. The imposing attitude of Eugene, who had passed the Sambre, taken Bouchain and Le Quesnoi, and who had invested Landrecies, sustained this *hauteur* in all its extravagance. Party differences ran high in France, extending even to Rheims and Soissons. It was known that the old king, at the age of seventy-four, could not long survive. "The death of his only son," says Voltaire, "which had taken place a year previous—the Duke and Duchess of Burgundy, and their eldest son, being carried rapidly off within the space of a few months, and the last of their children being then in a dying state—all these domestic misfortunes, added to disasters abroad, and general misery at home, made the end of the reign of Louis XIV. appear a time marked for calamity, and in which men looked forward to greater humiliations than it had hitherto exhibited of grandeur and glory." Villars took upon himself to baffle the hopes of the Dutch. Eugene continued the blockade of Landrecies, which was expected every moment to surrender to him. To show by what trifles the great affairs of this world may be agitated, a curate and a counsellor of Douai, named Lefevre-d'Orval, walking together towards the quarters of the prince, were the first to imagine that Denain and Marchiennes could be easily attacked.

Lefevre communicated his idea to the intendant of the province—he again to Marshal Montesquiou, who commanded under Marshal Villars. The general approved of it, and carried it into execution. The battle of Denain took place. Villars, pretending to assault the besieging army round Landrecies, made a side march suddenly, and forced the fortified lines which the imperialists had insolently designated “the road to Paris;” and advanced upon Denain. The ditch of the fortress interposed an obstacle between him and the enemy. The French officers applied for *fascines* to fill it up. “Eugene will not allow you time to obtain or to use them,” Villars replied, “and the bodies of those who are the first to fall must serve for our *fascines*.” They resolutely advanced and stormed the camp, which was commanded by Lord Albemarle, a Dutch general, and succeeded in carrying the place before Prince Eugene could arrive to succour it. This success, which was largely magnified, raised the spirits of the French, and greatly favoured them in the pending negotiations. It was, however, owing to the defection of the English, under the influence of Lord Bolingbroke, from the confederation, that they were mainly indebted for the favourable result. This, indeed, may be regarded as at once the cause of the triumph at Denain, and of the happy issue of the negotiation at Utrecht. Villars retook Douai, Le Quesnoi, and Bouchain, while Eugene raised the siege of Landrecies. Of fifty battalions which remained to Eugene, forty were taken between the battle of Denain and the termination of the campaign. That day singularly lowered the tone of the Dutch and of the emperor. The imperial troops evacuated Catalonia; and it only remained to capture Barcelona, which was assailed by the Marshal de Berwick, and taken. The endeavours at an accommodation at length reached the wished-for result, and peace was signed on the 11th of April, 1713, at Utrecht. The arrangement comprehended a treaty with England, under which the French king bound himself to abandon the interest of the pretender, to acknowledge the queen’s title, and the Protestant succession; and to raze the fortifications of Dunkirk within a limited time, on condition of receiving an equivalent; to cede Newfoundland, Hudson’s Bay, and St. Christopher to England; but the French were left in possession of Cape Breton, and were to be at liberty to dry their fish in Newfoundland. By the treaty of commerce, a free trade was established, according to the tariff of 1664, except in some commodities that had been subjected to new regulations in 1699. No other duties, it was further agreed, should be imposed on productions of France imported into England, than were laid on the like commodities brought from other countries; and commissioners were to meet at London to adjust all matters relating to commerce. There was a treaty with Prussia, which recognised the Elector of Brandenburg as king, and gave to him the Upper Gueldre. By the treaty made with the Duke of Savoy, that prince obtained Sicily, with the title of king, and a part of the Milanese territory; he gave up to France the valley of Barcelonetta, in exchange for Fenestrel and Exiles. With Holland, the arrangement agreed

upon restored Lille, and many other cities to France; but obtained as a barrier Tournay, Ypres, Menin, Furnes, and many other places. The emperor alone had refused to treat. Villars found the means of vanquishing his reluctance by the capture of Landau and Fribourg. The conqueror had a conference with Prince Eugene at the château of Radstadt; and this led to peace being concluded with the emperor, March 16th, 1714. The definitive treaty was signed at Baden, with the deputies of the empire, September 7th. It guaranteed to the emperor the possession of Naples, of Milan, of Mantua, of Sardinia, and of the Low Countries, on condition that he ratified the barrier-treaty concluded with Holland. France gave up Vieux-Brissach, Fribourg, and Kehl; but kept Strasbourg, Neuf Brissach, and Huninguen. Louis XIV. seemed only to wait for the general pacification of Europe to die. He had been preceded to the grave by all the eminent men, his contemporaries, and was in a manner doomed, before descending to the tomb himself, to wear mourning for his century. Louis remained erect, following the precept of Vespasian to the last; but the letters of the partner of his glories and cares show that she, while bearing down every one else, was herself overpowered; and that the latter years of a career once brilliant and joyous, were tarnished and sad. The meddling persecutions of the confessor, Le Tellier, and the *lettres de cachet*, multiplied to prevent Jansenism, added to the calamitous events of a reign saddened by reverses and defeats. The pressure of absolute power, modified as it had been by a taste for the fine arts, ennobled by triumphs, or excited by religious intolerance, had not been severely felt in the bright days of the seventeenth century, by the Molières, the Racines, the Fleuries, and the Bossuets, but became less bearable at a subsequent date, while the talent which marked this period became more rare, and less vigorous than formerly. The nobility still bowed submissively before Louis with an air of loyal attachment; but their eyes turned to another quarter, on which regal power was expected to descend. The people, depressed, regarded the coming event at least with indifference. A dying despot is always a most pitiable object.

Louis XIV. was about to leave his throne to an infant five years of age, and consequently a new regency of eight years duration was on the eve of being commenced. His health rapidly declined, and of his legitimate descendants but one feeble child survived. The Duke of Orleans expected to be appointed regent. Relieved from all apprehensions of the revival of the *Frondeurs*, the declining monarch feared to leave the young prince in the hands of the duke. The latter bore an infamous name, and scorn and hatred were everywhere felt for "the poisoner," as he was called; for scandal charged him with having removed those of his relatives who had prematurely died by means of poison. He despised the accusation; but by the king he was called a *fanfaron de crimes*. Leading a careless life, he sometimes boasted of excesses which he had not committed. Louis, however, was unwilling that the Duke of Orleans should remain in the situation of heir-presumptive,

when the new king had commenced his reign. With this feeling, added to his parental affection for the children born to him of Madame de Montespan, he issued a decree, giving them all the rights of his legitimate offspring, and ordering, in the event of the dauphin's decease, that they should successively ascend the throne. The decree was registered most submissively by the parliament, their object being not to disturb the last moments of its expiring author. It was dated June 11th, 1714. Taking such a step, he hoped the influence the Duke de Maine and the Count de Toulouse would gain in the counsel, might suffice to counteract any sinister design of the Duke of Orleans. An edict so provident was far from meeting with general approval. It shocked many, as being at variance with all laws, divine and human, and as sealing, by a final scandal, the scandal of a doubly adulterous birth, which a proper sense of religion in the old king would rather have laboured to conceal for ever. To the Duke du Maine Louis gave the command of the household troops during the minority.

His health now rapidly failed: a gangrene in his leg announced total decay. Having done all that a despot could do to extend his influence beyond the period of his life, he prepared to meet the king of terrors by an edifying display of firmness and piety. His death-bed, says a modern commentator, was "as fine a piece of acting as any scene in his life; if anything could have gone deeper than the external surface of form and etiquette, assuredly it would have been the last agony. But Louis died as he had lived, with all the grace and decorum he loved in his brightest moments. His several addresses to his different friends and attendants, and lastly his heir, were distinguished by that neatness and propriety for which he was famous." He became extremely ill on the 25th of August, 1715, having been removed to Marly; and it was now obvious to every one that his time was very short. The courtiers thronged in crowds to the palace of the Duke of Orleans. On a slight improvement in the king's health, they, expecting him to recover, turned to him; but the favourable symptoms proving of very short duration, he found himself again deserted. Even Madame de Maintenon withdrew to St. Cyr, unable, it was said, to endure the spectacle of his suffering. The Earl of Stair, then in Paris as the ambassador from England, laid a wager, "according to the manner of his country," that the king would not live through the month of September; and he won his bet. A day or two before he breathed his last, Louis caused the infant who was to wear his crown to be brought to his bedside; and, like some of his predecessors, gave advice in death which he had never valued in the active part of his life. "I," said he, "have been too much enamoured of war. Do not imitate me in that, any more than in causing an unnecessary expenditure of treasure, to raise gorgeous palaces. In all things take good counsel. Be it your study to render your people as happy as possible; and labour to effect that improvement in their condition which I, unfortunately, have not been able to accom-

plish." The child then withdrew ; and the king thenceforward wholly occupied himself with devotional exercises. He died on the 7th of September, 1715, being seventy-seven years of age. Madame de Maintenon had been shut up at St. Cyr during the preceding three days. She did not again leave that retreat. The recent disasters of France had caused fifty years of victory to be forgotten ; and no recollections were cherished but those of the good times of Anne of Austria and of Mazarin ; no hopes were entertained but those inspired by the new regency.

"The eighteenth century," we read in the *Cahiers de Histoire*, "commences with the regency. Louis XIV. is dead, and instantly a reaction takes place against all that had been obtained in his reign ; the parliament assembles, and unanimously resolve to set aside the will of the great king, while the populace insult his obsequies. The Duke of Orleans is declared regent instead of the Duke du Maine.

"Great was the difference between these two princes. The latter was the pupil of De Maintenon, the assiduous courtier of the last years of the reign of Louis XIV., and consequently the friend of his old friends, Villeroy, D'Harcourt, D'Uxelles, and De Villars. The regent was only connected with the past, by recollected affronts and persecutions. He at length breathes ! he is free ! he is master ! The transition from hypocritical virtue to unblushing vice was sudden and abrupt : high and low at once threw off the mask, and passed immediately from fasting to dissolute orgies.

"The relief of the Jansenists, the change of object as well as of the form of administration, the proceedings against the farmers general of taxes, the rupture of the alliance with Spain, all these steps were in opposition to the policy of France in the seventeenth century.

"Apart from the private life of the regent, and it is not for the governed to enquire into all the concerns of those who govern, the Duke of Orleans holds an honourable place in history ; and when Louis XV. became a man and a king, remembering his feeble and afflicted infancy, his gratitude ought to have been great to the tutor, to the uncle, who, almost in despite of nature, had given him a throne and life. Dubois, notwithstanding his trifling, to say no more, was not unworthy of his strange elevation."

It was on the day after Louis closed his life, that the parliament met to hear his will read. The Duke of Orleans then addressed them in a confident tone on the subject of his rights, distinctly intimated that he looked to be entrusted with the regency, and declared it to be his resolution to govern all his actions by the sage advice of parliament. Under the will, a council was directed to be formed, consisting of the ministers, of which the Duke of Orleans was to be president, but in which the Duke du Maine, from his influence over the majority of its members, would be all powerful. He also was to have the care of the king's person. With little deliberation, the parliament, dissenting from this arrangement, declared the late king's testament null and void. They immediately proclaimed the Duke of Orleans

regent ; but the young king was placed under the care of the Duke du Maine, and that of his friend, the Marshal de Villeroy.

The Duke of Orleans was a man of great ability ; but depressed by the inactivity to which he was condemned by the jealousy of his royal uncle, he found a resource in dissipation. Ordered by Louis to marry one of his illegitimate daughters, by Madame de Montespan, he felt degraded by the match, and, disgusted with his wife, plunged into further debaucheries. His profligacy was notorious : he treated religion with contempt, and to other crimes imputed to him, sorcery was added ; and it appears he really believed in divination. The powerful mind, which deemed itself far too enlightened by reason to have faith in the existence of a God, could visit the stone quarries of Paris, to invoke the appearance or the aid of a devil ! Such wild inconsistencies associate themselves even with strong understandings.

A musician, painter, chemist, physician, perfumer, and *mosaïste*,

“ Not one, but all mankind’s epitome.”

a man weary of everything and of himself, a libertine rather from indifference than temperament, yet withal possessed of great mental resources, but combining all the graces and defects of effeminacy, Europe gazed with astonishment on the singular contrast he presented to that grand, calm, and cold figure which had just been removed from the throne of France. For such a man no ordinary minister could suffice, and fortune favoured him not a little in giving him a Dubois. This man was the son of an apothecary at Breves-la-Gaillarde, and had been the preceptor of Philippe d’Orleans. The former had from instinct the vices of which the latter acquired the habit. It was believed that the preceptor had greatly contributed to the progress of his pupil in depravity. On the other hand, he was active, supple, always ready to make a great display, and always returning to his contemporaries with usury the contempt which they breathed for him. Dubois possessed in an eminent degree the capacity for action, in which the regent was singularly deficient : united in tastes, interests, and ideas, knowing each other reciprocally, knowing each others strength and weakness, and bound together by a sort of fellowship, which was not without esteem, nor without strong attachment, the two men were wonderfully adapted to each other ; and never did sovereign and minister pursue the same track with a more equal and more unvarying step.

Some applauded the extravagant metamorphosis which royalty exhibited in France, while others exclaimed against the scandal ; and among those who were heard loudest of all was the King of Spain, Philip V., who, as son-in-law to Louis XIV., thought it incumbent on him to uphold the principles which had been acted upon during the late reign. An abbé of fortune, the Italian Alberoni, had become cardinal and minister of Spain, a man of an active genius and decisive character, but with more courage than strength, had taken under his care the old ideas, and in his gigantic dreams wished to be in a manner regarded as continuing the policy of the deceased Louis.

One of the first acts of the new government was to throw open the gates of the Bastille to the prisoners who were detained for Jansenism. The same thing was done at Vincennes. Among those who were so released was D'Arenberg, who had been confined twelve years for aiding the escape of Quesnel. The appearance of these victims called forth virulent complaints against the Jesuits; but while liberating the Jansenists, the regent was indisposed to punish their adversaries, but by treating them with contempt.

The financial difficulties with which the regent had to contend were great. In 1670, the expenditure of the nation was 80,000,000 of livres; during the last years of the reign of Louis it had reached 260,000,000. To meet these charges, a royal tithe, devised by Vauban, was laid on about the year 1710, and the capitation tax was increased. Paper money was still issued; but it sunk immediately to an enormous discount—32,000,000 in paper serving but to represent 8,000,000 in specie. Again was the old absurd, but dangerous, expedient resorted to of creating offices for sale. Some of these, in name and character, were rather what a dramatic writer would devise for a broad farce, than such as could be supposed really to exist in a great nation. There was a comptroller for piling wood, another for ascertaining the quality of butter; and an inspector of wigs was one of the many appointments witnessed at this period, brought forward to raise a supply by creating expence, and only serving to make distress ludicrous. After all these wretched expedients were exhausted, Louis left a debt in bills demanding immediate payment, exceeding 700,000,000 of livres, besides a funded debt, of which the annual interest was ninety-six millions.

Under these circumstances it was that a national bankruptcy was proposed by the Duke St. Simon. Such a measure, he argued, would in its effects press most severely on the commercial and monied classes of Paris, whose sufferings were not to be pitied, and whose resentment was not to be feared. In a moral point of view he conceived it might be defended, as it would give a warning to the public generally, not thereafter to lend their money to work out the wild or vicious schemes of a minister or a king. He advised calling the states general together, to issue such a decree. To that the regent would not assent; but an order appeared, requiring that the bills of all public creditors should be examined, and the value given by the holder for each ascertained; and in all cases where the amount given was other than satisfactory, the bills were cancelled. In this way one half of the 700,000,000 due on such securities was completely extinguished. It was then, as the scheme so prosecuted was deemed to have proved highly beneficial, resolved, not only to shorten debts that were still due, but to reclaim gains that had been previously realised on bills paid off. The commissioners to whom the enquiry was confided summoned before them all people known to have lent money to the state. Many of them were imprisoned, threatened with capital punishment, and treated with the same inhuman severity which the Jews had experienced in other days from the feudal barons. They were, in fact,

tortured till they redeemed themselves by fine. Pardons and protections were sold to the sufferers by Orleans, who mocked their distress. His counsellors were on the alert to follow the example he set them, by engaging in this iniquitous, but lucrative trade. Ladies even did not disdain to take it up. Sometimes their industry interfered with the profits of their husbands. One case is mentioned, in which a nobleman visited a financier in prison, and kindly offered him his liberty for 300,000 francs ; but was answered, "I am greatly obliged to you, count. In this case, however, I need not trouble you, as your countess has already procured an order for my liberation for half the amount." These infamous doings the magistracy made no effort to suppress, but rather countenanced, and in some instances participated in them. While such abuses prevailed, a re-coinage took place, and the money of the realm was deteriorated, a fifth being subtracted from its value. By this expedient the government made a profit of 72,000,000 livres.

The regent took the decisive step of forming an alliance with England and Holland, the constant enemies of France through the seventeenth century by the treaty of the Hague, signed January 4th, 1717. They had grown weary of Sweden, which had been accustomed, since the time of Gustavus Adolphus, to sell her services to France, and which had been led into strange extravagancies by the mad caprice of Charles XII. Peter the Great, who had just appeared at Paris for the second time, had offered to engage himself with the regent to supply the place of so indifferent an ally ; and on the 15th August, 1716, a treaty of correspondence and amity had been signed by France with Russia and Prussia. It was the object of Alberoni to overthrow all the new relations which had thus been formed. Relying for support of his views on the intervention of Count Goertz, Charles XII., on whose sword he founded the most chimerical hopes, he resolved to make inroad into Germany, while he sent the pretender into Scotland to take Naples from Austria, Sicily from Savoy ; and besides, he contemplated overthrowing the government of the regent in France by the conspiracy of Cellamare, the Spanish ambassador, which was, perhaps, of all his schemes, the most preposterous.

When Alberoni had brought his master into a course of opposition so violent against the power newly established in France, it seemed to the court that they were carried back to the time of Cinq Mars and the Cardinal de Retz, when every one who on any account felt discontented, was always ready to produce the bases of a treaty with Spain. Great surprise was caused by the daring projects of Alberoni. He was of very humble origin, and had been employed as a secret agent at the court of Spain by the Duke de Vendôme. Having contributed to bring about the marriage of Philip with the Princess of Parma, his second wife, she, in acknowledgement of his services, paved the way for his advancement to become prime minister and cardinal. He had good abilities as a financier,



The Duchess de Maine looking over the Old Chronicles.

and his internal administration was prudent, and did much to raise Spain from the depressed state in which she had formerly languished. Cellamare, who was then ambassador to France from the court of Spain, was an indolent voluptuary, on whom the instructions of Alberoni had imposed a task ill-suited to his taste or capacity. His hotel was daily besieged by a crowd of hungry malcontents and desperate adventurers, who thronged to offer him the aid of their swords and influence; isolated conspirators, whose language alone sufficiently betrayed their impotence. One of these, named Sabran de Beandisnar, in the absence of any other recommendation, valued himself on being able to boast that there was in Heaven a saint of his family, St. Elzéar, who would not fail to extend "unearthly protection to any king who should beneficially employ his relation."

The Duchess du Maine gave the impulse to all this movement. Not content with wresting from her husband the regency which had been destined for him by the will of Louis XIV., Philip had struck a still severer blow against him by the proceedings which had been commenced against the natural sons of the late king, with a view of depriving them of the prerogatives they had received from their father, by the decree which had legitimised them. At the rumour of this step, the muses of the Sceaux, the noble seat of the Duke du Maine, where men of letters had loved to assemble, were speedily dispersed. The Duchess Benedict, the daughter of the great Condé, had reigned supreme in that little court, of which the brilliant nights were not soon to be forgotten. Retaining, at the age of forty years, the sylph-like form of a child who had scarcely counted ten, given up to luxury and flattery, and in the midst of her magnificence surrounded by fêtes and theatres, and fairy scenes, puerile and fantastical, which form the charms of our first readings, her wit sparkled, and her caprice and her vanity made her husband wretched, from the contempt with which he saw himself treated, and the expences in which he was involved, while she sought, by having recourse to unusual amusements, to revive an exhausted imagination. Her mind, however, had such activity, and such a peculiar turn, that she was, perhaps, less indignant at the outrage with which her house was menaced, than gratified by the extraordinary part which she had to act, in order to defend it. Her first metamorphosis was to become the principal advocate in the great trial. From that moment the poets and the comedians who had till then formed her society gave place to members of the long robe, to jurists, and to those who were most distinguished for legal erudition and antiquarian knowledge. The princess laboured in the cause with unwearied diligence. Madame de Stael presents an amusing picture of the duchess, almost buried in her bed, beneath a mass of musty folios, engaged in seeking out old registries and authorities in honour of illegitimacy, and putting in regular order the numerous hints and quotations with which she had been provided by the labours of the Jesuits. With the men of letters engaged in her cause, many of the nobility were joined; and among them the names of

Montmorency, Richelieu, and Chatillon, were found. The result of her efforts was of little avail. By an edict issued by the regent, dated July 2nd, 1717, the Duke du Maine and his brother, the Count de Toulouse, were returned to the ranks of illegitimacy, and deprived of the right to rank as princes of the blood royal.

"Nothing then remains to me but the shame of having married you," said the duchess, on her husband's first appearing before her after that memorable sitting. The Duke of Bourbon, who had succeeded the Duke du Maine as superintendant of the education of the young king, wished to have the apartments at the Tuileries, which belonged to the post. When the duchess received an order to give them up, she replied with fury, "Yes, I will give them up;" and at the same time ordered them to be unfurnished and defaced, and breaking herself all the glasses and china immediately



within her reach. From that time forward this princess dreamed but of vengeance. From being an actress she became a blue-stocking, and from being a blue-stocking she became the chief of a conspiracy. It was the duchess who paid that army of pamphleteers, under whose ceaseless attacks the reputation of the regent sunk to rise no more. It is true that he strangely lent himself to the satire launched against him, by the disdainful and outrageous cynicism which he and his brother *roués* affected. It is known that a saturnalian hour was fixed for him and his court. The doors were then closed on the regent of France and on his associates in debauchery till the next morning, and with such strict orders, that not even the safety of

the state would have been deemed to justify intrusion on his privacy. Irritated by the mystery connected with these doings, the popular imagination exaggerated by report the licentiousness which marked these orgies; and it is from this source that so many fabulous tales have sprung of the extravagance indulged in by the guests of the regent. They were vicious characters, it must be admitted; but being of mature age, of illustrious birth, distinguished for their talents and elegant tastes, they were incapable of those gross outrages on decorum ascribed to them by common report. The Palais-Royal, silent and impenetrable, appeared to the public eye like an infamous island, set apart for unhallowed enjoyment in the midst of general misery; a real Capræa, but one in which there was no Tiberius. The conspiracy, however, advanced towards maturity but slowly, and with little enthusiasm, save on the part of "the queen of the great romance," Madame du Maine, who at last was animated with the fervour of bitter resentment. "I continue to cultivate our vine," Cellamare wrote to Alberoni; "but I do not wish to stretch out my hand to gather the fruit before it is ripe." The Neapolitan so badly understood the trade which he had been put to follow, that he had selected, hap-hazard, an old copyist of the royal library to transcribe fairly his correspondence. This man, whose name was Buvat, had scarcely commenced his task, when he went and revealed all that was passing to Dubois. The conspirators had thought of nothing less than of seizing on the person of the young king, and confining the regent to his Palais-Royal. For the son of the apothecary, if they allowed him to retain his head, it was determined that the rest of his days should be passed in a dungeon. Seeing all these important matters existed but on paper as yet, the regent allowed the grapes of Cellamare to ripen. At length, however, in December, 1718, it was determined to bring this harmless conspiracy to a conclusion. Two young Spaniards, who were returning to Madrid, carried with them a box of papers entrusted to their care by Cellamare, for Alberoni, and reached Poitiers on the 5th of that month. In the middle of the night, while they were both asleep, Dumesnil entered their chamber with a company of grenadiers, and seized on the box, which was immediately sent to Paris. The ambassador had received an intimation that such a step was in contemplation; but he had not sufficient presence of mind to destroy a single paper; and the musqueteers, who proceeded to his hotel on the 9th, found him still actively engaged in the workshop of his plot. Buvat was at his post copying a libel. Leaves, freshly printed by a clandestine press, which had been established in the hotel, were found. The visitors also discovered the original seditious instructions given to Cellamare, the secret autograph correspondence, without any interruption, between Alberoni and the ambassador, as well as the letters prepared for Louis XV. and the parliament of Paris, written by Philip V. on notes from the Duchess du Maine, and, finally, the letters of those who had solicited employment, and offered to further the project by levies of men, and by bringing over

deserters to assist in the contemplated movement. These papers were locked up in chests and conveyed to the Louvre. In the course of a few days the Bastille, the Conciergerie, and Vincennes, were crowded with prisoners of every variety of rank and condition. Madame du Maine was conducted to Dijon by her nephew, the Duke of Bourbon. For the Duke du Maine, who had known nothing of what was passing, and who was translating the Latin verses of the Cardinal de Polignac, while his wife was exerting herself to get him made regent, he at once gave himself up for lost when the officers came to arrest him. He was led away, his face pale, and his eye wandering, repeating prayers, and devoutly making the sign of the cross. Cellamare himself, notwithstanding his character of ambassador, was handed over to a guard of musqueteers, and subsequently removed to Blois, protesting before God, and in the name of his sovereign, against the violence done to him. It, however, did not enter into the merciful disposition of the regent to visit with very heavy punishment plotters who had accomplished so little. In the last letter addressed to Cellamare by Alberoni, he directed him "not to leave France till he had *fired the mine*." "A mine without powder!" exclaimed Cellamare, when, having been taken out of France by Dubois, that letter was shewn to him. The young Duke of Richelieu was among the prisoners, all of whom, after a few months, were allowed to go at large. There was but one exception: a poor old officer, the Marquis de Bon Repos, whom Ombreval, the lieutenant of police, discovered five years afterwards, where he had been forgotten. He, however, found his prison so endurable, that he felt hurt when the doors were thrown open to him; and it was not without regret that he changed his abode for that of the Invalids. The Duke and Duchess du Maine were restored to their noble seat at Sceaux, where the former sunk into insignificance, and the latter consoled herself by patronising letters for the wound her pride had received.

Happily relieved from this image of a tempest, the regent now considered how he could appropriately requite Alberoni for the course which he had pursued. He caused the Duke de St. Aiguan, whom he had sent as envoy to Spain, to occupy himself as Cellamare had been occupied in France, by assembling round him all those who were known to be the enemies of the minister at court. Louise Piscatori, the nurse of the queen, marking some signs of discontent which escaped her majesty, told her that she had but to appear at mass with a green ribbon on her arm, and men of determined resolution were ready to deliver her from her oppression for ever. The regent, however, did not carry his resentment so far as might have been expected. He forbade his ambassador to give countenance to any such schemes in Spain; and weary of the notes of correspondence, verbose and bombastic, with which the Spanish conspirators filled his bureaux, he directed St. Aiguan to burn the whole. Fortune hastened to release him from his enemy at less expense than was contemplated. Nothing which Alberoni had attempted externally had succeeded. Charles XII., who had threatened to overturn all

Europe for his advantage, had just perished before a petty fortress in Norway. A Spanish fleet was fitted out, against the Turks, it was said, which proceeded to Sardinia, and thence to Sicily. It had but brief success. It took Palermo; but a British squadron appearing in the Mediterranean, under Admiral Sir George Byng, required the Spaniard to abandon his designs on Sicily; and no satisfactory answer being given to this demand, Byng attacked the Spanish fleet, took several ships, and destroyed the rest; while an Austrian army passed into Sicily, to attack the troops sent thither from Spain. Not more fortunate was an expedition which he caused to be sent against Scotland, in favour of the pretender, with a view to punish the policy of England. It shared the fate of the invincible armada of a former period, and was dispersed by tempests; and the Chevalier St. George, who had received the name of Charles Edward, hardly found himself in the Highlands, when he was obliged abruptly to retrace the road to France, retaining of his ephemeral royalty only the recollection of having been served at table by men on their knees, and of having occupied himself with the puerile cares of preparing for his coronation. So many enterprises, badly combined and miserably executed, damaged from day to day the credit of Alberoni. He, however, obstinately resolved on acting the part of the "demon of the south," which he seemed to wish to take from Philip II., continued to embroil everything in foreign countries; and, as if some vertigo had seized on that spirit so fine and so volatile, he was seen to rush at hazard into schemes the most extravagant, regarding as of serious importance all the dreams which reached him from abroad, and voluntarily making himself the dupe of every one who craved his assistance for the carrying out of a plot. From the commencement of the regency, moved by an unaccountable and senseless spirit of opposition, the Breton noblesse entered into an open strife with the new authority. Some *lettres de cachet*, sent into the province to check the disaffection, served but to increase it. Seditious writings were extensively circulated through all the small properties. An "act of union" was prepared, by which the Breton gentlemen threatened to form themselves into a sort of military republic, after the manner of the Polish nobility; an impotent menace, which, in effect, threw back the common people to the situation which was theirs in the middle ages—to that of villains; a step too repugnant to the spirit of the eighteenth century, to be followed by any important result.

In the spring of 1719, several meetings of the malcontents took place. They were at first marked by timid caution, and held in remote or little frequented places. Two gentlemen, who were passing through the province, having entered an inn, thought they could perceive that the valises of some merchants, who were taking their repast at the same place, were filled with chains and padlocks. They immediately sent forth a mysterious rumour that the soldiers of the marshalsea of France were traversing the whole country in disguise; and the panic and terror which this inspired sufficed to

demolish the whole confederacy. The members of it, however, recovered their courage; and their chiefs were named in different places. Those of greatest note were Bonnamour, Montlouis, Pontcallet, Dugroesquar, and Rohan-Polduc. Other individuals of less importance, such as Lambiller, counsellor of parliament, Coetivy-le-Borgne, and the abbé Dugroesquar laboured to direct the movements going forward in different parts, scattered and desultory, to one common end. The gentlemen, who had begun to fortify themselves in their castles, soon felt that that was to involve themselves in a snare, and took an opposite course by encamping in the woods with their small forces. Bonnamour gave to his people the high sounding title of the "soldiers of liberty." Pontcallet, in his thatched cottage, assumed the tone of command with an air of impolitic severity; and Dutourdre, a reformed captain of dragoons of Bellabre, figured by his side as a general of cavalry. Each of the confederates changed his name. Lambiller was called Master Peter; and Dugroesquar the Chevalier de Bon Sens (the knight of good sense). Their uniform consisted of a waistcoat made of tent cloth, and a straw hat, from which a black ribbon depended. The phrase "to enter the forest," meant "to commence a civil war." This *nomade* life did not tempt the inhabitants energetically to support the views of the conspirators. In vain did the principal movers in the scheme imitate the stratagems of fowlers, by causing their valets to assume the dress and appearance of peasants; in vain did they arm their vassals, under the pretence of hunting



wolves; in vain did they enrol woodmen to labour in the forest—all was of little avail; and authority did not succeed better than artifice. They mocked

the aid of the citizen militia. The commanders refused to answer the call in the way desired; it was wished to sound the tocsin in Guerand, but the magistrates refused to allow it. A few seneschals, worked upon by the fear of the parliament, intrigued without success; two priests only came forward, and appeared at the head of a handful of beggars.

The facts just described seem to anticipate the history of *chouannerie*, but *chouannerie* reduced to its original elements, and connected with the noblesse, such as it had the air of resuming at a period not very remote. As if to add to the resemblance, we may remark, there was a woman who took charge of the office of correspondence in the latter case; and a Dame Kauken was the depositary of the "act of union." It was, however, to such conspirators, that Alberoni caused his king to write:—"I hereby assure them myself, that I know, and have learned with great satisfaction, the glorious part which they take; and that I will sustain them to the best of my ability, and am delighted to have an opportunity of marking the esteem I feel for subjects so faithful to the king my nephew, whose happiness and glory I am anxious to promote. Given at the camp of St. Stephen this 22nd day of June, 1717.—Philip." Thirty thousand livres were sent into Britany, with a promise that a fleet should be fitted out to retort on the regent the invasion which he had caused to be directed against Spain. Assured of this royal protectorate, the conspirators felt not a little inflated; and deeming their cause already half gained, they set to work immediately to manufacture arms, to force the public chests, and to adopt all other measures for insuring the success of an avowed insurrection. But the treachery which had already betrayed to Dubois the schemes of Cellamare, had also disclosed the secret of the present plot. The abbé had already been long following the footsteps of the Breton conspirators. A surgeon, named Plauvaux, was employed to watch their operations as they proceeded. The Marquis de Langey wished to surprise all the chiefs at a meeting in the Château de Rohan-Polduc. A great gathering was resolved upon a fortnight afterwards in the forest of Nocé. There were expected five hundred nobles, each bringing with him two horses, and an armed valet; but ten men only appeared at the place of rendezvous. Just then the Spanish fleet made its appearance; but it was too late—for the malcontents had dispersed in various directions, without firing a shot; and the foreigners, whom the king's forces waited for in good order, were too happy, when they learned the true state of things, that the wind had opposed their disembarking. All the evil of this abortion fell on four unfortunate gentlemen: Pontcallel, Montlouis, Le Moine, and De Coedic, who were tried at Nantes by a royal chamber, and decapitated by torchlight, attired in a dismal costume. The regent had sanctioned this studiously dreadful and theatrically arranged execution, only to strike terror into a half savage population; and as soon as his rigour had produced the desired effect, he immediately took a milder course. "It had been his object to pursue the creatures of Cellamare," says Lemontey; "and when

they were tired of paying commissioners, the crime, the accused, and the tribunal, all vanished together."

Philip V. is said to have shed tears when he heard of the death of the four Bretons, of whom he himself had been made the accomplice by Alberoni. The sight of some of the leading men in the conspiracy, who, forced to fly their country, repaired to Madrid, caused him more bitterly still to lament that ever he had engaged in so foolish an enterprise. "There are here some poor Bretons," wrote the Marshal de Tessé to the regent. "They would have it believed that they did not excite the revolt in Britany. Those who took off their shoes and stockings, should provide them with goat's feet," meaning thereby, that it was for the party who had brought these unfortunates into their then deplorable condition, were those to whom they should look for its amelioration. The misfortunes of the war with France added to the disappointment of the court. Fontarabia had been taken before the king's eyes by Marshal de Berwick, the commander who, in other days, had placed him on the throne of Spain. At the same period, he had the mortification to see the French had burnt his ships in the harbours of Centena and Vigo. In Sicily, the Marquis de Leyde, driven from Messina after nine assaults, had entrenched himself, at the head of a handful of brave men, in the lava of Etna, where he made a brilliant display of valour, in the absence of all hope of success, beyond merely defending himself. By the public voice, Alberoni was accused of being the author of all these misfortunes; and this was at length forced upon the royal ear, while a caricature was printed and circulated through the kingdom, in which the king was represented on an ass, the queen holding the animal by the bridle, and Alberoni beating him with a whip. At the bottom were these words:—*Anda animal; que la manda el cardinal.* (Go on animal; it is the cardinal's order). The minister, under all the circumstances, could no longer shut his eyes to his approaching fall. One day, he entered the chamber of the king, and having heedlessly placed his hand on the linen which Louisa Piscatori had prepared for Philip, she immediately threw it into the fire, because it had been touched by him. Part of his riches he had already placed in security, and he now thought of providing for himself a retreat at Rome; but the blow meditated against him was so suddenly struck, that he found himself taken wholly unawares. On the 5th of November, 1719, he received a note from the king, which ordered him to quit Madrid in eight days, and Spain in three weeks. He was not even allowed to withdraw unmolested. Twice he fell into the hands of parties who scoured the country, and, met in the defile of Trenta Palos by two hundred and fifty Miquelots, he was obliged to charge, sabre in hand, at the head of his followers; and when he set his foot on the soil of France, there remained with him but fourteen domestics, all of whom were so wretchedly attired, that he was taken for a Bohemian chief. "Thanks to heaven," he exclaimed; "I am at length in a Christian land." After having disturbed the world, Alberoni

was content to conceal himself in the legation of Romania, where, in his declining years, wishing to occupy with something his still restless spirit, he applied himself to unite to the Holy See the insignificant republic of St. Marin, "thus giving," as a contemporary remarks, "a parody on the heroic comedies in which he had acted a part twenty years before."

The fall of Alberoni was the signal for peace. Philip, being no longer urged on by the cardinal's whip, fell into his natural apathy. He acceded to the quadruple alliance; and Spain, abandoning, as if by enchantment, all those ambitious pretensions, which tended to nothing less than to make her the arbiter of whatever was passing in Europe, consented, in her turn, to place her destiny in the hands of the allied powers. This arrangement was concluded in February, 1720. Parma and Plaisance were given up to Philip for his son Carlos, on condition that he should renounce his claims on Sicily and Sardinia. The former was united by the emperor to his kingdom of Naples; the latter was given in exchange for it to the Duke of Savoy, by whom it had first been held. Dubois endeavoured to cement the union between France and Spain in the following year, by negotiating through the confessor of Philip V., the jesuit D'Aubenton, the marriage of the young king, Louis XV., with the Infanta of Spain, who was exchanged in the isle of Pheasants for Mademoiselle de Montpensier, destined to be the wife of the Prince of Asturias. The infanta, who was but four years of age, was conducted to Paris, where the people saw her every day in the garden of the Louvre. This precocious alliance was destined to lead to no important consequences; and the successes of the regent soon proceeded to undo what Philippe of Orleans had regarded as the *chef d'œuvre* of his policy.

The agitation growing on events out of the kingdom being set at rest for three years, one of a different character had prevailed within, and which at length reached a height that rendered it of great moment. On the face of it, a financial embarrassment only was apparent, but closely looked into, serious convulsions in the social state were found connected with it, and which may be said to have given the spring to the great revolutionary movement of the eighteenth century. We here speak of the celebrated scheme of the adventurer Law.

Louis XIV. had left the state in debt to the amount of more than ten milliards, and the regent vainly endeavoured to find the means of covering the deficiency consequently felt in the income of the nation. The Duke St. Simon, at the commencement, had proposed, for the reasons which have been stated, the dangerous measure of a national bankruptcy; but the timid instinct of Philippe, not his conscience, shrunk from the ignominious step. He preferred throwing himself into the arms of a schemer—who spoke of an illusory reimbursement, it is true, but who at least disguised the odious character of the measure, by dressing it up in new phraseology. John Law was a Scotchman, the son of a goldsmith at Edinburgh. No man ever possessed in so great a degree the faculty of making calculations and

combinations. He studied profoundly everything that related to banks, lotteries, and the commercial firms of London; the means of upholding them; of exciting hope and confidence in the public; as well as those of restraining and of accelerating its movements. Secrets the most carefully guarded were penetrated by his sagacity; and yet more, he engaged the new company established under the auspices of Harley, Lord Oxford, in England, to liquidate the national debt. Having afterwards obtained an engagement as secretary to an agent residing in Holland, he made himself acquainted with the affairs of the famous bank of Amsterdam, with its capital, with its profits, with its resources, with the account individuals kept with it, and with the variations in the rate of interest paid from time to time; as also the methods by which the funds were occasionally raised or depressed, and the means by which the circulation was extended or contracted; together with the arrangement of its registries and offices, its expenses, and the form of its administration. In the state of exhaustion to which war had reduced all the powers of Europe, he foresaw that they would be incessantly engaged in restoring their delapidated finances; and on that founded the hope of succeeding, by the tempting aspect of his system, to gain the support of those who wished to accomplish their object by the quickest, rather than the most honourable expedients.

"It consisted of a bank, of which the real funds were to be the revenue of the state, and the accessary funds were to be derived from some unknown commerce. This advantage, by imagination wonderfully magnified, would excite the minds of speculators anxious to participate in the profits through operations, which were successively created by the ardour of their desires." A monopoly of a vast trade from the Mississippi to China was among the wonderful advantages which he held out to those whom he wished to make the supporters of his daring and nefarious plans.

"In the sequel," he argued, "the bonds which he issued being originally few in number, from their scarcity and the rapidity of their circulation, could not fail to reach an enormous price, which would facilitate the production of others, and, indeed, create a sort of necessity for issuing them at a still higher price.

"The new bonds, discrediting the old ones, would offer an excellent medium for paying off the latter, as they could be taken at par, always with the addition of a certain allowance for money."

"In order to induce the holders to submit to a sacrifice, by various changes the value of the old bonds was rendered uncertain; proprietors would thus constantly be kept in a state of alarm, lest they should become worthless in their hands. When the price was high, they would be eager to realise; when low, they would be anxious to sell, lest it should fall still lower.

"The bank, on the other hand, was to make all its payments in notes, the unvarying value of which would inspire confidence, and render them more convenient for commercial purposes, and in various respects preferable to specie.

"Money being cried down would reduce the rate of interest; and the sovereign, profiting by its reduced value to raise loans, might then pay off a portion of his debt without making any disbursement; for individuals not knowing what to do with their cash would bring it back again.

"Let this state of things continue only for a few years, and the monarch, taking advantage of it, would be able to liquidate all his debts, and to draw into his coffers a great portion of the gold in his kingdom, as well as of that belonging to foreign countries.

"Such were the axioms and the corollaries of the system of Law."

Before offering his project to France, Law had hawked it all over Europe, and had everywhere been repulsed. When he applied to the King of Sardinia, "I am not powerful enough to be able to ruin myself," was the royal answer of Victor Amadeus. It is said the schemer offered his plan to Louis XIV., in the latter years of that monarch's reign; but he scornfully rejected the tricking nostrum of a merchant on his last legs, and, on a full exposition of its merits, forbade those about him, in a determined tone, ever to mention it to him again. More of a citizen trader than his uncle, Philippe of Orleans suffered the Scotsman to make his experiment. He permitted him in the first place to establish a modest commercial bank, with a capital of six millions, where the bills of merchants were discounted at a moderate rate. The acknowledged utility of that institution having brought it into favour, an order in council of the 10th April, 1717, ordered the officers of finance to receive and take, without discount, the bills of the bank. The same year saw the Western or Mississippi company started, to which an exclusive monopoly was given of exploring Louisiana, and which soon received the additional privilege of farming generally the revenue of the state. On the 4th December, 1718, a new ordinance appeared, declaring the bank to be a royal bank, and naming Law director of it, under the authority and orders of the regent. So many accumulated favours, one after another, greatly promoted the success of the system. Within a short time, the actions of the company rose from 500 to 18,000 livres. Then were witnessed the strangest freaks and varieties of fortune among an excited and stultified population. Millions seemed to be showered down on every side. The *agioteur*, or jobber, (the name invented for those who trafficked in these securities) who approached the scene of action behind the carriage of his master, was seen to return from it occupying a seat in one of his own. Distinguished noblemen rushed like others to take a part in the terrible game, which seemed in a moment to turn all heads, and great lords elbowed the common porters who besieged the offices of the bank. The Duke of Bourbon succeeded there in repairing his damaged fortunes; he gained enough to place Chantilly on that footing of royal magnificence which it still maintains. Law, who was the author of all this movement, amassed himself, almost in the twinkling of an eye, immense sums. In one week he paid the Count d'Evreux, for the *compté* of Tancarville, in

Normandy, 80,000 livres; offered to the Prince of Carignan 1,100,000 livres for the Hotel de Soissons; 500,000 livres to the Marchioness Beuvron for her estate of Lillebonne; and 1,700,000 livres to the Marquis de Sully for his marquisate of Rosny. All this was vastly surpassed by the gains realised by Madame de Prye, the mistress of the Duke of Bourbon, of which the calculators of the day estimated the amount at the incredible sum of 127,000,000!

It was in the rue Quincampoix that the scene for trafficking in these bonds was established—for at that period no Bourse was in existence. Happy were they who held houses on that spot. A single room was let for ten livres a day. The multitude, however, generally did not think of obtaining an apartment. From day-break, the road of that narrow street was choked



up with gamblers; and their eagerness or fervour did not fail to increase as the day advanced. In the evening, a bell was rung to announce that business had closed, and then the police authorities found it necessary to expel the crowd by force. At this period, a caricature was produced, which, under a somewhat coarse allegory, not other than just, gave a striking, but natural picture of this epidemic frenzy. It is still extant, and regarded by amateurs as a precious historical monument. It was called "a true portrait of the Lord Quincampoix." In the centre appeared a bust of that nobleman, having for a motto, "*Aut Caesar, aut nihil.*" It was surmounted by a crown of peacock's feathers, and thistles presented by *Folly*, with a second inscrip-

tion, "I am the sport of the wise and the mad-brained." Beneath the portrait, a smoking cauldron met the eye, which an attendant devil kept constantly boiling by means of new supplies of paper: an *agioteur* stood near, throwing handfuls of gold and silver into the cauldron, which, melting, sunk to the bottom, from which nothing returned but new scraps of paper. *Despair* was seen watching behind, ready to seize the unfortunate wretch, as soon as he had completed his insane operation.

That the passion for paper was carried to a great length, may be collected from the phraseology of the day, which was commonly used by men of business. To the question: "Have you any gold?"—"Nothing to do with it," was the regular answer. When Law found that his ideas were the cause of fortunes being so rapidly made, he suffered himself to be carried away by confidence in that which was his own work. Thirty millions of paper had been carried off in a week; the demand still incessantly increasing, issue upon issue followed, till he found that he had thrown into circulation, for two milliards, six hundred millions of paper; and the fictitious value which the premium gave it caused the capital represented by this enormous mass of notes to amount to nearly six milliards, that is, to something more than double what could have been paid, had all the gold and silver existing in the kingdom been collected together for that single purpose. Law found himself carried forward by the stream, or, to use the language of a contemporary, he was forced to build seven stories on the foundation which he originally laid but for three. Knowing no means by which he could arrest the great and alarming decline in price which speedily commenced, he prevailed on the regent to issue an ordinance, proscribing the use of gold and silver as money, and forbidding private individuals to keep in their houses more than 500 livres in specie. This odious measure caused, in the course of a single month, forty millions to be deposited in the coffers of the bank. But it was not by such means that damaged credit could be restored. The distrust of the paper constantly increased; every one sought more anxiously, from day to day, to convert his notes into cash; and in consequence of this an order was issued, dated May 21st, 1720, which reduced their value one half, and suspended their payment by authority. Then rose the cry of rage, wild and menacing, against the author of the system, and against those who had taken him under their patronage. They had, however, allowed the payment of notes of ten livres. The men of the market halls, sailors, and others, bought these at low prices, and pressed towards the doors of the bank, making a passage for themselves by blows. None but such persons could venture to approach. On the 17th of July, three men were killed in the crowd, and the spectators of the catastrophe carried their bodies to the Palais-Royal, to give a dismal lesson to the regent. Sinister voices were heard to exclaim among the advancing multitude, "If there are any who are weary of life, let them follow us." The carriage of Law was attacked and destroyed by the populace. It might

be said that the scenes of disorder were then rehearsed which were eventually to signalise the close of the century. Notes, such as the following, during the space of two months, were sent from house to house, "Sir, or Madame, Notice is hereby given, that it is intended to make another St. Bartholomew, on Saturday or Sunday. Do not go out yourself, nor suffer your servants to do so. God preserve you from fire. Make your neighbours acquainted with this. May 25th, 1720." The parliament, which had never seen in popular commotions anything but an opportunity for increasing their own importance, attempted to act a great part in this state of things, and refused to register the edicts. But Dubois was not a man to bend before the rising storm, as had been done in other times by Cardinal Mazarin. He exiled the chambers to Pontoise, and the musqueteers, whom he sent to take possession of the palace, installed themselves in the registries, and, occupying the seats of the counsellors, amused themselves by solemnly ordering the criminal trial of a cat. The paper in circulation continued to sink in value, in the midst of these disorders and mutual outrages, till at length it ceased to be regarded as money at all. In the month of September, for a single mark of gold, eighteen hundred livres in bank notes were given, which ten months before had been valued at 160,000 livres in specie. This was called "the overflowing of the Mississippi." At length, on the 14th December, Law fled from Paris, pursued by universal execration and hatred, to conceal himself at Venice, where he died eight years afterwards, in a state bordering on destitution. A shew was made of liquidating the obligations of the company, after subjecting them to a *visa*, which reduced their value by two thirds; of the remaining securities, nine tenths were annulled and converted into *rentes*, at a rate most disadvantageous to the holders. An immense discredit was then thrown on all ideas connected with finance, having nothing to rest upon but reason and utility, which, however, were one day to be recalled, before seventy years were at an end, to experience, it is true, a new affront. Lamontey mentions that a counsellor of parliament at Toulouse, had been named to him, who, for expences paid by him in bank notes, was reimbursed in assignats.

In the midst of all these embarrassments, the regency approached its termination. The young king had been introduced to the council of the regency in 1720; two years afterwards he was crowned at Rheims, on the 26th of October; and on the 22nd of February, 1723, he was declared by the parliament to be of age. Though he had attained his majority, the power of the state remained not the less in the same hands into which it had fallen after the death of Louis XIV. His successor did not attend the council but as a matter of form: and far from speaking on state affairs, he scarcely listened to what was passing; and ordinarily amused himself, while there, playing with a kitten. Growing fatigued with the cares thrown on him by public affairs, the regent in a manner abandoned them, leaving them in the hands of Dubois, who was appointed prime minister, August 22nd, 1722.

He proved ungrateful to those who had been the means of exalting him ; and the posts, which had in the first instance been given to the nobility, who



supported his views, were withdrawn. Everything was left by the regent to Dubois. The artful abbé had only waited till he became prime minister to pay himself for all the services he had rendered to the state. Besides the rich abbeys, the revenues of which he had already accumulated, he wished, in 1720, to get himself appointed Archbishop of Cambrai. It had been the maxim of Louis XIV. to admit no ecclesiastic into the council. According to St. Simon, "this was a wise resolve, as it had been found in former times that such characters only aimed at gaining a cardinal's hat, and ordinarily troubled themselves little about promoting the welfare of the state." The character of Dubois was so notorious for immorality, that it had been thought impossible to admit his claim to such advancement. When it was solicited from the regent, he treated the application with jocular ridicule. "Were I," said he, "to bestow the archbishopric on such a scoundrel as you are, where could we find a prelate scoundrel enough to go through the form of consecration?"—"I have one at hand," was the ready reply of the minister; and knowing that Noailles, the Archbishop of Paris, would be likely to oppose his wishes, he had prevailed on Rohan, a bishop of the Jesuit party, to be in attendance; and by promising to restore the Jesuits to favour at court, brought him to consent to whatever he might desire. On

the occasion of his being consecrated, when he required, as a preliminary to his joining the priesthood, that he should be named deacon, sub-deacon, and have conferred upon him the four minor orders, and the tonsure, the officiating priest impatiently demanded, "Will you not also require to be baptized?" It is, at all events, affirmed, that that day was the first on which he had taken the communion. It was Masillon on whom devolved the painful task of going through the solemn ceremony. The manner in which the whole affair was treated, shows that none of the parties concerned thought very seriously about it. The Duke de St. Simon, affecting to feel great horror at such profanation, said he should blush to be present at the consecration of Dubois. Nevertheless, he consented to attend, but on condition that the regent might be spared the disgrace of being there; and this being arranged, the regent went after all, to oblige a mistress who interested herself for the new archbishop. That ambitious profligate, not content with finding himself a prelate, next aspired to the cardinal's hat, which he eventually obtained from the court of Rome, by means of gold and persevering solicitation. The history of his elevation to the dignity of cardinal is not a little remarkable. All the diplomacy of Europe was occupied with it for the space of two years. The Stuarts, who had taken up their residence at Rome, were implicated in the negotiation. It was believed that they hoped, by way of parenthesis, in the course of it, to overthrow the new political system of France. To accomplish his object, Dubois did not scruple to sacrifice to Pope Innocent XIII. the Jansenists, whose cause he had at first espoused, from the disposition he felt to oppose the tendencies of the former reign. He even made the distress which prevailed in the kingdom, caused by the breaking up of the Mississippi scheme, subservient to the purpose he had at heart; and the cardinal's hat was at length obtained from the pope, on condition that the bull *Unigenitus* should be adopted as the law of France. This triumph was secured for the Jesuits, and the parliament, on consenting to register it, and thus expiating their former refractory conduct, were permitted to return from Pontoise. To form a just idea of this scandalous business, the correspondence of Dubois with the Abbé Tencin and the Abbé Lafitau, who managed the affair at Rome, should be read. "M. le Cardinal de Rohan has been obliged to give his bills," writes Tencin; "and we have pledged everything, even to our ornaments. Make an effectual effort to provide us with new funds immediately. Nothing can be done here without money." To this Dubois replied, "The loan for the troops has failed altogether. However, to make good the engagements entered into by Cardinal de Rohan, I would be willing to sell myself, if any one would buy me, to exhibit in the galleries." It appears, from different treasury returns, that the cardinal's hat of Dubois threw on France an expense of about eight millions; that of Cardinal Mazarin had cost twelve. It was a great scandal in the council of state, to behold the son of the apothecary of Brives-la-Gaillarde, appear there, taking precedence of all the

lay members of that body by virtue of his new dignity, as a prince of the church. "Sir," said the Marshal de Noailles to him; "this day will be memorable in the history of the monarchy; and it must not be forgotten, that your entering the council has caused it to be deserted by all the great men in the kingdom." Dubois sent those who manifested discontent at his elevation to their estates, and cut off their pensions. Even the *roués*, the dissipated circle in which he had moved, looked on this extraordinary promotion of a buffoon, as Philippe would sometimes name his former preceptor, with an evil eye. "Your royal highness may make of him what you please," said Nocé to the regent, at one of the suppers given, after the ordinance of the 22nd of August had issued; "but you will never be able to make him an honest man." The speaker was exiled the next morning. Without disturbing himself at the impotent ill-will caused by his aggrandisement, the cardinal boldly pursued his course; and having laid his hand on the bank of the benefices, was tempted to renew, at the suggestion of Anquetal, a project which was formerly entertained by Richelieu. He proposed to add to his numerous abbeys those of Premontré, Cîteaux, Cluny, and others belonging to the chief orders, and thus become a sort of patriarch in France. He did not disdain to accept a chair at the academy; and it was he who presided over the assembly of the clergy in 1723. Had his dreams of ambition been directed towards the object to which those of Richelieu pointed, he would hardly have failed of reaching it, at least in some respects. All seemed disposed to bend before him. One instance may be given: having indicated dissatisfaction, at the period of the coronation, on the subject of a little journey which the young king was to make to Corbeny, near L'Aine, the following letter was received by Dubois:—

"I have the honour to apprise your eminence that the contemplated journey of his majesty will not take place. The bridge which has been constructed for his passage will be carried away by the river on the night of the 27th of this month. The blame will fall entirely on the intendant of the province.—THE INTENDANT ORRY."

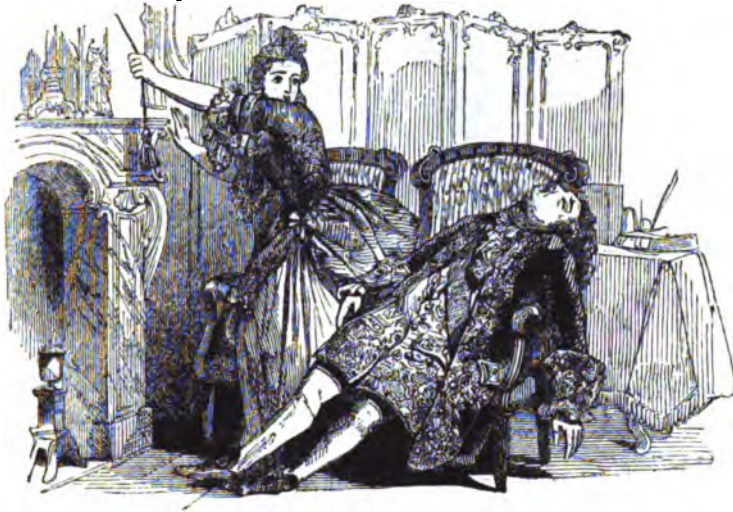
The fathers Daniel and Tournemine had engaged their erudition in the service of his vanity; and they applied themselves very industriously to discover, from researches into history, a series of prerogatives of the prime minister; and already there was a talk of his being provided with a body guard. Death, however, came to put an end to these schemes of visionary splendour, an event which the regent seemed to enjoy as much as he could have done a mirthful comedy. On the 9th of August, 1723, the cardinal was obliged to submit to have an abscess, the sad memorial of past excesses, operated upon; and on the following morning he died, impious, and trifling to the last. When about to expire, a curé hastily advanced to administer the sacrament to the dying minister. Dubois would not allow it. "What!" said he, "administer the *viaticum* with so little ceremony to a cardinal! Go and consult on the necessary forms to be observed."

The curé withdrew ; and before the steps could be taken which were necessary to satisfy the pride of Cardinal Dubois, he was no more. His last confession, which he made the evening before to a Franciscan friar, was the affair of a quarter of an hour. Philippe of Orleans, whose whole life had been mixed up with that of this man, proved himself, on this occasion, that *fanfaran de vices* which he had been described to be by Louis XIV. He could offer no funeral oration to the memory of his departed companion, other than the following note, addressed to Nocé, who was still in exile :—" The beast is dead. The venom is dead. I expect you to sup with me this evening at the Palais-Royal." Public opinion, however, avenged Dubois for this brutal affectation of indifference. The actions of the company of the Indies declined three hundred francs in value, on the occasion of his death.

Philippe only remained during the four months that he survived the cardinal, to show that he would have had little need of the aid of a minister had he wished to act for himself. Holding with an assured hand the reins which had fallen from that of Dubois, he took under his own direction the management of affairs, and left his residence in the Palais-Royal to take up his abode at Versailles, and the joyous laughing nocturnal festivals, to which he had been accustomed, for the silent anxious studies of the cabinet. But his organization, prematurely worn out by excesses to which it was not equal, could not endure the labours thus suddenly imposed upon it. In a short time, all the precursors of apoplexy manifested themselves. His physician, Chirac, at length determined upon informing him of his danger ; and the announcement was received as a piece of good news by a man weary of the cares of life. Philippe, who knew himself to be threatened with dropsy, welcomed the milder form under which death presented itself ; and far from studying to avoid the crisis, endeavoured to provoke it. He did not labour in vain. The regent had one day just given an audience, when, returning to his closet, he found there the Duchess de Phalaris, his mistress. " Come to me," said he, " I am glad to see you here ; you will amuse me with your stories, for I am suffering from a severe headache." Scarcely were they alone, when he found himself extremely ill, and fell back motionless and unconscious. The lady, alarmed, immediately called for help ; but no assistance that could be afforded was of any avail. In a few moments he expired in her arms. In a foreign gazette, it was sarcastically announced, that the Duke of Orleans had died, assisted by his ordinary confessor. He closed his career on the 2nd of December, 1723.

This event had been long foreseen, and consequently it was that for which all the court was prepared. The regent had not ceased to breathe, when his friend, the Duke de St. Simon, proposed to the preceptor of the king, the former Bishop of Frejus, that he should imitate Dubois, and get himself named minister by his pupil ; but he replied, that " such a charge descending from the Duke of Orleans, to fall on a private individual, would crush him beneath its weight ; and for his part, he would support the Duke of

Bourbon." "I left him," says St. Simon, in his memoirs, "thoroughly convinced that Frejus was only restrained by his timidity; that he was



nevertheless eager to assume sovereign power; and that he wished to make himself really the ruler, by availing himself of the title of an incapable prince of the blood, to bear the name of prime minister, but to be so only in appearance."

Frejus, as he is called by St. Simon, with the impertinent familiarity of a great lord, was no other than the celebrated Abbé de Fleury, who was then serenely advancing to the post and the cardinal's hat of Dubois, and who was destined to see himself in a manner the arbiter of Europe for the space of seventeen years. Mild and timid, but at the same time capable and conciliating, Fleury had participated in the orgies of the regency, enveloping himself in an incomprehensible atmosphere of placidity and virtue; and sheltering himself under the shadow of the name of his royal pupil, whom he tended as a spoiled child, rather than as a king. Profiting from the scandal of the Palais-Royal, and from the injurious suspicions which party spirit raised against the regent, he, as preceptor, had in some sort drawn round his young charge a circle which no one could presume to enter without his permission; and the better to secure his ascendancy over Louis, he had abandoned him, with an interested indulgence, to the listless instincts of a feeble constitution. Till he was seven years of age, the monarch of France had walked in leading strings; and till twelve years old, he wore whalebone stays to sustain his weak frame. "The studies of the king," we are told by Lemontey, "were of an effeminate character, and almost mechanical." Religion and morals, he is said to have been taught in the

same way as the children of the people were instructed, through the medium of prejudice. Those about him isolated him from everything that could



elevate his mind, or improve his ideas, and the suspicious care of the preceptor extended even to the mysteries of confession. The king wrote his confession with his own hand; and when it had been examined by the Bishop of Frejus, he recited it to his confessor; the latter addressed to him a few words of exhortation, and sent him away immediately, without daring to address to him a single question. "I," said Voltaire, "had the imprudence one day to ask the Cardinal de Fleury if he made his royal pupil read *Telemachus*; he replied, that 'he occupied him in reading the best works,' and never pardoned the inquiry." The idol was thus formed for the profit of the statuary. Out of the circle in which he constantly moved, the youth was found mute and ill-tempered. We have seen the part which he acted in council, by the side of those who governed the kingdom in his name. In 1722, Philippe of Orleans having caused Villeroy, the governor of Louis XV., to be carried past a window of the court, between two files of musqueteers, in order to be conducted to Lyons, for having ventured to affront the despot, by refusing to leave the regent alone with the king, Fleury thought it right to manifest great interest in the fate of a rival he detested, and in consequence disappeared from Versailles at four o'clock on the following morning. Upon this, the youth, so apathetic, and generally so negligent, was seized with a violent fit of rage. He wept; he broke the windows of the palace; he would neither eat nor sleep in his preceptor's absence; and alarmed for the consequences, the regent was obliged to send on all sides to discover the retreat of the fugitive; and when it was at length found, Louis XV. wrote to Fleury, with his own hand; "I have occasion for you. Come with all possible expedition." On his return he was most joyfully received.

Philippe of Orleans had hardly breathed his last, when the Duke of Bourbon entered the king's closet, and boldly claimed to fill the place which the death of the regent had left vacant. Louis, having heard his demand, fixed his eyes on the Bishop of Frejus, as soliciting his opinion. The prelate

modestly looked down, as humbly approving of such an appointment. La Vrillière, who was in the plot, attended, and laid before the king the form of the oath and the patent of nomination, which had been prepared. Louis signed it without daring to ask a single question ; and the kingdom changed its master for the third time within a very short period. Though less defamed than his two predecessors, Bourbon was little better than either of them. He was a man abandoned to debauchery, tall, lean, with a spectre-like aspect, of a rough unaccommodating temper, curious in his tastes, and loving everything that was deemed rare and precious. The possessor of a very beautiful wife, he but imperfectly knew her value ; and was in the habit of seeking dissipated pleasures elsewhere, which his constitution did not enable him to enjoy, but which led to a grand display and vast expense. This grand display and vast expense, it has been seen, he was enabled to meet by his profits on the fluctuations in the prices of the stock created by Law. His jobbing in these was so notorious, that at the splendid fêtes given to the king, on his return from the coronation, it was significantly remarked by one of the guests, that " the waves of the Mississippi must have flowed in that direction." Without animation, and without personal valour, exhibiting only a sort of capricious and brutal energy, the Duke de Bourbon lived under the absolute empire of the Marchioness de Prye, of that lady of Chaumont who had known how to secure to herself so large a portion of the profits growing out of the Mississippi scheme. It was she, in fact, who governed France for him, through the means of a minister, whom she imposed on her paramour. Paris Duverney was her creature. He endeavoured, but in vain, to restore the finances of the country, by hazarding unfortunate innovations on the old system, the effect of which was to occasion an additional loss of not less than thirty-five millions. It will easily be conceived, that Fleury did not allow the power of the state to fall into such hands without making stipulations. To himself he reserved the right of managing all ecclesiastical affairs, and of being present whenever the duke consulted with the king. The whole business of the nation was, in fact, decided upon by a little committee, consisting of the monarch, the duke, and himself. The old Marshal de Villars was, for a time, called in to assist the deliberations of this privy council ; but this was not continued, as the other members felt ill at ease with him. Resigning to the prime minister all the honours, and all the responsibility of conducting foreign affairs, Fleury contented himself with watching his movements, and calmly waited till the work of time should advance to manhood the child he had adopted. Nothing very remarkable distinguished the career of this administration ; the only event of importance brought about under the auspices of the Duke of Bourbon, was the marriage of the king with Maria Leczinski, and the sending back to Spain the infanta, who was in the course of being educated at the French court, and who had been destined by Dubois to become the wife of Louis.

" Spain," Alberoni wrote from his retreat, " is a corpse which I had

reanimated, but which, at my departure, sunk again into the tomb." Philip V., deprived of the man who had given him some appearance of energy and vigour, had fallen into a sort of moral brutishness, added to an unenlightened piety, which, from its excesses, became almost a monomania. He could see nothing but through the eyes of his confessor, whose ill-regulated zeal had obtained from him, under the title of "the Pragmatic," a sort of sumptuary law, which had the effect of giving to all Spain the appearance of a vast convent. Happily, the queen had a well-formed figure, and shoulders very beautiful, and very white; but her face was marked by the small-pox. A dress which would conceal her form, and leave her visage exposed, was not at all to her taste! and therefore she most resolutely rejected, for her part, the monastic sack, in which Bermudez wished to see the Spanish ladies muffled; and in consequence, the law of "the Pragmatic" was stifled in its birth. Philip V., shortly after that, as if conscious of his incapacity, conceived a disgust for the crown which oppressed his brow, and abdicated on the 10th of January, 1724, in favour of his son, Louis I. This prince was a true child of the country, "a king fed on chocolate," as the Spanish phrase goes; who had imbibed, with the milk which nourished him in his infancy, the national hatred so long cherished against France; and the first steps which marked the commencement of his reign, occasioned no small alarm at Versailles. "They are more Austrian at this court than the inhabitants of the rue St. Denis are Parisians," Tessé wrote to the Duke of Bourbon. It is only necessary to repeat what the Marshal de Créquy said when dying to Father de Mouchy, the confessor who attended him: "I plainly see, my father, that it is necessary I should throw down my bridle in the darkness of Providence." Upon this feeling, those about him worked underhanded on the weak and superstitious Philip. His successor, being in the hands of a junta of nobles, for a time exercised the kingly power just as suited their views; but his career was soon terminated by death. Philip, having descended from the throne to merit a kingdom more durable than any earthly possession, was afraid of incurring the awful penalty of eternal perdition if he resumed it. The papal nuncio, however, applied himself to remove this objection by proffering him a release from the oath of abdication; and the king's nurse renewed his courage and ambition by her arguments. He was finally guided by the decision of four theologians, to whom the question was submitted, and who declared he was bound to take back his sceptre, "under pain of being in mortal sin." These preposterous transfers of power had the effect of degrading Spain in the eyes of all Europe. The mother of the Duke of Bourbon, in consequence of the contempt into which Philip had fallen, undertook to make her son send back the infanta to Spain; and it was her purpose to substitute for her, as the consort of the young king, one of her own daughters. The duke turned his thoughts that way; and his mistress inclined to favour such an union. The Marchioness de Prye, in

consequence, sent one of her confidants to Mademoiselle de Vermandois, the princess on whom it was proposed this honour should fall. But the proud daughter of Condé disdained to fall into any arrangement that might be proposed by such an agent from such a principal. Of her the marchioness could think no more. Fearing for her own influence if that haughty princess should by any other means be united to the king, she advised that the infanta should be sent home to her father; and then prevailed on the duke to direct the attention of Louis to seek a consort elsewhere, than in his own family. Fleury readily consented to support the views of the marchioness on this occasion, which were perfectly in accordance with the projects he himself had formed. There were at that period no fewer than ninety-nine princesses in Europe unmarried. Out of twenty-eight portraits received from the gentleman who had been sent to make enquiries, with an eye to the choice of a future queen of France, that of Maria Leczinski was the one that most struck the counsellors of Louis. She could not disturb any of the ambitious minds which surrounded him. Her father, Stanislaus Leczinski, formerly placed on the throne of Poland by the caprice of Charles XII., had been shortly afterwards, on the defeat of Charles at Pultowa, obliged to withdraw, to make room for the client of Peter the Great, Augustus of Saxony. Stanislaus, at this time, lived in obscurity in Alsace, consoling himself, in the absence of all pomp, for lost grandeur, by pious exercises, and peaceful and enlightened conversation. The daughter, gentle and modest, taught by her father his own habits of resignation, and too pious to occupy herself much with the cares of earth, was exactly the partner which Fleury was disposed to give the king. From her there was nothing to be feared; no greedy family, and no insolent hangers-on. Maria was an only daughter. Stanislaus had been betrayed by his relations in Poland, and his whole court consisted of six or seven gentlemen and two priests, who lived with him in a dilapidated mansion; and when the union of his daughter and the king was decided upon, it was agreed that no one should follow the princess. On the 4th of September, 1725, Louis solemnly espoused the daughter of the proscribed Stanislaus. When the news reached Spain, Philip was highly offended at the slight which had been put upon his daughter. The effigy of Maria Leczinski was scornfully dragged through the streets of Madrid; and some shepherds of the Pyrenees came furtively into the vallies of the south of France, and brutally hamstringed and maimed the cattle they found there. Spanish vengeance proceeded no further at that time.

The king, being now seventeen years of age, seemed, from the period of his marriage, to have actually entered on mature life. Fleury considered that the moment had arrived for Louis to act for himself. The Duke of Bourbon, on his part, had become weary of that influence, sombre and mysterious which constantly held him in check. Relying on the support of the young queen, and on her influence with the king, he became less scrupulous in his

plans of administration. A new tax, called a fiftieth, was devised, which, from the arbitrary valuations made in relation to it, was said to be a tenth, and caused much dissatisfaction. It was proposed to remain in force twelve years. The parliaments of the kingdom remonstrated; and a scarcity of corn happening at the same moment, united the voice of the discontented populace to that of the noblesse, who felt aggrieved. Such was the state of things, when the Duke of Bourbon thought it politic to affront the bishop, by violating the agreement into which he had entered, not to see the king but in the presence of Fleury. He prevailed on the queen to induce Louis to receive him in her majesty's chamber. Not dreaming of offering any slight to the prelate, the king consented. The duke, who had before opposed the views of the preceptor, regarded this as an important triumph. He knew that it was the object of the bishop, as it was that of every prelate statesman, to exchange his mitre for a cardinal's hat. Opposed to his ambition, Bourbon determined to enter on public affairs with the king alone; and one day he made Fleury wait outside, while he, in the queen's chamber, his portfolio under his arm, as if without any previously formed design, submitted an exposition of his views to Louis. That was enough for the bishop, who instantly determined to put an end to such a state of things. Without waiting till a new slight should be offered, he again disappeared from court, and withdrew to Issy, to the establishment of the Sulpiciens. He, however, left behind him friends at Versailles, who had access to the king, and who, from hour to hour, communicated to him, by means of couriers, all that passed. The intelligence which he received did not leave him long in doubt as to the success of the step he had taken. He wrote a humble and pathetic letter to the king, who, on reading it, burst into tears, and deeply regretted his loss, though he did not immediately dare to recal him. Louis was, however, disconsolate in the absence of the bishop. The queen caused him to be written to by M. de Nangis to call on her; but he did not remain with her more than three minutes. Afterwards, returning to his own chamber, he threw himself into his chair, being wholly alone, where he continued for more than three quarters of an hour. This was on the 19th December, 1725. He, however, somewhat rallied from this depression; and there were not wanting those who ventured to refer to the cause of it, withal reminding him that he was master there, and a word from him would suffice to restore Fleury. He at length roused himself, and sent Mortimart, his gentleman, to order the Duke of Bourbon to bring back his rival; and this step taught all schemers connected with the court that they must thenceforth renounce all hope of removing the bishop from his post. Six months afterwards, the duke paid the penalty of his impotent attempt. He had become very unpopular; and the king was anxious to be relieved from him. In the morning of the 11th June, 1726, Louis, on setting out to enjoy the pleasures of the chase at Rambouillet, took leave of his minister with a gracious smile. "Cousin," said he, "do not keep me waiting for supper." A few hours afterwards,

the Duke of Bourbon received a dry and imperious note, in which his cousin thanked him for his services, but commanded him to withdraw and repose himself at Chantilly. A *lettre de cachet*, issued the same day, confined the Marchioness de Prye to her estate in Normandy. There were none who had been concerned in the measures of the duke, up to the queen herself, who did not suffer from the consequences of his fall. Marshal de Villars, on calling to see her majesty, found her shedding tears over a letter which she had just received from the king, couched in the following terms:—"Madam, let not the orders I now issue give you surprise. Pay every attention to what M. de Frejus will say to you on my part. This I request and command.—Louis."



Not less timid than obstinate in his ambition, Fleury wanted courage openly to receive the inheritance of the Duke of Bourbon; and dissembling his views more than ever behind the royal personage, he dictated to his obedient pupil a sort of proclamation, in which Louis XV. suppressed the office of prime minister, and declared that he would thenceforth take upon himself the administration of his kingdom. "*Himself!*" it was his hypocritical Mentor that was meant; and nobody could affect to be deceived by the artifice. The court of Rome sent immediately the cardinal's hat to the omnipotent Fleury; and notwithstanding the *Te Deum* solemnly sung in all the churches of Paris, to thank the Almighty for having restored the power of the state to the hands of its legitimate master, Louis XV. may be said to have continued to live, but not to reign.

Fleury was seventy-three years of age when he at length attained the long coveted object of his ambition. That ambition, which in his case, was in fact but vanity, was put aside altogether the moment he had succeeded in overthrowing his rivals. From that period, resigning himself to those demands for repose which a nature feeble and timid demanded, he thought of nothing but of so arranging affairs, that he might die in peace at the foot of the throne. The debates of the congress of Soissons, where he exerted himself to save France from a coalition which had been formed by Austria, Spain, Prussia and Russia, continued him for some time in active employment. The difficulties growing out of the pretensions of the Emperor Charles VI., who threatened the Dutch with a commercial rivalry, by the establishment of an East India company at Ostend, more complicated with his pragmatic, which overthrew the whole Germanic constitution, by naming his daughter, Maria Theresa, to succeed him on the throne of the empire. There had also been negotiations opened for the succession of the Medicis, of whom the original house was now extinct, and which Philip V. had claimed for his son, Don Carlos. Fleury had the art of accommodating all differences, and the glory of carrying everything according to his views, at this difficult and important congress.

The deputies of almost all the powers of Europe had repaired to the congress above mentioned; and it was opened with great solemnity. The cardinal acted a splendid part. He appeared there as an arbiter, invested with general confidence; an arbiter, whose skill and prudence were calculated to conciliate all interests, and calm the raging passion of all parties. He paid and received compliments. The plenipotentiaries of other countries were ambitious of imitating him. Harangues and visits, it may be said festivals and pleasure, formed almost the sole occupation of this assembly. Its sittings were continued for a year; languid, uncertain, as well as with regard to the matters to be treated, as the order and the form deemed proper to be observed. Inaction, at length, put an end to its existence; and it broke up in June, 1729, just twelve months after its opening. It had become perfectly useless; and, indeed, while the prelate drew the attention of every one to the proceedings of the congress of Soissons, affecting to regard them himself as of vast importance, he secretly occupied his hours in securing the most efficacious means of procuring a general peace. The principal obstacle opposed to his design, was the obstinate determination of the emperor to establish his company at Ostend, notwithstanding former engagements, and to obtain a guarantee for his pragmatic. At the same moment when he claimed these advantages, he appeared to raise difficulties, as if he had wished to endanger the solid establishment of Don Carlos in the Italian states, which had been ceded to him. The Queen of Spain, born a Farnese, and niece to the Duke of Parma, who had no children, had set her heart on this. The cardinal eagerly seized the opportunity of reconciling the Spanish court with that of France: he offered the

queen to obtain the concurrence of England with her wishes. The result of his endeavours produced a treaty of alliance between the three crowns, which was signed at Seville in November, 1729. It guaranteed to Don Carlos the right of succession to the duchies of Parma and Placentia after the death of the reigning sovereign, who could not be expected long to survive. To secure this right, the English bound themselves to favour the passage of a body of Spanish troops, which were to hold garrisons in the principal cities of Holland. Finally, the Dutch acceded to the treaty of Seville, under a promise made to them by the allies, of procuring for them complete satisfaction in regard to the revocation of the company of Ostend. A second treaty was signed at Vienna in March, 1731. The states-general guaranteed the pragmatic; the emperor pledged himself to put an end to the commerce between the Austrian Low Countries and the Indies; and subscribed to all the engagements made at Seville, connected with the succession of the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which were then made; as also to an engagement touching the duchy of Tuscany, which was shortly to be opened; and to which the treaty of Vienna promised the investiture to the children of the Farnese princess, Queen of Spain. This grand duke was not well pleased to see his estates thus imperiously disposed of while he was living; but he confirmed the pacification by a special treaty, signed at Florence the same year, 1731. In that he recognised Don Carlos as his successor.

The policy of Fleury was peace abroad, and economy and tranquillity at home. But the peace, which had cost him so much labour and care to accomplish, had scarcely been enjoyed two years, when it was suddenly interrupted.

On the daughter of Stanislaus Leczinski being selected to become the consort of the King of France, the ex-king of Poland had solemnly declared, that he renounced for ever his pretensions to the throne upon which Charles XII. had placed him; and the declaration had not been without its influence in determining Fleury to bring about that unequal union. Michelet informs us, that on the death of Augustus II., in 1733, the party of Stanislaus was again set up in opposition to that of Augustus III., Elector of Saxony, and son of the late king. Stanislaus had the support of nearly sixty thousand suffrages. Villars and the old generals were for war; they maintained, that they could not do less than support the pretensions of the father-in-law of the King of France. Fleury was over-persuaded. His measures, however, were too weak to succeed, although sufficient to compromise the fame of the nation. He sent fifteen hundred men to Dantzic, against fifty thousand Prussians. The Count de Plélo, ambassador from Denmark, and a Frenchman, being accidentally on the spot when the French troops arrived, blushed for France, put himself at their head, and was killed. Spain declared for Stanislaus, in opposition to Austria, who supported Augustus. This remote war for Poland, furnished a pretext for her to recover her possessions in Italy, in which she partly succeeded by the aid of France.

The war, however, led to no very brilliant results. In its progress Berwick and Villars closed their career in arms. At Philipsbourg, the former was cut in two by a cannon ball. Villars, at that time, was in a dying state, and confined to his bed. On hearing of the fall of Berwick, he exclaimed, with an air of regret, "Ah! that man was always more fortunate than I." He might feel, that momentary death was preferable to perishing by slow disease; but the exclamation savours of the theatrical flourishes in which he was accustomed to indulge in the earlier part of his career.

Whilst Villars was invading the Milanese, the Spaniards re-took the Two Sicilies, and placed the infant Don Carlos on the throne in 1734-5. This conquest was confirmed by the treaty of Vienna in 1738. Stanislaus, as a recompense for the loss of Poland, received Lorraine, which, at his death, was to pass to France. Francis, Duke of Lorraine, son-in-law to the emperor, and husband of the famous Maria Theresa, had in exchange Tuscany, as a fief of the empire. The last representative of the house of Medicis, having died without issue, Fleury was impatient to treat, to secure the Two Sicilies to the Bourbons of Spain, notwithstanding the jealousy of the English. It may be added, that ten thousand Russians had arrived on the banks of the Rhine; and then it was perceived, for the first time, that this European Asia could, by reaching over Germany, extend her long arms to France.

France, though enfeebled and decrepid, with Fleury and Villars—with an octogenarian minister, and an octogenarian general, had succeeded in gaining Lorraine. Spain revived through the house of Bourbon, and obtained two kingdoms from Austria. The latter, still under the house of Charles V., represented the old European principle, which was destined to perish, in order to make way for the modern system. The emperor Charles VI., restless as Charles II. of Spain was in 1720, had, at the expense of great sacrifices, endeavoured to guarantee the succession to his daughter, Maria Theresa, wife of the Duke of Lorraine, now become the Duke of Tuscany.

In opposition to ancient Austria, young Prussia was now seen to rise. A German state—a French people in the middle of Germany; no place had received more refugees after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Prussia was destined to renew the ancient Saxon opposition to the emperors. That kingdom, poor, and without a natural barrier, which could neither oppose to an enemy the canals of Holland nor the mountains of Savoy, had, nevertheless increased and grown, the pure creation of the policy of the war; that is to say, of the will of human liberty triumphing over nature. The first king, William—a rude and brutal soldier—had passed thirty years in amassing money, and in teaching his soldiers their discipline, through the medium of blows from a cane. This founder of Prussia looked at a state exactly as he did at a regiment. He feared, lest his son should not continue to pursue the same plan; and in that apprehension was disposed to take off his head, as the Czar had done that of his son Alexis. The heir of the Prussian

monarch, who was afterwards Frederick II., afforded little pleasure to a parent, who could only value a lofty figure and great personal strength, and who caused men who were six feet high to be secured, wherever they were found, to form his regiment of giants. The young Frederick was small of his age, with broad shoulders, and prominent piercing eyes, giving him altogether an appearance which savoured of the ludicrous. He was a wit, a musician, and a philosopher, with the most immoral and ridiculous tastes; a great composer of little French verses, he was ignorant of Latin, and despised German; a pure logician, who had no perception for the beauties of ancient art, or the profundity of modern science. He possessed one quality, for which he merited the title of "great;" he resolved to be everything. He resolved to be brave; he resolved to make his Prussia one of the first states of Europe; he resolved to be a legislator; he resolved that the deserts of Prussia should be peopled. He succeeded in accomplishing all these objects, and was one of the founders of the military art, as it existed in its perfection, between Turenne and Napoleon. When the latter entered Berlin, in the year 1805, he visited the tomb of Frederick the Great; and, taking his sword, which was there preserved, exclaimed, "this is mine." Prussia was new in its population, as it owed its most industrious citizens to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and was sooner or later to become the centre of modern philosophy. Frederick II. comprehended this. He declared himself, in poetry and in philosophy, the disciple of Voltaire; and to do this, was to make his court have the same opinion. The futile tastes of Frederick served, in this case, to forward his most serious projects. The Emperor Julian had been the copyist of Marc-Aurelian; Frederick was that of Julian. At first, in honour of the Antonines, proposed to him by Voltaire for his model, he wrote a sentimental and virtuous book against Machiavel. He had not then begun to reign. Voltaire, in his unguarded enthusiasm, reviewed the proofs, extolled the royal author, and promised the world in him a Titus. On his accession, in 1740, Frederick was anxious to recal or destroy the whole edition of his work.

While modern Europe thus organized itself in all parts; and while, in France, the philosophic movement succeeded in breaking through the religious and monarchical traditions of former times; at the moment when everything seemed to prepare for that grand crisis, which was to change the face of the world from Paris to New York, Fleury slept calmly under the shadow of the throne and the altar. His great, his only solicitude, was on the subject of the miserable quarrels which were incessantly renewed by the theological futilities of Jansenism. The great debate of Luther with the papacy had not stirred up fiercer passions than were excited in certain minds by the struggle, without object, in connexion with the bull *Unigenitus*; and the book of "Moral reflexions" of Father Quesnel, whose name served now as a rallying word for the sect. Wanting the *éclat*, which the illustrious pens of Port Royal had put forth in the last century, on the part of

Jansenius, the partizans of Father Quesnel maintained themselves by means of their *hauteur*, and the assumption of ridiculous importance. The Bishop of Senez, John Loanen, one of the four prelates who had striven with most determination against that edict for registering the bull which had served to buy the cardinal's hat for Dubois, having been cited before the council of Embrun, as author of "a pastoral instruction, marked or disfigured by capital errors; containing censures on the bull *Ungenitus*, and recommending the moral reflexions of Father Quesnel," appeared before his judges with the same air of solemn determination which a pious and devoted Christian might have worn at the time of the persecution of Dioclesian. Being condemned, he appealed from the conviction to a future council; but notwithstanding his appeal, he was exiled to the abbey of "La Chaise Dieu," where he lived to the age of ninety-four years, surrounded by all the enjoyments of life, and signing all his letters, "John, Bishop of Senez, prisoner of Jesus Christ." The appellants against the bull received his letters as those of a martyr.

Paris was soon roused by the rumour of the reveries of certain fanatics of this party. It was attempted to prove, by some visible sign of divine approbation, that heaven regarded with especial favour the cause of Father Quesnel. A deacon of the parish of St. Médard, named Paris, the son of a counsel of the great Chamber, and brother of a counsellor to the court of Requests, of a mean and narrow capacity, wild, gloomy, and enthusiastic, who died in a state of unusual excitement, was the hero whom they thought fit to put forth on this occasion. An historian, zealous in the cause of Jansenism, has written his life; in which, among other edifying traits, we read that he sometimes went through two whole years without keeping his Easter; that, in a codicil to his will, signed a short time before his death, he had given part of his goods to poor priests, in order to remove from them the temptation of saying mass too often; that in his infancy he delighted to burn straw in a chimney, in order to set fire to the college of Nanterre; that, at ten years of age, he began greatly to exercise his masters, whose patience was sufficiently requited by his progress; that he was afterwards twice expelled from the paternal house, having been partly disinherited; that he had learnt the trade of making stockings; that he had kept far from altars, and from all ecclesiastics; that he had confined himself to teaching the catechism to children, and the conference to young clerks; that above all he hated cordially the Jesuits; and a little before his death had pronounced these prophetic words, "they cannot be unmasked too soon." Such was the new subject whom it was wished to canonize; and as miracles are the touchstones of sanctity, his friends did not hesitate to print a list of those which he was said to have performed. A celebrated magistrate connected with the party, M. Carré de Montgeron, counsellor to the parliament, in a volume which he himself presented to the king, collected the testimonials which proved the certainty of these prodigies, and was shortly after confined for such extra-

vagance. It is true, that the miracles of M. Paris were of a peculiar character. Those who invoked him in his tomb were tormented with horrible agitations, worse than the diseases, the cure of which they came to solicit. These extravagancies gained the name of convulsions, to distinguish them from the ancient miracles; and they who appeared in the situation described were designated *convulsionnaires*. They would, no doubt, have been treated with more consideration, if the cures had been real; but the adversaries of the sect did not fail to contest that point, and even to indulge in bitter sarcasms on the modern *Thaumaturgus*. "That sufferer," said



they, "is a young female afflicted with the dropsy, which, in the ordinary course of things, would have disappeared at the end of nine months, without requiring the assistance of a miracle." "Here is an eye restored, which an oculist would have engaged to cure; but the eye preserved by this miracle is associated with the loss of the other eye, which the same oculist could undertake to save. In another place, there is an impotent canon, who can go everywhere but to his office, where he is rarely seen. Further on is an unlucky cheat, who has just fallen lame of one leg, and by force of contortion, has returned crippled in both."

Notwithstanding such raillery, the Jansenists continued, during five years, their representations at the little cemetery of St. Médard, where the miraculous tomb was established. The Archbishop of Paris in vain pursued them with his commands; they appealed from them to parliament, where they were in such strength, that they could brave even royal intervention. Their doctors had studied cause and effect in favour of the miracles

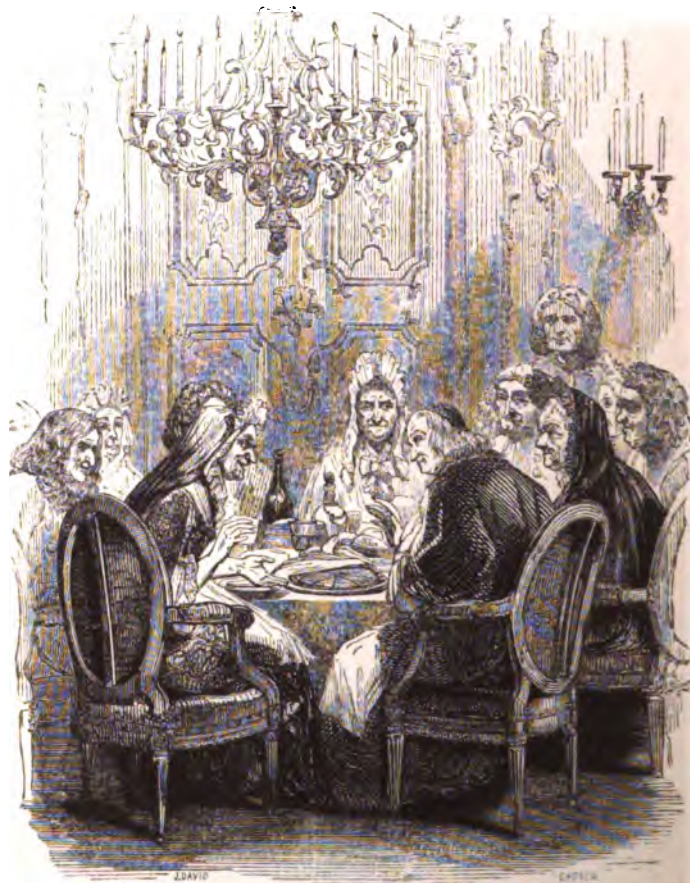
of the deceased deacon. The controversy to which they gave rise filled twelve or fourteen quarto volumes. Meantime, the crowd pressed to the borders of the cemetery of St. Médard. The curious, being there assembled, attracted the knavish portion of the population; and that obscure corner of Paris became the rendezvous of all that was odious and suspected. Debauchery, in its turn, established itself in the same place; and scandalous doings were carried to such a length, that Fleury determined to oppose them with the weight of authority. On the 27th of January, 1732, he induced the king to sign an ordinance, which closed the cemetery against the public, forbidding the doors to be opened, except for burial. But he did not get rid of the evil so easily. It was found necessary that a company of guards, with arms in their hands, should attend to disperse the mob of *devotées* and idlers, who seemed disposed to attempt resistance, on finding themselves deprived of the chosen theatre for their exercises. On the following morning, a placard appeared on the wall of the enclosure, bearing this angry inscription:—

“ The king forbids that God, by grace,
Should fill with miracles this place.”

The adepts were not disposed to see themselves put down by the step which the cardinal had taken, and they continued the course of their prodigies



in the neighbouring houses, constantly watched by the police, and reduced to employ all the expedients of mountebanks to perform their miracles; but always firm in their faith, and wearing out, by their obstinacy, “the strength of their persecutors,” to use the language of the new ecclesiastics. They had a journal for each week, which was printed in cellars, and sold under the rose, which, however, could not be interrupted till the epoch of the revolution, where it disappeared with the party itself in the whirlwind,



Cardinal de Fleury's twelfth-day.

though, it may be added, it is by no means certain that Jansenius and Father Quesnel are at this day forgotten everywhere.

With the exception of the heavy weight of care put upon him by the Jansenist martyrs and saints, Fleury saw the years of his administration pass in profound peace. While his master, careless of affairs of state, lived like a citizen with his family, in his little circle of Rambouillet, where his constitution, at first so frail, was strengthened greatly by the pleasures of the chase, and other athletic exercises, the cardinal was commonly concealed from public view in the bosom of his hermitage at Issy, whence he only issued to make his appearance at Versailles, seeming to take a pleasure in driving from him all rumours of worldly cares, in proportion as his interference with the world became more direct, and more important. As his royal pupil increased in years, Fleury had the gratification of finding him become more submissive. With all the *éclat* of the throne near him, on a hasty view, the king might easily have been mistaken for the first subject of his eminence, who was himself governed by two very obscure persons. One of these was the Abbé Couturier, chief of the seminary of St. Sulpice, who, without being in name the confessor of the sovereign minister, had generally the keeping of his conscience. This person, who was vulgar, and destitute of education, under an air of stupid simplicity, had the address to control the mind of his penitent, and to gain such an ascendancy, as to make himself, under him, the distributor of all the gifts in the power of the church. Covered with a vast hat, the sides of which extended over his broad shoulders, in a white band, and a cassock of coarse coloured cloth, his antechamber was ordinarily seen filled with the greatest lords in the kingdom. His house had become the nursery of all the abbés of quality aspiring to the prelacy; and as he was devoted to the Jesuits, it was he who, for the most part, prompted the measures of rigour adopted by the cardinal against the Jansenists. The other individual alluded to was Barjac, valet-de-chambre to Fleury, the minister of his will, who was no stranger to the pleasures in which his master indulged; to him also all his cares were confided. Intimately acquainted with the foibles of the cardinal, he knew how to turn them to account with admirable tact. It was he who, but a short time before the death of this nonogenarian, had the refined gallantry to seek out, and bring to dine with the cardinal, on a twelfth-cake day, a dozen guests connected with the court, of both sexes, whose years all exceeded those of his master, so that he, as the youngest person present, was obliged to serve the cake. Barjac was the channel through which all private favours flowed, especially those which appertained to finance. Some of the benefits which he was in the habit of conveying to others fell to his own share, so that he found himself in most affluent circumstances at the death of his protector.

Besides these two favourite subalterns, the Princess de Carignan ought to be mentioned, who was somewhat waggishly called the cardinal's mistress, but whose moral empire over the aged minister was not less firmly

established than if the senses had been enlisted in the cause. It is asserted, that it was the princess who, to strengthen the bonds by which her friend retained the king in his power, conceived the fatal idea of giving Louis a mistress, from the hands of the cardinal. Richelieu, the youngest and most amiable of the *roués* of the regency, was entrusted with this negotiation; and he, in pursuance of his instructions, made proposals to Madame de Mailly. The morality of the court was thus compromised, so easy and so largely was the royal person sported with. Bossuet himself, in an age more severe than this, had scarcely been able to contribute to a reconciliation between Louis XIV. and Madame de Montespan. The favourite who was now put forward was of that class of ladies who were called virtuous. She readily lent herself to the combination of the Princess Carignan; and the queen, by a mistaken devotion, favoured the progress of the scheme. Her confessor, who had been induced to take part in it, made her believe that it would be a most acceptable act in the eyes of God, seeing that she had given the king a heir to the throne, and many daughters, if she were thenceforth to abandon conjugal intimacy, and thus exhibit in a pure life the perfection of virtue. Under the circumstances, it was no difficult thing to involve the monarch in the snares which those about him had artfully prepared. Then commenced those deplorable scenes which were to terminate in a manner so shameful, and which give, in some sort, to a history of Louis XV., the air and the language of an improper book. With his defective education, and profound indifference to all things, Louis had no stay that could sustain him in the slippery path to which he had been conducted by hypocritical friends. The sentiment of royal dignity, which had thrown a varnish of grandeur over the amorous fantasies of his grandfather, was wanting to him, who could never deal with royalty seriously, and who especially detested the decorum of the throne, and the personal restraint which it imposed. Neither young nor beautiful, nor even pretty, Madame de Mailly owed the honour of her presentation to her winning manners alone, which were most propitious to her *début*; and especially to one of her disinterested character, and animated by her devotion to the cardinal. After having adopted the choice of his courtiers, Louis XV. indulged his own in its turn, and fixed his attentions on Madame de Vintimille, the sister of his mistress. On her death, Madame de Mailly resumed her former sway, till she was again supplanted by another of her sisters, the Marchioness de la Tournelle, so celebrated as the Duchess de Châteauroux. Countenanced by the new course of life on the part of the king, those who formed his court returned by degrees to the dissolute manners which had been condemned in the time of the regency. Louis, alway timid and retiring, had imagined to himself perfect seclusion in *les petits appartements*, (small rooms), the locks of which, he conceived, would effectually interpose between the court and him, and in which no other king would be recognised for the time, but the king of the table. The dissolute orgies of the Palais-Royal were reproduced at Versailles.

Madame de Mailly, who was fond of champagne, inspired the king with a taste for it; and the guests at his festivals indulged in such monstrous libations, that it was necessary, eventually, to carry them out from beneath the table. While these disorders were in progress, the public mind was irritated, and satirical verses were circulated from café to café; the common people got by rote coarse and scurrilous songs, in which the licentious conduct of the king was described in language more licentious still. The traditional veneration for the royal person, which continued to support the threatened edifice of the old society, was fast failing, and dissolving from day to day; but the object of Cardinal Fleury was attained; and Louis, so occupied, was less king than ever. While engaged in this course of debauchery, Louis would not suffer any political influence to be acquired by those who were admitted to share in his excesses. When some youthful nobles endeavoured to disparage Fleury, he betrayed them to the cardinal, who only ordered them to withdraw from court, contemptuously stigmatising their puny efforts to shake the solid column of his power as a "monkey plot." Carrying his hypocrisy to the highest pitch, the cardinal affected a disposition to oppose the evil doings of his master, after he had prompted them; and addressed remonstrances on the subject of his libertine life to the king, which were, however, not particularly distinguished for their warmth. "To you," said Louis, when, for a moment, he was touched by the representations of Fleury; "to you I have abandoned the administration of my kingdom. I hope you will allow me to be master of my own affairs." The omnipotent cardinal insisted no further. Things were in this state, when the emperor Charles VI. died from indigestion, October 10th, 1740, the same year which saw the commencement of the reign of Frederick II. It now became necessary, in some sort, for the minister to bid adieu to serene, convenient repose, to leave learned conferences to the theologists of St. Sulpice, in order to throw himself, when he had numbered eighty-eight years, into the inextricable embarrassments of a war which may be called universal.

Europe, which had so soundly slept, suddenly and unexpectedly seemed awakened by cries of war, which were at once raised on every side. The bitterness with which the deceased emperor had incessantly returned to the attempt to get the "pragmatic" accepted every where, had indicated sufficiently, by anticipation, the obstacles which would oppose that which he wished executed at his death. If Maria Theresa had hoped quietly to receive the succession of her father, she was miserably deceived. A crowd of rivals presented themselves to dispute it with her. The Elector of Bavaria claimed the imperial dignity; the King of Sardinia limited himself to demanding the Milanese; the King of Prussia sought to obtain Silesia; and the Elector of Saxony, Augustus III., and the King of Spain, asserted their right to everything. It was difficult for Fleury to remain neuter in the midst of this host of rival pretenders. The two brothers de Belle Isle,

personal favourites of the king, decided him to take part with the Elector of Bavaria; but he refused to have recourse to arms in his cause; and interminable negotiations were carried on between all the courts interested in the quarrel; when the new King of Prussia, impatient to witness a solution of the difficulty, at once took his course, and gave the signal for others to do the same, by falling upon Silesia. "I am going, I believe, to play your game," said he to the Marquis de Beauveau, when setting out on his expedition; "if the ace turns up for me, we will share the gain." The conquest of Silesia was, for Frederick, the affair of a campaign; and the victory which he gained at Molewitz over the Baron de Newperg, April 9th, 1741, had already secured his domination, while the diplomatists still deliberated at Issy. Though reluctant to engage in war, Fleury, being constantly pressed by the counts De Belle Isle, gave at length the signal for hostilities; but instead of a hundred and forty thousand men, which were called for, and which would at once have settled the matter at issue, he brought into the field but forty thousand. Louis XV. allowed him to proceed in his own way. Forced, in conformity with etiquette, to appear in the council, he certainly took part in the discussions, but without pretending to direct any result. It has been said, that after having given his opinion, he would frequently exclaim, laughing, "You will see they will take the worst counsel in the end." Notwithstanding the coldness of the minister, and the indifference of the king for this war, Fortune seemed at first to favour the arms of the French. The forty thousand men placed under the command of Belle Isle effected their junction with the Elector of Bavaria at Nassau, and soon encamped under the walls of Vienna; while Frederick entered the Austrian dominions by Moravia; and the Saxons invaded Bohemia. Soon De Broglie, who had succeeded Belle Isle in the command, joined the latter at the gates of Prague, the taking of which cost him not more than fifty men; and on the 19th December, 1741, the Elector of Bavaria was crowned King of Bohemia. A month afterwards, the Diet of Frankfort proclaimed him emperor, under the name of Charles VII. There now remained to Maria Theresa nothing but Hungary, and there she was about to be pursued by her enemies. The unfortunate princess was in an advanced state of pregnancy; and, writing to the Duchess of Lorraine, her mother-in-law, she thus expressed herself: "I do not know, at this moment, if a single city remains to me in which my accouchement can take place. In this extremity, she convoked the four orders of the state at Presburg, and appeared in the assembly holding in her arms her son, still an infant at the breast—that son who was at a future day to become Joseph II. "I put," said she, "into your hands the daughter and the son of your king, who expect to owe their safety to you." A cry of fervent enthusiasm responded to this address. The Hungarian magnates drew their sabres, exclaiming, in the language of the dicta of the country, "*Moriamur pro rege nostro, Maria Theresa!*" (Let us die for our king), Maria Theresa. In a few weeks from that day,

May 18th, 1742, a hundred thousand Hungarians, Croatians, Talpatians, and Pandours, overran Bavaria and Bohemia, under the orders of the famous



partisan Mentzel, who renewed on the German plains all the bloody scenes of the former war against the Hussites. Bohemia was soon re-conquered. Belle Isle, hemmed in behind the walls of Prague, stole away, in a manner, one night in the month of December, with twelve thousand infantry and three thousand horse, and regained Egra in ten days, in the midst of a cloud of those wild soldiers collected on the banks of the Saave and the Drave, and in the midst of a winter so severe, that he left behind him on his route a continued line of frozen dead bodies. "Belle Isle," says Michelet, "was requited for presuming to compare himself to Zenophon."

It is true that, by comparison with recollections of a more recent date, all that is marvellous connected with this retreat of thirty-three leagues, accomplished in the space of ten days, is utterly destroyed. The twelve hundred men whom the cold attacked during the route of Belle Isle, are little in our estimation after the histories of the *grande armée*. It was thought much of by the administration of Fleury. But with whatever *éclat* national pride might endeavour to surround this much-vaunted retreat, it was, after all, but a flight; and the cause which France had espoused was not more fortunate elsewhere. The Swedes, their allies, were beaten in Finland by the Russians, who killed twelve thousand of them at Willanstrend. The Count de Segur threw down his arms at Lintz, with six thousand French soldiers. Frederick II. once master of Silesia, withdrew himself from the policy of France, and made

a separate peace with Maria Theresa. The latter soon re-entered Prague, which was unsuccessfully defended by the brave Chevert, who only obtained an honourable capitulation [January 2nd, 1743] by threatening to set fire to the four quarters of the city. England at length, which had till this period adhered to a pacific policy, through the efforts of Walpole, entered the lists under the influence of the headstrong Carteret, who had snatched the reins of government from the hands of the temporising minister. Thirty ships of the line were despatched against Carthage; the fleet in the Mediterranean compelled the new King of Naples to observe a forced neutrality; and an army of Hanoverians, Dutch and English, was formed at Brussels, commanded by Lord Stair, the pupil of Marlborough. The position of France was critical. Fleury, "dragged," to use his own expression, "so far out of the course of his own measures," was not equal to the cares and bustle which at this period so rudely broke in upon the peaceful habits of his former life. Besides, he was now ninety years of age. His health declined from day to day. At times his faculties failed him; and his physicians prohibited him from giving that severe attention to business he had been accustomed to do. But reduced as he was, he remained still master of France. The ministers waited on him daily at Issy, to receive their instructions from the dying cardinal. His existence terminated on the 29th of January, 1743—it may be said, little to the regret of any one but the king, who mourned his loss with many tears; and not content with causing a funeral service to be celebrated at Nôtre Dame, an honour ordinarily reserved for crowned heads, he ordered a mausoleum to be raised to his memory in the church of St. Louis-du-Louvre. Though Fleury was no more, the selfish lessons which the king had received from him were not thrown away. The deceased cardinal was soon forgotten; and his monument might have remained unfinished in the studio of the sculptor, if his family had not determined on erecting it at their own expense.

The death of the minister could not arrest the course of that movement in which, in spite of himself, he and the country had become involved. To the old Marshal de Noailles the charge of defending the northern frontier against the Anglo-Dutch army was confided. He encountered it between the Maine and the village of Dettingen. On the 9th of June, the King of England, George II., arrived in the allied camp. He found his army, consisting of forty thousand men, in danger of being starved; and determined on marching to Hanau, in order to form a junction with twelve thousand Hanoverians and Hessians, who were advancing to strengthen him. This was prevented by the manœuvres of the enemy, who, having passed the Maine at Selingenstadt, he found waiting for him, drawn up in order of battle near Dettingen. The king saw his troops confined in a narrow plain bounded by woods and hills on the right, and flanked on the left by the river Maine, on the further bank of which the French appeared, with a narrow pass before them, the village of Dettingen on their right, a wood on their left, and a morass in the

centre. To fight at a great disadvantage, or to surrender themselves prisoners of war, seemed to be the only alternative opened to the choice of the allies ; when the Duke de Grammont, who commanded the French army in the momentary absence of Noailles, rashly threw away the chances so greatly in his favour. To a ravine in front of the French line the English were expected to advance ; and Noailles had disposed his cannon so as to bear on that point with terrible effect. While expecting their approach, he went in person to hasten the advance of a portion of the army ; when his nephew, anxious for immediate victory, contrary to the directions of the marshal, ordered his troops forward ; and the French were almost immediately on the very spot where their general had hoped to see the English. The artillery of the latter now opened a murderous fire, while that of the assailants was nearly useless. At first, the impetuous attack of the French horse threw several regiments of the British cavalry into disorder ; but the steady intrepidity of the infantry, fighting under the eye of their sovereign, soon retrieved the fortune of the day, and compelled the French to fall back and repass the Maine in great disorder, having lost more than five thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Had the advantage been promptly followed up, a total overthrow would probably have been experienced ; but though proposed by the Earl of Stair, that course was not taken. In this battle, the Duke of Cumberland, who had then engaged in his first campaign, was shot through the calf of the leg ; two generals were killed, and several officers of note were wounded. Two thousand men fell on the part of the allies. On this occasion, the King of England displayed great bravery, and rode between the first and second lines in the midst of the strife, exhorting his men to strain every nerve for the honour of England. Immediately after the action, he proceeded to Hanau, and effected his junction with the expected reinforcement. The Earl of Stair sent a trumpet to Marshal de Noailles, recommending to his care the sick and wounded ; and the sufferers were treated by the French with great humanity. It was in the course of this engagement, that one regiment of the *élite* of the French guards, seized with a sudden panic, crossed the Maine by swimming, which gained for them the unenviable *soubriquet* of " ducks of the Maine." The national disappointment broke forth on the subject of this reverse, and at the expense of Noailles. He was satirised in songs, which were sung in the vaudevilles of the day ; and some malicious wag took an opportunity one night to fix a wooden sword to the door of his hotel. Such unmerited raillery, however, did not effect a change in the general posture of affairs. De Broglie, who commanded on the Danube, forced to retire before Charles of Lorraine, allowed himself to be pursued to the banks of the Rhine, which river was soon passed, and Charles entered Alsace. Mentzel, the fierce Hungarian partisan, had succeeded in penetrating even to Lorraine, when he was killed by a musket-shot under the walls of Saarbruck.

The Elector of Bavaria, meanwhile, pursued into his hereditary states,

found himself compelled to submit to a humiliating treaty, which, admitting the pretensions of Austria, left Bavaria herself in the hands of Maria Theresa, till the conclusion of a general peace. The following year, 1744, proved more fortunate. Menin, Ypres, Furnes, and La Renoque, fell into the power of the French in the Low Countries. On the Rhine, Count de Saxe repulsed Prince Charles of Lorraine, who had broken in upon the lines of Weissembourg and Sanara. In Bavaria, the emperor Charles VII. had re-taken Munich; in Italy, the infant, Don Philip, Duke of Parma, having invaded Savoy, had rejoined the Prince de Conti, and both combined had recently defeated the King of Sardinia at Coni. At sea, the united fleets of France and Spain, had dispersed in the Mediterranean, the squadron commanded by Admiral Matthews; and in America, Admiral Vernon, victorious at Porto Bello, experienced defeat under the walls of Carthage. It was in this year that Louis undertook to commence the most attractive part of "his trade of king," by putting himself, according to the court phrase, "at the head of his nobility." The sickness which arrested him on his road at Metz, and from which, for some time, his life was in danger, has become celebrated from the transports of grief and enthusiasm, of which, in its different stages, it was the cause. His case was at one period so hopeless, that the queen repaired to Metz with her children, to take leave of the dying king. An effort of nature relieved him, and he was restored. The courier, who at length carried to Paris the news of his perfect



recovery, was nearly suffocated by the people, who thronged round him in crowds, and kissed the horse he rode, and the boots which he wore. A disorder in the bowels being timely stopped, saved the king; and a writer was found to compose a poem on the happy event, which comprehended

more than domestic details, of the happy change which nature had so timely wrought in behalf of suffering royalty. It is true that the poet was called Piron; but it is also true, that the poem for a time was all the rage. The extravagance of the public joy surprised the monarch himself, and he not unnaturally exclaimed, "What have I done to render me so dear to my people?" It was then that Louis received the surname of "the well-beloved," which all were eager to bestow. In the most dangerous moments of his late indisposition, yielding to religious terrors, he had sent away his mistress, the Duchess de Châteauroux, the only woman he had known how to make love him, as he subsequently declared; and the reception given to the discarded favourite by the population of various places, on her retreat from Metz, taught the king with what feelings of hatred the people regarded these demi-queens—these left-handed wives; not so much, to confess the truth, in consideration of their impurity, as on account of the revolting empire which they were in the habit of assuming over every one and everything. Love, however, resumed his sway in the heart of the monarch when the danger was no more; and the duchess triumphantly re-appeared at court, after having with difficulty escaped being torn to pieces by the peasants of Lorraine, and other places. The people took in ill part this new scandal of "the well-beloved." A fish-wife was heard to bawl out, in the midst of a crowd, in the brutally picturesque energy of her language, "that since he had resumed his mistress, (indicated by the substantive commonly used for woman in the Latin tongue), he would no longer find a *pater* on the *paré* in Paris."

The course of the war, however, which was still in the course of being fomented, had the effect of making a diversion in his favour, which turned aside those manifestations of discontent which are so easily awakened against a ruler. Charles VII. died in 1745, and his death might have been expected to terminate those hostilities of which he had been the original cause; but pretexts for carrying on the strife were not wanting. The King of Prussia was anxious to retain Silesia, and England wished it for the humiliation of France. The new Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian Joseph, made his peace with Maria Theresa; and the French army again seized on the Low Countries, where their approach was expected by the Dutch, and by the English, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland. Nothing on this occasion intervened to prevent the king from "putting himself at the head of his nobility." He joined the army at Tournay, accompanied by the dauphin, four days before the famous battle of Fontenoy. Both were in military attire, and Louis XV. took care that their martial appearance should be duly celebrated. "Since the battle of Poitiers," said he, "never till now has a king of France fought with his son against the English." But they only appeared there for form sake. The real general was Marshal de Saxe, who, being sick in bed, and supposed to be dying, when he was appointed to command in the Low Countries, told his alarmed physicians, "he had

not to think about living, but only about going ;” and who, sparing the king all the fatigues of the campaign, wrote to him to make his appearance just on the eve of the battle. The great day of Fontenoy, the 11th of May, is a grand feature in the annals of France. It has been described in a letter, which depicts the circumstances in a manner too striking to be here omitted :—

LETTER FROM M. THE MARQUIS D'ARGENSON, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, TO M. DE VOLTAIRE, HISTORIOGRAPHER TO THE KING.

“ M. Historian,—You of course received, on Wednesday evening, news on which you must greatly felicitate yourself ; a page left the field of battle at half-past two on Tuesday, the bearer of letters. I learn that, at five o'clock in the evening of Wednesday, he arrived at Versailles. It was a fine spectacle, to see the king and the dauphin writing on a chest, surrounded by the conquerors and the conquered, the dead, dying, and prisoners. I add some facts which came under my own observation.

“ I had the honour to meet the king on Sunday, close to the field of battle. I arrived from Paris at the *quartier du Chien*, and learned that the king was at the promenade. I asked for a horse, and joined his majesty near a spot from which the enemy's camp could be seen. I learned for the first time, from his majesty, in what way every hour of his time had been employed. Never have I seen a man so elated as was our master. We discussed at some length an historical point, which you will dispose of in four lines, which of our kings had gained the greatest royal battle. I can assure you, that his majesty's courage does no injury to his judgment, nor his judgment to his memory. After that we retired to sleep on straw ; and I may say with truth, that never was there a court ball more gay ; never an evening so fruitful of *bons mots*. They slept all the time, which was not interrupted by couriers, messengers, and aides-de-camp ; the king sung a song, containing many couplets, written with a great deal of humour. For the dauphin, he appeared at the battle as if he had been engaged in chasing the hare, and seemed to say of the conflict, ‘ What is this all ? ’ A cannon shot fell in the mud, and splashed a man near the king. Our master laughed very heartily at the bespattered person. A groom of my brother's has been wounded in the head by a musket ball. This domestic was in the rear of the king and his company.

“ The truth, the positive fact, without flattery, is this : the king has gained the battle himself by his determination and firmness. You will see the despatches, with the details. You will find that we had one terrible hour, in which we saw a second volume of Dettingen ; our French gave way before the firmness of the English ; their thundering fire, which seemed to resemble hell, and which, I confess, stupified those spectators who were idle. At that moment despair was felt for the result. Some of our generals, less distinguished for courage than for presence of mind, adopted very prudent

measures. They sent orders to Lille; they doubled the king's guards, and began to pack up preparatory to a retreat. At this the king laughed, and hastening from the left to the centre, called for the brave Lowendhal; but for him there was no occasion. A false *corps de reserve* was brought up; it consisted of the same cavalry which had at first charged ineffectually—the household troops of the king; the carabineers of the French guards, which had not been engaged, a body of Irish troops, which were excellent especially when opposed to the English or Hanoverians. Your friend, M. de Richelieu, is another Bayard. It was he who counselled the bold movement, and executed it, of marching the infantry, or chasseurs, or foragers, *pêle-mêle*, hand over head, masters, valets, officers, cavaliers, and infantry, altogether. The French vivacity, of which so much has been said, nothing could resist. It required but ten minutes to gain the battle by this unexpected manœuvre. The heavy battalions of English turned their backs; and to say all in few words, eight thousand men were killed.

“It is true, that the cannon had the honour of effecting this frightful slaughter. Never were so many guns of such vast size employed in any general engagement as in that of Fontenoy. There were a hundred of them; and it would seem, as if our poor enemies had been pleased to let everything arrive that could prove most destructive to them: cannon from Douay, gendarmerie, and musketeers.

“In this last charge of which I have spoken, one anecdote must not be forgotten. The dauphin, by a natural movement, put his hand to his sword with the most admirable grace imaginable, and absolutely wished to join in the charge himself, but was earnestly entreated not to do so. Besides that, to tell you the evil as well as the good, I could not but remark in him a habit too soon acquired, of gazing calmly on the field of battle, on naked dead bodies; on enemies writhing in agony, and on reeking wounds. For my own part, I must confess that my heart failed me, and that I felt a want of a dram or restorative.

“At the close of the triumph, the king honoured me with a conversation on the subject of making peace. Couriers have been sent off.

“The king was a good deal amused yesterday at the trench. He was much fired upon, but he remained there three hours. I was engaged in my cabinet, for that is my trench; and I must confess, that I am not a little disordered by my recent course of life. I trembled at every shot that I heard fired. The day before yesterday I went to see the trench myself. It is not very striking by day. This morning we are to have a *Te Deum* under a tent, with a general salvo from the army, which the king will witness from Mount Trinity. That will be magnificent.”

On the side of the allies, the Duke of Cumberland commanded. The English, Dutch and Hanoverians, under him, were by no means equal to the numbers opposed to them. They, indeed, are said to have amounted but to fifty thousand men, while the French counted ninety thousand.

Tournay having been invested, the duke, emulous, as some write, of the fame of Marlborough, determined to attempt to raise the siege, and this produced the battle. The French general, in imitation of Villars at Malplaquet, notwithstanding his superiority, strengthened his position by entrenchments, and by every means known to the art of war. Count Konigseg, an Austrian general, assisted the prince with his advice. On the 30th of April, at two o'clock in the morning, the duke marched to attack the enemy. A heavy cannonade was commenced; and the first man of note that fell was the Duke de Grammont, to whom the disaster at Dettingen was ascribed. The British infantry compelled the French to give way; but the left wing of the allies failing in their attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry not having advanced on the flanks as expected, the British infantry was compelled to retrace their steps in some disorder. The fire from the French batteries was tremendous. They thrice repulsed the assailants. An unsuccessful attempt was made to carry the wood of Barri; and the English found themselves exposed to a cross-fire from the right and left of the French line. Things were in this position, when the Duke of Cumberland adopted the daring resolution of attempting a push at the enemy's centre. The whole force of the infantry, formed into one solid column, advanced; but not being duly supported, either by the cavalry or the Dutch, whole files were carried away as they passed the French batteries. Having got beyond the reach of the artillery, nothing could resist their onset; which, however, was preceded by a pause of politeness, which could hardly have been expected in the midst of the awful confusion and din of battle. Courteous salutations were made, and returned. "Fire first, gentlemen of the French guards," cried the English officers. "No, gentlemen, do you fire first," was the bland response. Not long was the death-dealing thunder withheld. Many of those who invited it had no opportunity of ever giving a like invitation to an advancing enemy. The French officers fell in great numbers; and the formidable column still advanced, sternly beating down, in its awful progress, all attempts at opposition. The king was warned of his danger; and some of the French commanders, in dismay, began to make dispositions for a retreat. Had the British infantry been timely supported by a few squadrons of cavalry, the victory had been theirs; but this arm was wholly wanting at that eventful moment. Then it was, that Lally, who commanded the Irish brigade in the French army, demanded, as the invincible column still moved forward; "Why not bring the cannon of the reserve to bear on them?" The Duke de Richelieu approved of the idea; it was caught at by Marshal Saxe, and received the sanction of the king. The effects were soon most apparent. Chasms were made in the formidable British mass which could neither be closed up nor concealed; and Lally and the Irish brigade consisting of Catholics who had been exiled from England, rushed with fury on the English. The French, recovered from their alarm, rallied, and returned to the attack, and with such effect, that at three o'clock in the

afternoon the duke found it necessary to retreat, which was effected in tolerable order. In this battle the allies lost twelve thousand men, killed and wounded.

In the courtly epistle of the Marquis d'Argenson, not a single word appears in praise of Marshal de Saxe. He it was, however, who gained the battle. Though apparently in a dying state, he moved as well as he could on horseback, on foot, or in a litter, everywhere exposed to the fire of the enemy; and when those about the king raised the question whether it would not be necessary to beat a retreat, it was the marshal who checked the alarmists, by his bold and energetic language. Maurice de Saxe had all the manners of a soldier of fortune. Notwithstanding the great name which he bore, his language was coarse, and such as was seldom heard at court. When retreat was proposed by those who were about Louis at Fontenoy; "and who," said he, "is the miserable fool that gives this counsel to your majesty?" Such was his exclamation in the midst of the discussion then in progress. After that, no one ventured to persevere in recommending such a course. For the part Louis XV. had acted, for the claim he had to having gained the battle, "the truth—the fact, without flattery," that will be best seen from a letter of the dauphin, from the prince, who, in the heat of the battle, thought himself engaged in hunting the hare, and "who handled his sword with the best grace imaginable." "The king" he writes to his wife, "was obliged to quit the little eminence on which he had stood, because the enemy's cannon played directly on it. He could not make the fugitives return to the battle. The greater portion of them were valets, whose example filled others with fear. During the retreat, which overwhelmed his heart with grief, he never changed countenance, and gave his orders with a calmness which every one admired. When the enemy had abandoned the field of battle, the king returned to it, and was received with shouts of incredible joy." It was not even the other Bayard, the usual go-between in connection with the amours of the king, who ought to usurp the glory of the unexpected movement. That idea, as already shown, originated with Lally, the commander of the Irish brigade, who was the first to rush, sword in hand, upon the squares of the English.

The same year, France hurled against England her most formidable enemy, the pretender. The son of the Chevalier St. George, the grandson of James II., eager to regain for his family the throne of his ancestors, and being invited by the Jacobites of England and Scotland with assurances of efficient support, resolved to attempt to raise the latter kingdom in his cause. Having obtained a sum of money, and a supply of arms on his own private credit, he wrote to his friends in Scotland that he would be with them by the middle of June. He, however, did not quit France till the 14th of July, when he embarked on board a small frigate, and was subsequently joined by the *Elizabeth*, a French ship of sixty-six guns. She was attacked by the *Lion*, an English ship of the line, and so disabled, that she was obliged to put back

to Brest. Notwithstanding this misfortune, Charles continued his course, reached Scotland, and, on the 19th of August, his standard was hoisted at Glensinnan. The Highlanders of Scotland received him with triumph, issued from the mountains with irresistible violence, seizing on cannon in their course, and cutting to pieces the squadrons that first opposed them. These successes necessarily required to be sustained by France. But the



naval power of Louis was reduced to nothing. Lally obtained a few ships; but the English kept the sea, and effectually cut off all succours that were intended for the Scotch. They had over the people of Scotland, the advantage in numbers, wealth, good cavalry, and artillery. Fortune, however, at first seemed to favour the efforts of the young pretender. The English were worsted in more than one encounter; and Charles advanced in triumph to Edinburgh, where he took up his abode in Holyrood house. Thence he proceeded to England, which he entered by Carlisle, and advanced as far as Derby. In that town a council was called; and the pretender submitted to the members of it the propriety of marching to London. It was, however, decided to adopt a retrograde movement; and the insurgents retreated by Carlisle, Dumfries, and Glasgow. The royal army, under the Duke of Cumberland, pursued them; and, on the 16th April, 1746, at Culloden, attacked the army of the prince, which was totally defeated. Twelve hundred rebels were killed or wounded, and their leader became a powerless, destitute fugitive, who, no longer dreaming of conquest, could scarcely hope to escape the bloodthirsty vengeance of the victors. He succeeded in returning to France in September.

While the pretender engaged the attention of the British in Scotland, the French advanced into Flanders. The King of France, with Marshal de Saxe, took the field in April, at the head of a hundred and twenty thousand men.

Brussels and Antwerp were invested and surrendered ; and he then advanced against Mons, in Hainault, with a powerful train of artillery, and a vast supply of bombs. Such a tremendous fire was opened on the place, that in a short time its fortifications were in ruins. Other towns were attacked with equal success ; and in a short time the French remained masters of Flanders, Brabant, and Hainault.

The command of the allied army was now confided to Prince Charles of Lorraine. Strengthened by the arrival of a body of Hessian troops from Scotland, it amounted to eighty-seven thousand men. It was supposed that Namur would next be attacked by the French ; and in consequence the allies marched in that direction, and took up a strong position near it, on the 18th of July, within sight of the French army. The judicious measures of Marshal Saxe, which cut off their supplies, soon compelled the allied force to cross the Maese, leaving Namur to its fate. It was bombarded with the same effect as the others, and, on the 22nd August, the French king formally took possession of this strong fortress. Prince Charles of Lorraine had, meanwhile, encamped at Maestricht, and being joined by Sir John Ligonier with a British and Bavarian force, he resolved to give battle. He accordingly repassed the Maese with that object on the 13th of September, but found the French so strongly posted at Tongres, that he deemed it prudent to withdraw. Having this object in view, he had crossed the Jaar, when his rear was attacked. The enemy was, however, repulsed with loss.

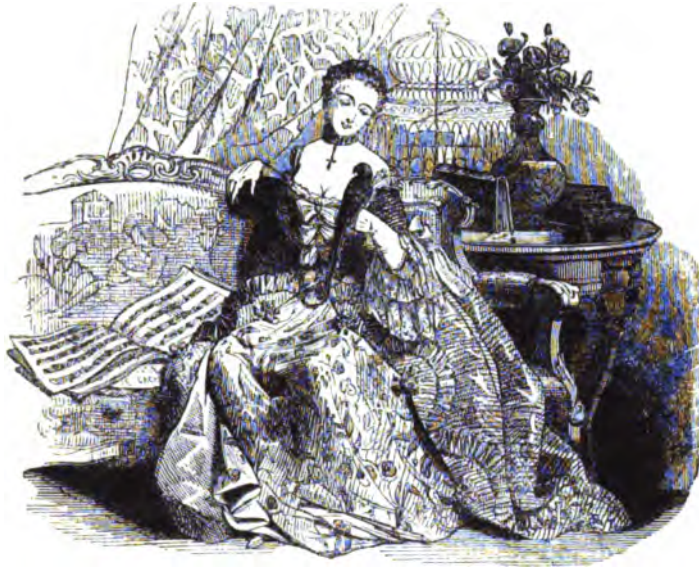
Saxe, having received considerable reinforcements, resolved to bring the allies to an engagement. This he accomplished on the 1st October, when, after an obstinate resistance, the enemy was compelled to retreat, with the loss of five thousand men and thirty pieces of artillery. On that occasion, though the result was not happy, Sir John Ligonier, the Earl of Rothin, and the Earl of Crawford, greatly distinguished themselves by their bravery. The last mentioned nobleman, being accompanied by an aide-de-camp, and followed by two orderly dragoons, met with a singular adventure. He rode out one morning at an early hour to reconnoitre the enemy's position, when he unexpectedly came on their advanced guard, which immediately turned out. Their pieces were levelled at the earl and his followers, when his lordship, without appearing in the slightest degree disconcerted, approached the serjeant who commanded, and assuming the character of a French general, accosted him in the French language, and having told him there was no occasion for ceremony at that moment, enquired if any of the enemy's parties had been seen. Being answered in the negative, he desired the man to keep a good look out, and promised, in the event of an attack, that he should be well sustained. Before the serjeant could recover from the perplexity into which he was thrown by this unexpected address, the earl and his attendants had moved off beyond recal. The affair was a subject of mirth in both armies. Marshal Saxe, in liberating the Prince of Tingray, who had fallen into his hands, on parole, requested him to compliment, in

his name, his old friend the Earl of Crawford, and to say he wished him joy of his appointment to be a French general; but he could not help feeling angry with the serjeant who had not procured him the honour of his lordship's company to dinner.

This battle, which was called that of Raucour, was not held to be very decisive. Saxe was, however, satisfied with having gained a moderate advantage over the fresh forces of the allies. He had now almost reached the point gained by Louis XIV. in his first war. Holland was menaced with complete subjugation. Supported by England, the Dutch had recourse to the same step which they had adopted in the preceding century, and re-established the stadtholderate, by conferring on the Prince of Orange sovereign power, and creating him hereditary stadtholder. The success which had crowned the French arms was not, however, wholly barren: it had the effect of bringing about a peace. Negotiations were entered upon at Aix-la-Chapelle, which led to the desired result. Holland had lost her fleet, with some of her colonies, and the Russians were appearing for the second time on the Rhine. The peace of Aix-la-Chapelle restored to France her colonies, secured Silesia to Prussia, and Parma and Placentia to the Bourbons in Spain. France, on this occasion, affected great magnanimity. Her ambassador declared that he had nothing to demand; he came to make peace not for a merchant but for a king. Besides giving up his conquests, Louis consented to the port of Dunkirk being rendered useless. Maria Theresa recovered Austrian Flanders; and England, giving up Louisburg, in North America, retained Acadia. France and her great rival gained little for the blood and treasure they had expended; but England had to boast of having saved Austria, and firmly established the throne of Maria Theresa, and thus preserved the balance of power in Europe.

France had bitterly felt her weakness; but she could not immediately profit by the lesson she had received. The government of mistresses had succeeded to that of aged priests. Mademoiselle Poisson, Marchioness de Pompadour, reigned twenty years. By birth the daughter of a citizen, she had some feelings of patriotism. Her creature, the comptroller Machaut, wished to tax the clergy. D'Argenson organised the administration of the war department with all the talents and severity of Louvois. In the midst of the disputes between the parliament and the clergy, philosophy gained ground; even at court it had partisans. Although the king was a decided enemy to every new idea, he had his own printing house, and printed himself the economical theory of his physician, Quesnay, who proposed a single tax to be imposed upon landed property, to which the nobility and clergy, who were the principal landholders, must have contributed. All these projects ended in mere discussions; the old corporations resisted; royalty, flattered by the philosophers, who wished to arm and turn its power against the clergy, experienced a vague alarm at perceiving their progress. Voltaire was preparing a universal anti-christian history (*Essay on Manners*, 1756). A mighty

movement was about to commence. Its approach was perceived by all classes. The king himself confessed it. "The monarchy grows very old,"



said he, "but it will last my time." We may remark, that the selfishness indicated by this reflection was abundantly participated in by those who then surrounded the throne. Calculating that the established system would endure long enough for them, they cared not what convulsions and horrors might follow.

By degrees, philosophy escaped from that polemical form which Voltaire had given it. After the year 1746, the president, De Montesquieu, founder of the Academy of Natural Sciences at Bordeaux, gave (in an unconnected and timid shape, it is true) a "materialist theory" of legislation, drawn from the influence of its inmates. Such is, at least, the prevailing idea in the "*Esprit des Lois*," a work ingenious, brilliant, and sometimes even profound. In 1749, the stupendous colossal Natural History, by Count Buffon, appeared. In 1751, the first volumes of the "*Encyclopædia*," a gigantic monument, comprising all the eighteenth century could furnish, in relation to polemics and dogmas, economy and mathematics, irreligion, philanthropy, atheism, and *pautheism* of Alembert and Diderot. The whole was described by Condillac in one work, which comprised the whole century, "*The treatise on Sensations*," 1754. In the meantime, the religious war was carried on by Voltaire, who had placed himself in the central post of observation in Europe—between France, Switzerland, and Germany—at the gates of Geneva, the stronghold of the ancient Vaudois, of Arnaldo de Brescia, of Zwingle, and Calvin.

Frederick II. was now in the zenith of his power. Since his conquest of Silesia, he had lost all discretion. In his strange court at Potsdam, this proud warlike spirit scoffed, at the same time, at God, philosophers, and his brother sovereigns. He had ill-treated Voltaire, then the principal organ of public opinion; he insulted kings and queens with his epigrams; and respected neither the beauty of Madame de Pompadour, nor the genius of the Abbé Bernis, the principal minister of France. The moment appeared favourable for the empress to recover Silesia; she stirred up all Europe in her cause, and more particularly the queens. She had the address to bring over to her side the queen of Poland, and the Empress of Russia; and she made advances to the mistress of Louis XV. The monstrous alliance of France with Austria, against a sovereign who maintained the equilibrium of Germany, united all Europe against him. England alone assisted, and granted him subsidies. She was at that time preserved by a gouty advocate, the famous William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, who owed his elevation to his eloquence, and his hatred of the French. England desired two things—to preserve the equilibrium of Europe, and to ruin the French and Spanish colonies. Her complaints were serious. The Spaniards had ill-treated her smugglers; and the French wished to prevent her from building on their territory in Canada. In India, La Bourdonnaie, and his successor, Duplax, threatened to raise a mighty power in opposition to that of England. The English, by way of a declaration of war, confiscated three hundred French ships, [1755.]

Such was the beginning of the famous seven years' war; at the end of which, England found herself, for a time, the first naval power in the world. The seven years' war had two distinct theatres, the colonies and Prussia. It was in the former a close fight between the French and English; and in the latter a confused *melée*, in which French, Austrians, Russians, Saxons and Swedes, were all held in check by a single man; who, whether victorious or vanquished, and more frequently victorious than vanquished, still found means to make his enemies tremble. These two divisions of the war were united only by the ties of interest between the nations engaged in it. For the sake of clearness we shall relate them separately.

A formal refusal to restore to France her three hundred ships, signified to her minister on the 13th January 1756, by Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, was the signal for a maritime war. Her fleet, at that time, amounted to sixty-three vessels of the line; but there were, in fact, only forty-five capable of action. The coast of Normandy was soon covered with troops; a fleet was armed at Brest; and while the English, deceived by these pretended preparations, thought only of defending themselves against a descent, Montcalm set sail for Canada. A fleet from Toulon disembarked, unobserved, under the walls of Minorca, twelve thousand men, commanded by Richelieu.

On the 22nd of April, the governor sent a letter by a drummer to the French general, to enquire why he invaded the island. The Duke de

Richelieu replied that, "he had come to conquer the country, and to add it to the dominions of his most Christian majesty, by way of retaliation for the seizure of French ships by England." At first, the operations of the duke were unsuccessful; and the determined fire kept up from Philip's town compelled him to abandon his original plan. He then raised new works on the side of St. Philip's town; and on the 12th of May opened on the place a cannonade, which was continued from fresh batteries which were erected from day to day. This was the position of things, when Admiral Byng, the son of the conqueror of Messina, appeared with fourteen ships of the line. He was defeated on the 20th May, by the Marquis de la Galissonnière.

This action, though swelled by some writers into a very magnificent affair, as described by English historians, was not very important. When Byng discovered the French fleet off Minorca, he manœuvred to gain the weather gage, and keep the land wind in his favour. On the 20th of May, he made a signal to bear away two points from the wind, and attack the enemy. Rear-admiral West found it impossible to obey this command; but bearing away with his division seven points to the wind, he fell on the French ships opposed to him with such impetuosity, that had he been promptly sustained by the van, a complete victory would, in all probability, have been the consequence. This, however, was not done. Byng, though in a fine ship of ninety guns, kept aloof, and did not use his artillery. When his own captain proposed bearing down on the enemy, he replied that he wished to avoid the error of Admiral Matthews in his engagement with the French and Spanish fleets off Toulon in the preceding war, when that commander had broken the line by his precipitation, and exposed himself to a destructive fire. Byng, from his anxiety to preserve his line entire, kept so far back, that he took little part in the engagement. The French admiral took no English ship, but seemed well content to avoid a closer fight, and went off at his leisure. On the following day the two fleets were no longer in sight of each other; and Byng having called a council of war, it was resolved, that as the enemy was much superior in the weight of his metal and the number of his men, it was not practicable to relieve St. Philip's fort; and it was therefore decided to make for Gibraltar.

The inhabitants of Minorca experienced great joy when Byng appeared; and the defeat of the French fleet, and the capture of the Duke de Richelieu, with all the troops under him, were fondly anticipated, when they had the mortification to see the French fleet return to its old station off Port-Mahon. They were soon informed that Byng had been worsted in an engagement with M. de la Galissonnière; and a *feu de joie*, fired in the French camp, confirmed the fatal news. If the triumph of the French was not very brilliant, in its effects it was equal to an important victory. Had Byng kept the sea in superior force, the French troops would, in all probability, have been compelled to surrender. In consequence of this failure on the part of Admiral Byng, General Blakeney, who commanded at Minorca, after a

protracted resistance, which inflicted on the besiegers a loss of five thousand men, capitulated on honourable terms. An attempt to carry the place by assault, led on by Richelieu in person, was repulsed with great slaughter. The efforts of the French on this occasion were most desperate and remarkable. They descended into the moats, which were twenty feet deep, when they found their ladders were too short. Officers and soldiers, on approaching the last works, were seen mounting on their comrades' shoulders, to reach the summit of the walls; and it was thus they took three of the five exterior defences. The besieged despairing of receiving timely succour, a capitulation was at length signed, by which the garrison were allowed to march out with all the honours of war, and were to be conveyed by sea to Gibraltar. A few days after Minorca had fallen, Sir Edward Hawke's fleet came in sight, and had the mortification to see the French colours flying from St. Philip's Castle. The French admiral, La Galissonnière, had withdrawn to Toulon.

The news of this triumph was carried to Versailles by the Count d'Egmont. It was received with transports of joy, and processions, fêtes, and long continued rejoicings, celebrated the happy event, though the advantage gained, it has been justly remarked, "in more vigorous times, would hardly have been distinguished by the ceremony of a *Te Deum Laudamus*."

But if the event produced in France a ridiculous excess of exultation, in England it awakened something infinitely worse—a spirit of unjust, unmerited resentment, directed against the unfortunate officer who was regarded as the author of the misfortune. Admiral Byng was accused and condemned by the nation unheard; and the rage of an infuriated populace was pandered to by unprincipled ministers, in the hope of diverting into other channels what they felt might with justice be directed against them. This, if we may glance forward to the catastrophe, was at least charged upon them, when the unfortunate admiral was no more. His melancholy story is soon told. In December he was removed, in order to take his trial, from Greenwich to Portsmouth, and was affronted by the mob in almost every town through which he passed. On the 28th of that month, his trial commenced on board the ship *St. George*, in Portsmouth harbour. The court came to resolutions, that he had not, on the particular occasion referred to, done his utmost to take and destroy the enemy's ships; but still, as those who were about his person proved that there had been no backwardness, confusion, or want of courage on his part, he was strongly recommended to mercy. The admiral, during the whole of the proceedings, was cheerful and composed. So soon as the evidence had been completed, expecting an acquittal, he ordered his coach to be ready to convey him to London. When advised to summon up his fortitude to hear the verdict about to be returned against him, he manifested surprise and resentment, but nothing of disorder or fear. While some of his judges shed tears, he heard his doom unmoved; and without the least change of countenance, bowed to the president and members of the court as he

retired. He was sentenced to be shot to death ; and, after some ineffectual attempts in favour of a milder course, he suffered on the 14th of March following, at Spithead. The unfortunate admiral, having taken leave of his friends, and the clergyman who had been in attendance, was, at noon on the day mentioned, led from the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were drawn up to execute the sentence. He advanced with a firm step and an undismayed countenance, and expressed a wish to die with his face uncovered ; but on its being represented to him that his looks might cause the marines to take an unsteady aim, he tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped another as the signal. He knelt on a cushion to receive the fatal volley. Five balls passed through his body, and he fell dead in a moment. From his walking out of the cabin to the placing of his corpse in the coffin, occupied but three minutes. In his last moments, he placed a paper in the hands of the marshal of the Admiralty, in which he asserted his innocence, declared that he had faithfully performed his duty ; but was sorry, " that the armament under his command had been too weak to succeed in an enterprise of such importance."

At Canada, Montcalm had signalised his arrival by the most brilliant success. He first made himself master of fort Oswego, on lake Ontario, and of fort St. George, on the lake Saint Sacrament. But in the following year, Admiral Boscawen disembarked sixteen thousand men near Louisburg ; and Montcalm, shut up with four thousand men in the fort of Carillon, sustained,



behind an entrenchment made with the trunks of trees, the effort of an army five times stronger than that which he commanded [1750]. Forced to

abandon the place with the loss of four thousand men, the English revenged this defeat by taking Louisburg, the forts Duquesne and Frontenac; and then by laying siege to Quebec, the stronghold of the French possessions, where the action took place which decided the war. Montcalm flew to the assistance of the place, with three thousand five hundred men; he endeavoured to drive the English from a height which commanded the city, and fell at the foot of a chain of rocks behind which they were entrenched. The French fled, carrying with them the body of their general; but Wolf, the English general, remained, "buried in the midst of his triumph." Both, in their dying moments, pronounced words which recal the heroes of antiquity. "Who has conquered?" said Wolf, when expiring. "The English," was the answer he received. "Then I die happy," was his remark. Montcalm, carried into his tent, on being informed that his wound was mortal, "So much the better," said he, "I shall not see the taking of Quebec," [10th September, 1759.] Quebec surrendered six days after the battle; and the handful of brave men who remained at Vaudreuil and Levis to dispute Canada with the English, could no longer carry on so unequal a contest. Surrounded at Montreal, at the end of the year 1760, and no succours arriving from the capital, they at length determined to capitulate for the whole colony. The loss of a part of the French Antilles had preceded that of Canada.

Similar misfortunes were experienced in India. There the two nations had already tried their strength in the succession war, and the English domination had found a rude adversary in the person of Duplaix, the governor of Pondicherry. In the interval which divided the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle from the recommencement of hostilities, Duplaix hastened to profit by the military reputation which the French had acquired in these countries. Imposing, in some measure, his authority on the great mogul, who; in the midst of the pomps of Delhi, always trembled before foreigners, he had appointed himself to the *soubabie* of the Decan, and the nabobship of the Carnatic, two provinces, one of which was the first of the empire; the other was interesting to the French because Pondicherry was situated there. As the price of their elevation, Duplaix had obtained from his protégé Seringham, the sacred island of Hindostan, where the pilgrims sustained forty thousand persons with the fruits of their offerings, comprehending certain lands around Karicul and Pondicherry, and more than six hundred leagues on the northern coast. The ambition of Duplaix did not stop there. He next dreamed of securing for France the empire which Egnland has since succeeded in creating for herself in Hindostan; but the jealous remonstrances of the latter had caused him to be sent away a short time before the declaration of war was issued, and just at the moment when the English East India company sent out Lord Clive with a new army. Duplaix had scarcely quitted Pondicherry when hostilities were commenced. Clive fell on Chandernagore, which he captured in five days, notwithstanding it was defended by one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon, five

hundred Frenchmen and seven hundred seapoys. The squadron of Count d'Aché landed shortly after two thousand men, under Lally, the Irish commander, who had so bravely exposed himself at Fontenoy, and who was named governor of the fortress. But this headstrong soldier, carried away by enthusiasm on the field of battle, was not well adapted to his new situation. Harsh, violent, absolute, and rendered still more brutal from the blind hatred which he bore to the English, Lally was everywhere detested; and the enemy profited by the angry feelings which the governor had created against him. After a few days he quarrelled with the Count d'Aché; and matters proceeded to such extremities, that he threatened to put the latter in irons if he refused submission. D'Aché having sailed, and being no longer observed, paid no attention to the instructions of the Irish governor. When commanded to sustain the attack which Lally meditated on Madras, he went upon a useless cruise against the coast of Ceylon; and after having fought two indecisive battles with Admiral Pocock, in the road of Karicul, he suddenly abandoned his position, and set sail for the Isle of France, leaving the imperious governor to carry on the contest, without a fleet to oppose to an enemy who was master of the sea. Having reached the Isle of France, D'Aché, after a brief and useless demonstration in the Indian Ocean, resolved to attempt nothing more, whatever dismal tidings might arrive from Hindostan.

Forced to shut himself up within the walls of Pondicherry, the only establishment in India which remained to France on that coast, Lally found himself surrounded by all the enemies which the odious character of his mission, as successor to the great Duplaix, had raised up against this authority; and which the severity of his ironical sneers had excited, as also the hostility waked in minds that were interested in rendering his measures abortive. He called for supplies of provisions, and every one concealed what belonged to him. He asked for money; they had none in their chests. He claimed that they should relieve his soldiers, exhausted by mounting guard and severe duty, and none of the inhabitants, or the servants in the employ of the company, would exert themselves to afford it; or at best only reluctantly rendered the aid required under compulsion. A supply of the necessaries wanted being negotiated among the Mahrattas by the Marquis de Bussy, failed, for want of a timely loan or grant of money; so that there remained no hope for the garrison, but that the heavy rains at the late season of the year, and the violence of the tempests in those seas, at the same period, would prove fatal to the enemy. But neither the rain nor the tempests could subdue the obstinacy of the English, who were animated by the prospect of annihilating, by exerting a little determination, the power of France in India for ever. They persisted during seven months in a blockade, inconvenient for them from the inclemency of the seasons, but a hundred times worse for the besieged, who were exposed to the horrors of famine. Exhausted by hunger, the garrison had no longer strength and energy to attempt sorties;

and it was still more discouraged by the utter impossibility of repairing any loss it might sustain. The general, soured by the annoyances which he experienced within and without the walls, and equally exasperated against the citizen and the enemy, could hope for no efficient aid from the former, whom he taxed with disaffection; and he refused to treat with the latter, whom he accused of bad faith. He remained in this situation without being able to arrive at any final determination with the one or the other, till at length he found that he had no longer provisions in the city for more than a single day. Called upon then, by the sovereign council, to solicit a suspension of arms, he still refused to capitulate in form, and contented himself with not opposing the occupation of the place by the enemy, which, on the 15th January, 1761, was in consequence obliged to surrender at discretion. The conqueror, however, would grant no conditions, and abused his good fortune most deplorably. Not only were the fortifications razed, but the magazines, the churches, and the palace of the governor, the most magnificent edifice in India, were all demolished. This was represented to be a species of reprisal, as the instructions given by the company to the Counts de Lally and d'Aché, which were intercepted by the enemy, forbade those generals to sanction any other composition with the English establishments which they might be able to capture.

It is well known how France recompensed the blind devotion, deficient in intelligence, and attended by misfortune, which had been manifested on the part of Lally. The hatred which he had inspired was so violent, that it pursued him even into Europe. Learning while a prisoner in London, that reports were circulated in France highly injurious to his honour, Lally solicited and obtained permission to repair to Paris, where he offered to submit himself to imprisonment in the Bastille. He was neglected or forgotten during fifteen months, after which he was dragged from tribunal to tribunal, till he was brought before the grand chamber, which condemned him to be decapitated, as duly attainted and convicted of having betrayed the interests of the king, of the state, and of the East India Company, for an abuse of authority, and for conduct vexatious and extortionate. This sentence was passed on him the 6th of May, 1768. The Irishman became furious at hearing it read, and apostrophized his judges in terms of bitter and ferocious reproach, who avenged themselves by sending him to the scaffold gagged, and in a wretched cart. Lally had received ten wounds in the service of France. To say nothing of Fontenoy, he had fought in the ranks of the French in seven battles, at the head of the regiment which bore his name, and public opinion did not wait for the eloquent pleading of his son to render justice to that name. "He was a man," said Voltaire, "whom every one ought to have taken by the hand except the executioner."

Notwithstanding this odious counterpart of the trial of Byng, France had lost her colonies, and the reputation of her navy. Dubious successes, intermingled with reverses, which were so numerous on the continent, were

not calculated to console the nation for such disasters. We now come to other scenes, which for the moment have been passed over.

When Frederick II. saw himself attacked by many enemies at the same time, he believed himself on the eve of being overthrown, but was anxious to fall with honour. To die with dignity, as became a king, he expressed to be his determination :—

“ Pour moi, menacé du naufrage,
Je dois, en affrontant l'orage;
Penser, vivre, et mourir en roi.”

Having taken measures to guard against a probable invasion from the Swedes, and from the Russians, he suddenly fell upon Saxony, captured Dresden, blockaded the camp of Pirna, where twenty thousand Saxons were assembled, and defeated at Lovositz the Austrian army, which was on its march to succour them. The Saxon army capitulated, and was made prisoners of war. Subsequently, emboldened by his success, Frederick penetrated into Bohemia, in defiance of Prince Charles of Lorraine; and in a second battle, under the walls of Prague, he again defeated the Austrians, killed twenty-four thousand men; one of their oldest and best generals, Schwerin, fell in the battle, and eighteen thousand Prussians perished there. This was the extent of his success. At the moment when he prepared to march on Vienna, Marshal Daun, still temporizing, arrested his march in the village of Kolin, where skilful dispositions rendered his position very formidable. The King of Prussia wished to attack the enemy, notwithstanding the representations of his generals. The fire of the Austrian artillery almost ruined his army, and compelled him precipitately to retreat. All Europe was at length roused by the accounts of distant battles; eighty thousand Russians advanced; the Swedes descended by the Baltic sea; the French army at the same time invaded Hanover, as belonging to England and Germany, to humble the King of Prussia. The Marshal d'Estrées opened the campaign by the taking of Cleves, Wesel, and Cologne; he defeated at Hastenbeck, behind the Weser, the Duke of Cumberland and the Prince of Brunswick. Subsequently, the Marshal de Richelieu, whom a court intrigue called to the command of this army, succeeded in completing the destruction of the English force, and compelled the Duke of Cumberland to sign the ignominious capitulation of Clostersevern [1757.] The troops of Essy, of Brunswick, and of Gotha, under that, were to return to their several countries and the Hanoverians to remain in the quarters assigned to them.

After the capitulation of Clostersevern, the King of Prussia despaired of retrieving his affairs. Sweden, Russia, Austria and France, all joined to invade his dominions; and he had scarcely a hundred and fifty thousand men to oppose the assailants. He lost all hope, and wrote to his friend Voltaire, that it was his intention to commit suicide. The poet king wrote his hymn of death in mediocre French verse; but even in this crisis he submitted to the rebuke of the philosopher. His fortunes brightened; the storm by degrees

abated ; and after some defeats, and as many victories, he was triumphant, with comparatively little bloodshed. On receiving news of the entrance of the French into Germany, Frederick left his army in Silesia in command of the Duke of Bevern, and with twenty thousand men advanced to attack the combined armies of the Princes de Soubise and de Saxe-Hildburghausen. The battle took place at Rosbach, near Gotha, 1757. Michelet says " they found in the camp an army of cooks, comedians and barbers ; a quantity of parroquettes and parasols, together with innumerable cases of lavender water." The conqueror, the King of Prussia, retraced his steps towards Silesia, leaving the defeated to make a precipitate retreat towards the forces under Marshal Richelieu. He arrived, however, only in time to save the wreck of his army, which had been nearly destroyed at Breslaw, by the Prince of Lorraine and field-marshal Daun, on the 6th of December, 1757. A few days after, he took his revenge at Lissa, where the rashness of Prince Charles prevailed over the sluggish caution of the field-marshal. The conquest of Silesia was the immediate result of this second victory. Prussia was saved ; the French army was thrown back on the Rhine ; and that of the Austrians retired towards the borders of Bohemia. Laval, an old general, with twenty-four thousand Prussians, had driven eighty thousand Russians out of eastern Prussia, and had forced the Swedes to evacuate Pomerania, first taking refuge under the cannon of Stralsund, and ultimately in the island of Rugen.

Louis XV. had the character of being good-natured. He certainly had no wish to oppress his subjects further than was necessary to his own enjoyment as a voluptuary. Acting thus, though he put forth few claims to admiration, it might have been expected that he could in no case have provoked malevolence. He had, however, ceased to be popular. Those who formerly returned thanks to the Almighty for his recovery from a dangerous illness, had learned to regard the prolongation of his life as an evil which the country had cause to deplore. The doings of " the stag park " were surrounded with an air of horrid mystery ; and the grossest and most revolting sins against decorum were supposed to be associated with crimes of the blackest dye. That children were stolen and put to death, to furnish a bath of warm blood, as one of the luxuries courted by the royal libertine, had been maliciously reported. Such stories, though current, did not obtain general credence ; and, consequently, all France was astonished at hearing that a wild attempt had been made upon his life. On the 5th January, 1757, the king was stepping into his coach to return to Trianon, when a stranger stepped forth from among the royal attendants, and stabbed the king on the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs, with a penknife. Louis acted with great presence of mind. Placing his hand on the wound, he called to those who were near him, " I have been wounded ; that is the man who struck me. Seize him, but do him no injury." The knife, having taken an oblique direction, missed the vital parts ; and it was soon found that no danger was to be apprehended. The offender did not endeavour to escape. Being

seized and conducted to the guard-room, to the question of "whether he was the man who had aimed at the king's life," he fearlessly answered "yes." He was found to be a fanatical person, who, on account of his melancholy and impatient deportment, had been dismissed from several families where he had been engaged in service. His name was Robert Francis Damiens : his native place was the suburb of St. Catherine, in the city of Arras ; and no motive could be assigned for his desperate act, but a foolish wish, like that which several miserable beings have since appeared to feel, of starting from obscurity to become infamously notorious.

A process was quickly instituted against the unhappy being, and great efforts were made to ascertain whether he had any accomplices. Many persons, on suspicion, were committed to the Bastille. Damiens himself was put upon the rack ; and all the horrors which appalled humanity in the case of Ravailiac were carefully re-enacted. The most exquisite tortures that could be devised, the poor wretch was doomed to endure, in order to extort confession. Wounds were inflicted on the muscular parts of his arms, legs, and thighs, into which boiling oil was introduced ; and many other equally brutal experiments were made on this object of vengeance. It was at Versailles that the inhuman proceedings commenced. He was thence removed to Paris, where his sufferings were renewed, with some ingenious aggravations. An iron bed, which likewise served for a chair, was prepared for him at the Conciergerie, to which he was fastened by chains. The torture was again applied, but under the superintendance of a physician, who was charged not to suffer him to endure more pain than might be inflicted without depriving him of the capacity of being awake to the further agonies intended to mark the day of his execution. At length, on the 28th March, he was led to the Place de Grève, there to die, it has been truly remarked, "a death shocking to imagination, and shameful to humanity." At the place of execution, the wretched creature was stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. His right hand was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur. His arms, legs, and other parts of his person, were torn open with red-hot pincers ; boiling oil, melted lead, and flaming resin and sulphur, were poured into the wounds made in his shrinking flesh. Tight ligatures were fastened about his limbs to prepare for his dismemberment. Strong young horses were immediately afterwards brought forward, which were attached to his form, and made to pull in opposite directions. This was continued for the space of an hour ; and during all this time the sufferer retained his senses. The physician and surgeon at length declared that it would be impossible to tear the limbs asunder unless the tendons were separated. In consequence of this report, the executioner received orders to cut the sinews at the joints of the arms and legs ; the horses were again urged as before, and at length a thigh and an arm were torn off and after several further pulls, the miserable man breathed his last. His body and limbs were reduced to ashes under the

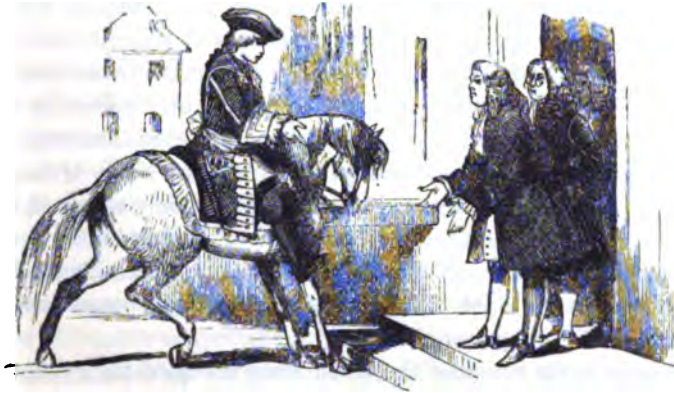
scaffold. Nor was even this enough for vengeance; his father, wife, daughter and family, were banished the kingdom for ever, and the name of Damiens effaced, obliterated, and declared infamous. The poor creature thus dealt with, it seems to have been proved beyond all doubt, was insane. He was connected with no faction—with no plot; and all the atrocious efforts made to extort from him anything that could criminate others, proved of no avail; as, whatever was obtained from him one moment, was contradicted or recanted in the next. It was wished to connect the crime with Jansenism; but though he muttered and wrote several names, nothing could be made of his incoherent ravings, and the idea of using them was abandoned.

The abbé Bernis, secretary for foreign affairs, recommended peace to Louis XV., under these adverse circumstances; he was, however, disgraced. All Europe, therefore, continued at war. In England, the Duke of Cumberland had just been removed from the command of the army; and the fiery Pitt had replaced the pacific Fox in the councils. His first act was to break the capitulation of Clostersevern, the whole blame of which was thrown on Marshal de Richelieu. He was superseded by the Count de Clermont, an inexperienced general, who could only oppose his bravery to the martial skill of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, who was at the head of his opponents. By a bold manœuvre, the prince, who had only thirty thousand men, drove De Clermont out of Germany, at the head of eighty thousand. Brême, Brunswick, Hanover and Minden, in short, all the strong places held by the French in Germany, were evacuated, the Count de Clermont not considering himself safe till he had placed the Rhine between himself and the enemy [1758].

The King of Prussia was constantly hurrying from one place to another, either for the defence of his states, or the invasion of Austria. He had already penetrated into Moravia, after having delivered Silesia, and commenced the siege of Olmutz, when the intelligence of the arrival of a hundred thousand Russians, under the orders of Fermor, recalled him to take up a position between the Vistula and the Oder. A most sanguinary engagement took place at Zorndorf, near Custrin. The Prussians fought to avenge the blood of their kindred, and the devastation of their country by the Cossacks; they gave no quarter, and twenty thousand Russians fell in this battle. Fermor retired into Poland; and the indefatigable Frederick flew to the succour of his brother, Prince Henry, in Saxony, whom field-marshal Daun was pressing hard under the walls of Dresden. On the 14th October, 1758, he was surprised by the Austrians in the village of Hockirch, and suffered in his turn a murderous defeat. Two of his best generals, Keith and the Duke of Brunswick, were killed, and Prince Maurice of Anhalt was taken prisoner, and died of his wounds.

The indomitable spirit of Frederick, and the constitutional slowness of Daun, rendered this victory of little or no avail. Neiss, besieged by the victorious army, was delivered by the Prussians; and the field-marshal could

not possess himself of Dresden. On the Rhine, the war wore the like appearance; successes, reverses, many faults, and some absurdities were presented. It is told of Count de Clermont, that being conquered at Crevelt, on reaching Newis in his flight, he asked the magistrates of the city if



many fugitives had as yet arrived? "No, Monseigneur, you are the very first," was the reply. In revenge for the defeat of Crevelt, Soubise defeated the Prince of Iseberg at Saugerhausen, and at Lutzelburg, in Hesse.

Russia continued to maintain a formidable army on foot; and Austria renewed incessantly her reserves. Sottikoff had succeeded Fermor, and beaten at Palzig General Wedell, on whom Frederick had conferred the singular title of "the dictator." The King of Prussia, wishing to avenge the defeat of his lieutenant, was himself defeated near Frankfort, in the forest of Kainsdorf; but the Russian general did not dare to profit from his victory, lest he should incur disgrace with the future emperor, Peter III., the passionate admirer of Frederick. Another defeat, at Maxen, where a force of twelve thousand men suffered themselves to be captured in a body by the Austrians, completed the ruin of Prussia on the side of Russia and Austria. On the Rhine, Prince Ferdinand maintained his position: being repulsed at Bergen by the Marshal de Broglie, he repaired the disgrace by the triumph he gained at Minden over Marshal de Contades [1759].

To the place last mentioned the French general had advanced, and encamped in a strong situation. The town of Minden was on his right, a steep hill on his left, a morass in front, and a rivulet in his rear. The Duke de Broglie was at the head of a separate corps between Hansbergen and Minden, on the other side of the Weser; and another body under the Duke de Brissach, consisting of eight thousand men, held a strong position near the village of Cobelt. Several minor encounters occurred, with partial successes, which brought on a general engagement.

It was on the last day of July that Marshal de Contades, having resolved to attack the allies, ordered De Broglie to repass the river; and advancing in eight columns at midnight, he crossed the rivulet of Barta, which skirts the morass, and falls into the Weser near Minden. He drew up the army in order of battle at day-break, part of it opposing General Wangenheim at Dodenhäusen, and part of it facing Hille, the two wings consisting of infantry, the cavalry being in the centre. At three in the morning, the enemy began to cannonade the prince's quarters at Hille, from a battery of six cannon raised on the preceding evening, and of the existence of which he had not been previously apprised. Two pieces of artillery he ordered to be conveyed to Hille; and the officer of the guard posted there was instructed to defend himself to the last extremity. At the same time, General Giesin, who occupied Lubeck, was directed to attack the enemy's post at Eickhorst. This was done, and with success. The Prince of Anhalt, lieutenant-general for the day, took possession of the village of Halen, where Prince Ferdinand resolved to support his right. The French had been in possession of it; but at his approach the place was abandoned.

Advancing in eight columns, the allied army occupied the ground between Halen and Hemmern; and the space between the last village and Dodenhäusen was filled by Vangenheim's corps. Against this force the enemy directed their principal effort on the left; but the Duke de Broglie experienced a severe check from a battery of thirty cannon, prepared by the Count de Buckeburg, grand master of the artillery, which, under his direction, were fired with admirable effect. The two armies cannonaded each other at five in the morning; and at six the fire of musketry became very hot. Towards the right of the allies, six regiments of English infantry, and two battalions of Hanoverian guards, had to sustain the charge of the French carabineers and gendarmerie. Such, however, was their firmness and courage, that every corps of cavalry, as well as infantry, that assailed them on the left and in the centre, not only failed of piercing their ranks, but was itself absolutely broken. The cavalry on the right had no opportunity of engaging. They were destined to support the infantry of the third line, and consisted of the British and Hanoverian horse, commanded by Lord George Sackville, whose second was the Marquis of Granby. They had been posted at a considerable distance from the first line of infantry, divided from it by a scanty wood that bordered on a heath. During the action they were ordered up, but through some error did not arrive in time to take part in the struggle. Originally, it was not intended that they should be engaged; and there was no occasion for their services. About noon the French gave way, and withdrew from the field of battle. They were pursued to the ramparts of Minden, having lost a great number of men, with forty-three large cannon, and many colours and standards. The loss of the allies was much less severe. On the following day, the garrison of Minden surrendered at discretion, when many French officers who had been wounded in the engage-

ment fell into the hands of the victors. On this occasion, Prince Ferdinand indicated, by the orders which he issued, that he was not well pleased with the course pursued by Lord George Sackville. In giving his thanks to the army, he wished "it to be declared to lieutenant-general the Marquis of Granby, that he was persuaded that if he had had the good fortune to have him at the head of the cavalry of the right wing, his presence there would have greatly contributed to make the decision of that day more complete and more brilliant."

France was exhausted; the penury of the treasury was extreme; and to pique the self-love of his subjects, Louis XV. had caused his plate to be converted into money. The condition of other states, however, was not less deplorable. Prussia, especially, no longer possessed men or money; and its victories had had the effect of rendering it impotent. Frederick had not been able to retake the château of Dresden; the Austrian general, Laudon, had beaten Fouquet, one of his lieutenants, at Lanshut. The Austrians, combined with the Russians, having taken Glatz, in Silesia, marched upon Berlin, which they laid under contribution. The prince, unmoved by these untoward circumstances, continued to hover near the Austrian army; he crushed the corps of Laudon at Lignitz; and afterwards the field-marshal himself, at Torgau, 1760; while on the Rhine, the hereditary Prince of Brunswick overthrew the Marshal de Broglie at Warburg, and suffered himself to be beaten at Clostercamp, after the celebrated instance of devotion to duty manifested by the Chevalier d'Assas, which deserves a place in these pages. That gallant officer, being in advance of his troops, found himself alone in the midst of an ambuscade. "If you speak one word you die!" cried those who surrounded him, to whom it was of great importance to remain for the moment undiscovered. "To aid! here is the enemy!" was the only answer he deigned to make to the stern announcement; and the next moment he received his death from the foe, who had vainly attempted, by awakening in him a consideration for his personal safety, to induce him to remain silent.

Ferdinand VI., King of Spain, had just died [1761.] The Duke of Choiseul, successor to the Abbé de Bernis, being more decided than ever for the continuance of war, in order to pay his court to Madame de Pompadour, had concluded with the new King of Spain, Don Carlos, already King of the Two Sicilies, the famous family pact, especially directed against the maritime power of England. The secret article of the treaty, which at a subsequent period transpired [in 1762], was the cession of a part of Louisiana to Spain. This alliance only led to maritime reverses on the part of the combined powers. On land, the hatred was still kept up against the unfortunate Frederick; Laudon invaded Schweiditz, in Silesia; the Russians Colberg; the Prussians evacuated Saxony. Prince Frederick gained over De Broglie the battle of Firligshausen, which caused the disgrace of the marshal; but which was avenged by the Prince of Condé at Johannisberg, where Ferdinand

was beaten in his turn, in 1762. The battle of Greyburg, where Prince Henry of Prussia vanquished field-marshal Daun, was the last feat of arms which occurred in the seven years' war. All Europe was in a state of exhaustion, with the single exception of England, who had constantly continued to aggrandise herself at the expense of the rest. The fall of the French colonies had been consummated by the taking of Martinique; whilst Spain had lost Cuba, the Philippine Islands, the Havannah and Manilla. Negotiations were opened at Paris; and the state of lassitude to which the several antagonist powers were reduced, hastened the conclusion of a peace, which was at length signed, [February 10th, 1763.] France ceded to England Acadia, Canada, the Isle of Cape Breton, and Grenada; St. Vincent, St. Dominique, and Tobago, in America; the river of Senegal, in Africa; the isle of Minorca, and Port St. Philip. She recovered St. Peter, Miquilon, Guadaloupe, La Desirade, and St. Lucie, in the Antilles; Belle Isle, on the shores of France; Gorée, on those of Africa; and all that she possessed in India. She was to restore all her conquests in Germany. With respect to Spain, England gave up Cuba and the Havannah, but retained the Floridas, as well as the bay of Pensacola; Portugal, and Spain her neighbour, reciprocally restored all that had been taken on the frontiers.

In the treaty between the King of Prussia and Maria Theresa, it was stipulated that Frederick II. should keep Silesia, and that he should give up the Comté de Glatz, with all the places which he occupied in Saxony. Sweden and Poland had already made their peace with Prussia. Thus finished the seven years' war.

From this time forward, nothing of great importance in the external policy of the kingdom marked the reign of Louis XV., up to the period of his death, which took place eleven years afterwards. From mistress to mistress the grandson of Louis XIV. had passed, till he found himself in the arms of Dubarry, his last, and most disgraceful liason. The case was now, even with regard to his excesses, the opposite of what it had been; he no longer made a great lady a courtesan, but he elevated a courtesan to be a great lady. By this step, royalty was carried mournfully astray. Between a dissolute, worn-out old man, and a veteran female of lost fame, there was no question discussed, but how debauchery could be carried to its greatest extent. Not being able, by her own means, to excite all the jaded senses of the king, Dubarry did not blush to associate herself with a crowd of low rivals, whose lascivious entertainments have given a disgusting celebrity to the little groves in the *Parc-aux Cerfs* (Stag Park), originally destined to protect, by their graceful shade, the more elegant and refined amours of the "great king." There it was the nation was at length to behold, it may be said, extinguished in the mire, the last rays of that imposing halo which, to the eyes of the people, had so long surrounded the person of royalty. The idol, once degraded, could not long remain on its pedestal; and that vile crowd of abbés of the court, of dukes and marquises, from whom the

complacent high-priests were selected, were destined to fall with it, dragging in their fall the very institutions of which they had been the faithless guardians and representatives. The philosophers had an easy game to play with such adversaries. They raised their voices in the name, the magic name of liberty and equality, against corrupted power, and privileges withering before public scorn. Opinion, always advancing, at this moment approached the extremity of theory, from which one step was sufficient to conduct the multitude to action. With the perspicuous intelligence of an indifferent mind, Louis XV. had, at an early period, seen to what a fatal precipice old society, religion, and monarchy were hastening; but Fleury had but too well known how to render him inaccessible to all alarms about matters which were not personal to himself. "All this will last as long as I shall," was, it has already been mentioned, his reflection; and, solaced with that thought, he remained indifferent to what was passing about him, favouring or resisting the new ideas pressed upon him, according to the caprice of his favourites and mistresses. Under the influence of Choiseul, the friend of the philosophers, Louis XV. had suffered an immense concession to be wrested from him, on the day when he signed the famous ordinance which drove from the kingdom that band of indefatigable Jesuits, which the innovating reformer encountered every where.

It was the cupidity of the Jesuits which caused their downfall. One of their body, called Father Valette, had formed a mercantile establishment in the West Indies, which was supported out of the funds of a mission for propagating Christianity. For a time the commercial house flourished; but the disasters of the war reduced it to a state of bankruptcy. Two of its creditors, the brothers Lionci of Marseilles, sued the order for sums due to them from Father Valette. They denied that they were liable; but the tribunals decided against them. The parliament finding them in this situation, took up the question, demanded to see the secret rules of the order; and when they were produced new charges were founded upon them. They were in consequence deprived of the liberty of trading, and of making proselytes, and finally banished from France.

De Choiseul could not restore the declining monarchy to health; but he endeavoured to sustain its pride, and to give it an aspect of vigour. He did not scruple, by conquering Corsica, to provoke a war with England; and he fomented the discontents then beginning to shew themselves in her American colonies. France, stript of her own trans-atlantic possessions, desired nothing more than to see Great Britain lose those which she deemed of most importance. He therefore made arrangements for supporting the Anglo-Americans in the struggle with the mother country, which he laboured to promote. Choiseul, however, returned to rely on popularity for support; but this was not arrayed on his side in sufficient strength to counterbalance the influence of Dubarry. He did not dissemble the contempt which he felt for her; and she, seated on the knees of the king, amused herself with oranges, which she

threw from hand to hand, exclaiming as they passed, "Jump, Choiseul ! jump, Praslin !" Choiseul and Praslin, his colleague, withdrew from office, and



gave place to the chancellor Maupeou. Being favourable to the new opinions which had become popular, the disgraced minister was loudly proclaimed the protector of parliaments ; and, faithful to their ancient habits of opposition, the latter willingly lent themselves to the march of mind then in progress. A social reformation might have been effected, without a convulsion, and without danger, had royalty countenanced the improvements which had become necessary. But Maupeou aspired to maintain *intacte* the succession of Louis XIV. During five years, the parliament of Paris was engaged in a struggle with the court, on the subject of a rupture between the Duke d'Aiguillon, governor of Britany, and the parliament of Britany. The duke, of his own authority, had broken the parliament. It was the wish of the king that the parliament of Paris should come to a decision in favour of D'Aiguillon, to clear him from every stain, before elevating him to the post of prime minister. Compliance was refused by the parliament ; and an inculpatory resolution was carried against him. D'Aiguillon, however, became minister ; and the decree of the parliament, in condemnation of his conduct, was reversed by the king's council, and torn from the registers of the palace. Choiseul was dismissed on the 24th of December, 1770. On the 20th of the following month, in the middle of the night, each member of the parliament found two musqueteers by his bed side, who presented a paper, containing a promise by which the individual engaged to resume his functions in the courts of parliament, which all had refused to continue, in

consequence of the affront offered to them by the council, in reversing their decision in the case of D'Aiguillon. A simple "yes" or "no" was demanded. The latter was generally given; but the former was obtained from some, in the surprise and alarm caused by such a nocturnal visitation. On the following day, the whole body unanimously refused to act. That night the musqueteers appeared again to each member, and announced that the parliament was broken and cancelled. Not content with this, Maupeou, bolder than Dubois, who was content with sending the offenders into exile, packed another parliament for himself, which was regarded with general scorn as "the Maupeou parliament." The commotions produced by this bold measure could not destroy what he had done; but to sustain such a *coup d'etat*, it became necessary to multiply beds of justice—the last resource of royalty in its parliamentary quarrels; and that great means of intimidation becoming weaker from being abused, was soon found insufficient for the protection of the court, when menaced by dangers the most serious. The system, however, as Louis had predicted, lasted as long as he did. Up to the time of his decease, all remained quiet in the main, in the provinces, as well as in Paris. Royalty, freed from the yoke of parliament, had never enjoyed greater despotic felicity. Maupeou governed as he pleased, suffering himself very complacently to be influenced by Richelieu, and the Abbé Terray, to whom the management of the finances was confided, and who increased, without control, the number of his scandalous speculations; when on the 10th of May 1774, the small-pox put an end to the days of the "well-beloved" king. From the life he had lived, and his age, there was little probability, it was seen, from the moment he was attacked, that he would recover from the malady; and the most disgusting quarrels and intrigues broke out, and were prosecuted while he was on his death-bed. The Choiseul party wished that Dubarry should be sent away in disgrace; but the archbishop of Paris would not take so harsh a step; and she was permitted to retire without receiving any serious affront. It has been remarked, the obsequies of Louis were a fit sequel to his inglorious life. According to royal etiquette, the body should have been embalmed; but decomposition took place so rapidly, that no surgeon would undertake the office. Spirits of wine were poured on the remains to abate the insufferable odour. The workmen about the château moved the corpse to its last resting place, and it was carried to St. Denis with the gallop of a post chaise. The crowd which, from curiosity, lined the road as it passed, gazed on the procession with silent indifference.

It has been remarked, that there was a mournful similarity between the latter years of this king and those of the preceding reign. Both monarchs, unsuccessful in war, were constrained to submit to conditions of peace, which Europe deemed humiliating to France. Louis XIV. was held in the chains of Madame de Maintenon; and his successor was the slave of a courtesan, who was only less hypocritical because she was more shameless. They were

seen to revel in heartless splendour, while the nation was almost reduced by misery to despair. Both kings saw, in some degree, the course of nature inverted; and their children perished in the flower of their youth. The son of Louis XV. had inherited much of the piety of his mother; and when the dauphin and the dauphiness were called away by death, the regret manifested was as universal as it was rational, that the young and the virtuous should be withdrawn, while the aged and the depraved remained to affront the power that spared them; and as the disgusted multitude was prepared to receive the most unfavourable impressions of those who were so notoriously degraded by their vices, it was even believed that the young prince and princess had been purposely removed, through the vile arts of those whose impurity was rendered more odious from the contrast presented by an opposite course of life. This horrible suspicion was not removed by the death of the queen, who soon followed her son to the grave.

Nor was even religious persecution wanting to render the parallel complete. The fickle Louis, accordingly as he was moved by his minister or his mistress, was ready to assail the Jansenists or the Jesuits; and sinning against all decorum himself, he could still be deluded into a belief that it was for him to vindicate the dignity of religion. Some monstrous scenes were witnessed, prompted by bigotry. An unfortunate Protestant, named Calas, had a son, who, being insane, committed suicide. It was asserted by the Catholics that the youth meditated joining their church, and that to prevent that his own father had murdered him. This almost incredible charge was believed by the infuriated populace, and listened to with grave attention by the magistrates. In vain did the accused offer the best possible proof that he had never shared the intolerant spirit of those who pursued him; but that he had made an ample allowance to one of his sons, who had embraced the Catholic faith. Presumptive proofs of innocence were disregarded; while evidence was given to every story that malice could invent, or folly utter against him. Eventually, he was condemned by the parliament of Toulouse to perish on the rack, and his goods were confiscated. To the honour of Voltaire let it be mentioned, that when the remnant of this ill-fated family took refuge in Geneva, where he had fixed his abode, he took up their cause with generous indignation, and pursued, with equal activity, courage and address, the authors of their wrongs; nor desisted till he had rescued the memory of the victim from obloquy, whom he could not recal from the grave, brought shame on the fiend-like criminals who had caused his ruin, and driven the guilty magistrate who had been most forward in promoting the atrocious sentence, to a state of absolute insanity. The case of La Barre furnished another instance of the hateful bigotry which prevailed. On the bridge of Abbeville a wooden cross had been erected, which was thrown down by some one in the night. La Barre and another youth, from the general dissipation of their lives, were suspected of being the offenders; and for this, at the worst, trifling affair, La Barre, being convicted on very

slender evidence, suffered the punishment of death. Common sense revolted at the disparity between the crime, if proved, and the sentence; and well-merited obloquy fell on the abominable tribunal by which it had been pronounced.

In the year which preceded the death of Louis XV., a treaty had been signed to which he was no party, which divided a third of the Polish provinces between Russia, Austria, and Prussia. France, who had not been consulted by the partitioning powers, offered no opposition to their doings; but quietly permitted the consummation of that iniquitous measure, by which the name of Poland was half erased from the list of nations. At the commencement of the struggle, Louis had manifested a disposition to interfere in behalf of the former subjects of his father-in-law; but, as in the time of Fleury, he was at a loss what to do. All the Poles could obtain from him was a subsidy of 60,000 francs per month, and a force of fifteen hundred men, under the command of a young officer named Dumouriez.

Men and things, all the elements of a great revolution had been collected, when the new king ascended the throne, who was to disturb all that, under the old monarchy, was culpable and odious. In opposition to his grandfather, the young monarch, then twenty years of age, most seriously attended to all the duties of his high situation, and was animated by sincere anxiety for the public good. Unhappily, Louis XV. had never dreamed that a crown that sat so lightly on his brow could by any possibility press heavily on that of his successor. From his example, the young prince had been brought up in absolute ignorance of public affairs. At twenty years of age, Louis XVI. knew nothing of the part which he would shortly have to act. Scarcely had a faint echo of the immense tumult which groaned within a few paces of him been able to reach his ear; and the little which he had by chance learned of the new ideas which prevailed, only served to embarrass him in his course. By nature frank, and of but moderate capacity, Louis with readiness allowed himself to be taught that he ought to do something for the good of his subjects, but beyond that point his political education was not carried. He knew enough to incline him to make concessions to popular clamour, but too little to enable him to put himself at the head of the movement, and to govern while directing it. A bold and frank hatred, war openly declared against the incipient revolution, would probably have better served his interest, and indeed that of all parties, than that good will, deficient in intelligence, and passive, without any fixed resolution, without any marked line of conduct, which his acts exhibited—suitable, indeed, for a quiet period, in which there is leisure for experiments, but fatal at a great crisis, which it blindly precipitates.

From the devout habits of the dauphin, his father, Louis XVI. had been brought up as if it had been intended that he should pass his life, not in a splendid court, but in a monastery. His appearance was slovenly and ungraceful; his air melancholy and embarrassed. He had been married in

May, 1770, to Maria Antoinette, the daughter of the empress Maria Theresa, on which occasion a dreadful catastrophe occurred, fifty people being crushed to death in the crowd assembled to witness the fireworks let off to celebrate the nuptials of the royal pair. This event was afterwards regarded as a dismal omen of the awful scenes which were to follow. In such horror had the grandson of Louis XV. been taught to regard all earthly enjoyments, that for years he lived on no closer terms of intimacy with his young and beautiful queen, than those which politeness and decorum would sanction in parties not associated by the matrimonial tie.

Such was the man for whom had been reserved the most difficult reign in the history of France. He was anything but impatient to fill the high situation to which he was destined from his birth. While the late king was sick, the dauphin and his consort were anxiously waiting to learn what course his malady would take, when, suddenly, "a noise like thunder" was heard in the antechamber. "It was caused by the courtiers," says Madame de Campan, "who, deserting the couch of the deceased monarch, now hastened to offer their homage to the new king." The royal pair received the intelligence which their presence conveyed with emotion and pious awe. Falling on their knees, their earnest and appropriate prayer was, "O God, deign to guide and protect us. Without thy aid we are too young to reign." The accession of the frank and well-disposed young king, with his gracious and fascinating partner, to the purified throne of Louis XV., was hailed with joy, and seemed to inspire the nation with renewed hope. For old society, it was a moment of happiness and of real interest. "She wept," writes Michelet, "and admired herself in her tears, and believed that she had grown young again. The idyl was now the strain in which the happy event was celebrated, by the insipidity of Florian, the innocence of Gessner, and afterwards by the immortal eclogue of Paul and Virginia. The queen built for herself a hamlet—a farm at Trianon. By their writings philosophers urged on the plough ;

"Choiseul a husbandman, a hind Voltaire."

All affected to interest themselves for the people, all loved the people, all wrote for the people. Benevolence was everywhere the order of the day ; and in whatever direction the eye turned, little alms and great fêtes were ostentatiously given."

The first edict of Louis XVI. ordered the suppression of the law of *joyeux avènement*, a superannuated remnant of feudal custom, which still lingered in the train of the monarchy. This was not the only old usage that had survived. The poll tax and the laws of *corvées*, or averages and bondage, recalled institutions and manners, against which public opinion was pronounced. The barbarous and stupid use of "the question" for judicial purposes, was up to this date still retained in the tribunals. It was now abolished. What remained of serfage in the royal domains was put down,



Louis XVI. and Marie Antoinette.

and the *corvées* disappeared. The Duke d'Aiguillon, as the ally of Dubarry, was removed; and Maurepas, his uncle, who had been exiled twenty-four years to his seat at Bourges, was summoned to fill his place. Turgot, the chief of "the economists," called to assist the councils of the king, presided over that pacific reform which was contemplated, and which, if steadily proceeded with, might have saved the state. He wished to advance much further than had been previously suggested, and spoke of overthrowing the whole system of ancient finance, as exceptionable and complicated, in order to establish in its place an impost, simple, uniform and impartial, which should only fall on consumption and property. But that would not suit the privileged classes; and the court openly revolted against it. Till that period, it had been led by Louis XVI. without resistance. He had recalled the parliament which had been broken by Maurepas; and Voltaire had triumphantly re-entered Paris, invited by the king to quit his exile at Ferney. But these relaxations, and this philosophical toleration, emanated rather from a feeling of benevolence than from a serious conviction of their necessity. The minister in whom he confided was not Turgot, "the only man who loved the people as I did," as at a later period he declared; it was Maurepas, an old courtier, who dated from the time of the regency. Ingenious and cynical, as all the court generation of the eighteenth century were, with a frivolous mind, without solidity, a man who could not comprehend the serious importance of the post he filled, and who paraded his portfolio as a duchess of the period of Louis XIV. would her tabouret, Maurepas combined the sordid and coxcombical interests of the abbés of court and fine gentlemen, whose influence served to throw cold water on all the plans of Turgot.

The queen, a foreigner by birth, unconscious of her real situation, thoughtless and gay, who occupied her mind but little with the future, in the midst of the agreeable occupations of her little circle of intimate friends, all young and lively like herself, did not scruple to declare against Turgot, whose stately language and puritanical airs wearied her. He usually went to court negligently dressed, or in costume not usually worn. Complaints and jibes were soon urged and thrown out by those about the king, aimed at the economist; and though he was "the only man who loved the people," Louis XVI. was not so obstinate a philanthropist as to continue long attached to him. "The peasant of the Danube" was sent away. The intendant of Bourdeaux, M. de Clugny, who succeeded him, the moment he became a minister, re-established the *corvées*. On his death, his office was filled by another intendant, Taboureaux des Reaux, who was like his predecessor, devoted to errors of the old system of finance. But the administrative reminiscences of these statesmen proved impotent to remove the deficit which existed in the coffers of the state. Louis XVI., always wavering between the past and the present, upon this retraced his steps, and appointed a new minister in accordance with public opinion. This was M. Necker, who had gained a high reputation by writing on finance, and

who was thought to promise to France a second Colbert. He was born in Geneva, the most turbulent of republics, and became cashier in the banking house of M. Thelluson, and afterwards a partner and a banker himself. By his skill in money matters he had realised a brilliant fortune. A panegyric which he had written on Colbert was held to prove that he himself possessed superior talents in all affairs relating to finance. It caused him, though a Calvinist, to be placed in the important situation which Louis destined him to fill. The literary banker entered on a desperate struggle, with a view of restoring the finances of the country; but in spite of all his efforts the deficit increased, and the aggravated evil inflamed the feverish enthusiasm which occupied all minds in France.

The embarrassments caused by the vastly augmented national debt made England pay dearly for her immense successes in the seven years' war. Obligated to raise money at all hazards, she determined to extend her fiscal system over the colonies of North America. They, however, gave anything but a favourable reception to the measures adopted by the mother country. A revolt broke out at Boston, and, spreading from day to day, at length became universal. Republican theories soon appeared, imported from the other side of the Atlantic. The several provinces coalesced, and formed a general committee, under the name of the convention, which took upon itself the general government of the state. In 1775, the Americans had raised an army of twenty-five thousand men, with which they commenced a regular war against the English. The next year saw the convention declare itself free and independent, and sent diplomatic agents to France and Spain. On the arrival at Paris of Benjamin Franklin, previously known in the scientific world by his inventions, a great sensation was created. In him his admirers thought they saw a living representative of Utopian philosophy. The patriarch of Ferney fraternised with the republican of the New World. Everywhere crowds followed the steps of the latter, who did not limit the expression of their homage to mere demonstrations. Immense supplies of arms and munitions of war were prepared in the French ports, to aid the insurgents; and the government benevolently shut its eyes to these proceedings. Afterwards, a multitude of enthusiastic young men, the greater portion of them springing from the ranks of the noblesse, openly quitted the court and the army, to cross the Atlantic, and draw their swords in the cause of the American Republic.

From this period, the history of France, up to the time of the Revolution, becomes so connected with England and America, that to give the events which occurred in detail in an English history of France, would be to repeat what almost every reader must already possess. It will be sufficient to glance at those features which are most essential to the understanding of the fearful scenes in the French capital which must shortly claim our attention.

Louis permitted America to be assisted, carried away by the general feeling,

or intimidated by the spirit which prevailed. In the end, he took his part, and openly aided the insurgents. A treaty of alliance and commerce was concluded between France and the United States. This was received with transports of joy by the Republicans. When the celebrated La Fayette, then one of the French youths who had espoused the cause of the revolt, communicated it to the American commander-in-chief, public thanks to Almighty God were offered up by the army chaplains, and a *fêu de joie* was fired, amidst rapturous shouts of "Long live the King of France!"

Louis XVI. ultimately most painfully expiated the step thus taken in favour of Republicanism. He did not limit the manifestation of his favourable disposition to mere words, but hastened to send a fleet of twelve sail of the line to New York, under the command of Count d'Estaing. The late wars had gained for the English navy the fame of being invincible. The battle of Ouessant, fought July 28th, 1778, in which, during a whole day, the Count d'Orvilliers sustained a contest, the force on each side being equal, at once renewed all the former ardour of the nation. The islands of Dominica, St. Vincent, and La Grenade, were captured by D'Estaing; and Senegal was taken from the English. Spain, who had now declared war, blockaded Gibraltar by land and sea. Sixty-six ships of the line, French and Spanish, cruised on the ocean; and forty thousand men, assembled on the shores of Britany, threatened England with invasion; but contrary winds prevented their attempting to pass over. A coalition, moreover, growing out of the war, came at the same time to oppose the despotic pretensions advanced by England on the ocean. Under the pretext that neutrals carried to her enemy prohibited munitions of war, or that they visited ports which she had declared in a state of blockade, though she had not effectually blockaded them, she claimed the right of visiting their ships, and after that of confiscating them. Annoyed by this vexatious course of proceedings, the northern powers thought the occasion favourable for throwing off what they deemed an insupportable yoke; and under the name of "an armed neutrality," formed a league for the protection of their commerce. They, in fact, armed themselves as they declared, without any hostile design, save that of repelling by force the insolent demands made from time to time by small ships of war, under the flag of Great Britain. They also announced that they would not recognise as munitions prohibited by the established laws of war articles not immediately in requisition for attack and defence. For planks, timber, cordage, iron, pitch, and tar, ordinarily the subjects of commerce, all such commodities they insisted should go free.

The war was carried on in America, and at sea, with great animosity; and though no very splendid triumph graced the arms of France, the British nation was dissatisfied and dispirited. The reverses sustained, it was urged, had tarnished the glory of the British flag. Admiral Kempenfelt, however, in December, 1779, gained an important advantage over a French fleet of superior force, commanded by Count de Guichen; and cut off fifteen

vessels under his convoy, having on board a thousand and sixty-two soldiers, and five hundred and forty-eight seamen, and compelled the rest of the squadron, with the exception of two ships, which prosecuted their voyage to the West Indies, to put back to Brest.

All the Leeward islands, which had belonged to England, with the exception of Antigua and Barbadoes, had fallen into the hands of her enemy; and an expedition against Jamaica was contemplated by the combined fleets of France and Spain. It was hoped by the English government that the timely arrival of Rodney would prevent the fall of St. Christopher's; but meeting with Sir Samuel Hood, who informed him of its surrender, and the retreat of De Grasse to Martinique, he sailed thither, and shortly after succeeded in bringing on a partial action off Guadaloupe. The French admiral, having dropped down to save one of his ships, which had been crippled from falling into the hands of the English, was, on the 12th of April, 1782, compelled to hazard an engagement.

The signal being given for close contest, the ships came up singly, each laying itself immediately against an opponent. A tremendous fire was opened on both sides, which continued for three hours. It was doubtful to which nation victory would incline; when a bold manœuvre, successfully executed, and one that had never been practised in naval tactics before, set the question at rest. Rodney, in his own ship, the *Formidable*, supported by the *Namur*, the *Duke*, and the *Canada*, bore down with all sails set on the French line, near the centre, and broke through it in the most masterly style. In doing this, the English passed within pistol shot of the *Glorieux*, which was so terribly handled, that being shorn of all her masts, bowsprit, and ensign-staff, but with her white flag nailed to a stump, as she lay a motionless hulk, she still seemed to breathe defiance. To the eye of the English admiral, it suggested the idea of a fallen hero on the field of battle; and even in that important moment, "big with fate," his mind was sufficiently excursive and at leisure to indulge in classical pleasantry, and he exclaimed to those near him, that the opposing hosts had then to contend "for the body of Patroclus." His daring experiment was crowned with a brilliant triumph. Eight ships of the French squadron struck, one sunk, and one blew up after the surrender. The *Ville de Paris*, the French admiral's own ship, which carried one hundred guns, which had cost £170,000, and which had been presented to Louis XV. by the city of Paris, was among those that remained in the victor's hands.

In this engagement the loss of the French was three thousand slain, and double that number wounded; while that of the British fell far short, being reported, of the former, two hundred and thirty-seven; and of the latter, seven hundred and sixty. Sir Samuel Hood captured shortly afterwards, between Hispaniola and Porto Rico, two of their seventy-fours, (the *Jason* and the *Caton*), which had escaped, and two frigates.

After this, the war languished in the West Indies. Several successful

encounters did honour to the naval skill of the British, but led to no important consequences. Great losses were sustained from storms at sea. When Admiral Graves sailed from the West Indies with the prizes taken by Rodney, and a convoy homeward bound, all the trophies of the late splendid triumph, with the exception of the *Ardent*, which put back to Port Royal, were lost, and three thousand souls perished.

The English nation wished the war brought to a close; and were anxious that the independence of the United States should be recognised. In the latter end of 1782, preliminaries of peace were signed. The independence of the United States the King of England engaged to recognise; and advantageous boundaries were assigned to them, comprehending the countries on both sides of the Ohio, and securing to their commerce the navigation of the Mississippi to the ocean. By a treaty concluded at the same time with France, the right of fishing off the coast of Newfoundland was ceded, from Cape St. John in the east, round the north of the island to Cape Ray in the west. The French were also put into possession of the islands of St. Pierre, Miquelon, Tobago, and St. Lucie. In Africa, the river Senegal, and its forts and dependencies, were given up; and the island of Gorée restored. In the East Indies, England resigned all her conquests, and allowed to France her accustomed commerce, whether by a company or by individuals. The articles also relative to the port of Dunkirk, established at the peace of Utrecht, were now abrogated. France, on her part, restored to Great Britain the islands of Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, St. Christopher's, Nevis and Mont Serat. In Africa, she also ceded Fort James and the river Gambia.

The war being at length terminated, it became necessary to look more attentively at the internal state of the kingdom. As in other days, the embarrassed state of the finances of the country required immediate attention. Necker had had the king's permission to make public his balance sheet two years before. It was produced by that minister in January, 1781, and exhibited an excess of income over expenditure of ten millions. Maurepas was stung with jealousy at witnessing the success of the man whom he had raised to the high post which he then filled. In consequence of that, Necker soon found all his plans received in the council with a degree of systematic suspicion which they had not encountered before. As a Protestant, his appearance there was interdicted; but he claimed the privilege of being heard in defence of his measures. When that was refused, he sent in his resignation, on the 25th of May; and this step, taken at a moment when he was very popular, greatly extended his reputation, and caused the people to look up to him as the only man who could save the state. The inefficiency of those who became his official successors confirmed public opinion in his favour. Joly de Fleury, for nearly two years, managed to carry on the business of the country by means of forced loans. Finding himself unequal to the difficult task imposed upon him by his situation, he

withdrew from it on the 29th March, 1783, having, however, happily succeeded in bringing about an honourable peace. M. d'Ormeson, who followed him, could not hold the office for a single year. The growing embarrassments—the augmented claims on the treasury, he was unable to meet; and on the 4th November, he made way for M. de Calonne, intendant of Metz, whose talents all admitted to be great. He had, in fact, the art of discovering alluring expedients to inveigle lenders into granting loans, thus increasing the capital of the debt. He overshot the mark, at length. The works of the machine gave way in his hands; and he was constrained to disclose the source of the evil. He had only been in office three years, when he contrived to make a difference of 110 millions between the receipt and expenditure. It was under these circumstances that Calonne proposed to the king to convoke a meeting of the Notables, whose sittings commenced on the 22nd February, 1787. He then returned to the plans of Turgot; and that important word, “abuse,” since so often repeated in such assemblies, was soon heard on all sides; but as used at that moment, it tended directly to revolution. La Fayette was one of the members, and he actively denounced a variety of abuses. He called for the abolition of *lettres de cachet* and state prisons; and obtained a decree favourable to the condition of the Protestants. Further, he made a formal demand that a national assembly should be called together. The Count d'Artois expressed some surprise at this proceeding. “What,” said he, “do you move for the assembling of the states general?”—“Yes, and for something still better,” was the reply of La Fayette.

The proceedings which have been described as those of the Notables, ought not, in strictness, to be so represented. Politically speaking, the body acting under that name were Notables no longer. Theories of social equality had, in the public mind, done much towards levelling dukes, counts, archbishops and abbés, of which the prestige which had supported them began rapidly to fail. However, those to whom these matters were submitted for discussion were themselves the privileged individuals whose interests were called in question. The consequence was, Calonne was overthrown, as Turgot had been; and the Notables separated on the 25th May, without having adopted any decision of importance. The crisis became imminent. Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Sens, afterwards cardinal, who succeeded Calonne as minister of finance, returned to the system of territorial imposts; but the blind and unrelenting opposition of the parliament baffled all his efforts. They refused to register the edict, and declared that to that duty the states general alone were competent.

All the machinery of the old constitution—all the expedients had recourse to in other days, were successively resorted to; but nothing could restore the former state of things. Louis XVI. shrunk back from the states general, and preferred again having recourse to the experience of Maurepas. The parliament, exiled to Troyes, was afterwards recalled; and the irritation of

the councillors increased by timid resistance. Loménie prevailed on the king to create an assembly, composed of princes, peers, marshals of France, and distinguished personages chosen from the clergy, the noblesse, and the magistracy, with all the authority which belonged to "*les cours plenières de Charlemagne*." The exhumation of these gothic precedents, however, did not bring anything to bear on the present times. A councillor of parliament found a proof of one of the circulars, which was said to have emanated from the royal press, and read it to the parliament. Loménie in vain attempted to convoke a bed of justice. He fell in his turn; and Louis XVI., in despair, recalled Necker [September 14th, 1788]. The late prime minister himself advised his majesty to take that step. He wished to entrust him with the supreme direction of the finances of the country. The pride of Necker revolted at the offer. He would not acknowledge a master, nor even endure an equal. Satisfied that the necessity of the case would place the whole power of the government in his hands, he refused to accept of anything less. In the end he was recalled, and invested with absolute authority.

That he was to renew his office perfectly unshackled was announced to him in a letter from the queen, conceived in the most flattering terms. His ambition and exultation then knew no bounds. The eagerness the queen manifested to see him return; the reception that awaited him at Versailles; the homage rendered him by the princes, the king's brothers, and the unanimous applause of the court and capital, all concurred to heighten his self-esteem, and to favour his hopes. It was at this period that the deficiency in the revenue—the cause of the national ruin—transpired. It had led to the raising of loans, which had been so multiplied, that in a few years the interest of them was found to amount to no less than 100,000,000 of livres.

The king had no personal liking for M. Necker, and had only recalled him on account of the distressing embarrassments which he had to deplore. Necker was aware of that; and in consequence it was imputed to him that he wished to bring matters to such a crisis, that he should be constituted minister of the nation by the nation itself; that he intrigued to divide, and if possible disorganise and destroy, the orders of the clergy and the noblesse; and sought to effect the destruction of parliaments; and hence that constant application remarked in him to use all means for enervating the royal power, for encouraging the pretensions of the third estate; to gain its favour; and, finally, by the ascendancy of public opinion, render himself sufficiently strong to have no fear of the contentions of the court, and to have power to modify the government at his pleasure.



CHAPTER IX.

FROM THE RECAL OF DE NECKER TO THE DEATH OF LOUIS XVI.

A. D. 1788 TO 1793.

REVOLUTIONARY OUTRAGES.—THE LAST MOMENTS OF THE MONARCHY.



At this period, a general cry rose from all parts of the kingdom in favour of convoking the states general, as the only means of saving the state. Princes of the blood, the clergy of France, the parliament of Paris, and all the sovereign courts, favoured such a course; and Louis had given his royal word to convoke them in the year 1792.

Necker hastened this measure, which it would have been wise to defer; and caused the period for their assembling to be fixed for the commencement of the year 1789.

The state of France was most alarming: the people were carried away by an irrational desire for change. Desperation grew on impatience; and evils to which they had been long accustomed to submit were now thought past all endurance. If the populace magnified the grievances of which they had to complain, not less extravagant were their hopes as fresh nostrums were successively proposed. Of this the natural, the inevitable consequence, was severe disappointment, and growing on that, savage exasperation. It follows that the momentary calm which was from time to time witnessed, held out

no prospect of permanent repose. Based upon vain, misleading calculations, it was necessarily evanescent in its character, hollow and treacherous.

A new era had commenced ; the face of France was so completely changed, that it seemed to be no longer the same people nor the same country. Events formerly slow and silent, were now precipitated with tumult and fury. The historian has no longer merely to notice what passed from year to year, but the scenes which took place from month to month, and from day to day, were sufficiently important to claim a recital, if at the same time they were not so numerous that no moderate limits would suffice for their narration. It will be necessary here to notice the most prominent features, so as to make the progress of this extraordinary convulsion clearly understood. When the Notables re-assembled, they were consulted on the composition of the states general which were to be summoned, and on the manner in which their deliberations were to be conducted. It was proposed that the deputies of the three orders should be equal in numbers. It was, however, afterwards claimed for the third estate that they should be equal to the two others. A decision in favour of the latter proposition was eventually adopted at a council held by the king at Versailles, on the 27th December, 1788. Necker had credit for having induced the king to declare in favour of the popular will ; and, in the capital and in the provinces, he became more than ever the object of enthusiastic admiration. The opening of the assembly was fixed for the 4th of May, 1789. The deputies of the three orders were presented to the king. Each order appeared separate. The procession extended from the halls to the church of Nôtre Dame, whither they accompanied his majesty and the royal family. A mass was celebrated with great solemnity ; and, according to ancient usage, after the first gospel, a sermon was preached by the bishop of Nancy, in which the orator proved that it was religion constituted the strength of empires, and was the source of their happiness. The effect produced by the discourse was such, that, notwithstanding the sacred character of the place, the orator was often interrupted by fervent applause. On the following day, May 5th, the formal opening of the states took place in a magnificent hall, fitted up in the hotel *des menns plaisirs du roi*. The king and queen arrived there, preceded by the princesses of the blood. Louis seated himself on the throne ; the queen took her place on a sofa to the left of the king ; the princes and princesses formed a half-circle on each side of the throne ; the ladies of the court occupied the galleries on both sides of the steps. The other galleries were occupied by the inhabitants of Paris, of Versailles, and the environs. The spectacle was grand. The king remained standing for some moments, to give his court time to take their places ; and a profound silence, during this pause, prevailed. The sun, which had previously been obscured by thick clouds, just then came forth in splendour, and its dazzling beams enveloped the king and the throne. Struck by the incident, it was hailed by many present as a happy omen.

Louis addressed the states in a prepared speech, in which he told them of his anxiety to meet the wishes of his people ; and invited those he addressed to consider what measures would be most efficient to promote the happiness of France.

The deputies had remained standing while the speech was being pronounced. It was then declared by the keeper of the seals to be the pleasure of the king that they should be seated and covered. They were next addressed by the keeper of the seals, in explanation of the motives of the king in calling them together. He was followed by Necker, who took a general view of the state of public affairs, and pointed out means for supplying the deficiency in the revenue, without violating public faith. He spoke of the importance of respecting property, and the necessity which existed for maintaining the laws and customs of the country. In conclusion, he implored the blessing of the Eternal, to fulfil the benevolent intentions of the monarch for the prosperity of France.

The king then rose, and withdrew with the queen, in the midst of tumultuous acclamations. The princes and princesses of the blood accompanied them, followed by a numerous train.

The utmost satisfaction was testified at the result of the day's proceedings ; but, from that time, it was easy to foresee that royalty would not prevail in this case, as it had done in many former instances. The third estate took up a menacing attitude, which sufficiently indicated hostile projects ; and some of those who were to be their leaders were already designated. On the very first day, part of the ancient ceremonial, which required the third estate to follow in the train of the two privileged orders, was trampled under foot. The clergy and noblesse wished to conform to the ancient usages of the states general. The third estate insisted that the orders of the clergy and noblesse should sit with them in the same hall, and that the suffrages should be counted, not by the several orders, but by the individuals. The clergy and noblesse objected, but in vain, to the illegality of this decision. The third estate declared that it would not constitute an assembly till the point for which it contended was given up. The question gave rise to long and violent debates. They resounded from the capital, were renewed in the provinces, and agitated all France.

Among the most violent of the members was Honori Riquetti de Mirabeau. He was one of those men of powerful passions, who, intoxicated by successful controversy, carry public assemblies along with them. Renounced by the nobility of his province, the Count Riquetti had the audacity to identify himself with the third estate, by causing the inscription of "Mirabeau, woolen draper," to be placed over a shop in Aix. Under the irresistible influence of his oratory, supported by the people, who received him at the doors with acclamations, the third estate carried the day against their rivals. Shortly after, three curates of Poitou gave an example of defection on the 11th June, which was followed by a portion of the inferior clergy taking

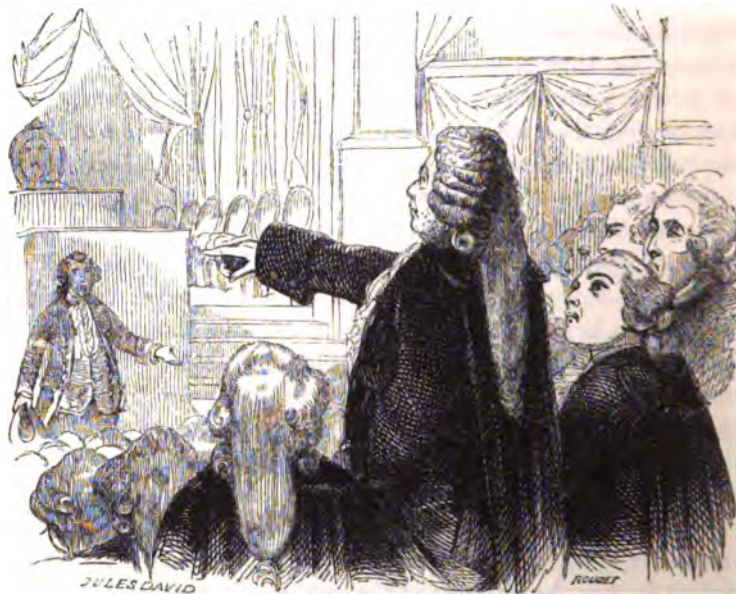
their oaths at the hands of Sylvain Bailly, the new president of the communes. On the 17th, upon a motion of the Abbé Sièyes, the democratic majority finally broke through all precedents and regulations, by declaring itself the "national assembly." War was now declared against royalty. The third day after this memorable sitting, the deputies, on their arriving, found the doors of the assembly closed. Bailly led them to a neighbouring racket ground, where a tumultuous deliberation took place, which terminated in their taking a solemn oath never to separate till they had given a new constitution to France. The court became alarmed; and Louis, by the advice of those about him, determined to vindicate that authority which was thus rudely assailed. Necker does not appear to have been favourable to the attempt, as he absented himself from the royal sitting appointed for the 23rd June, without apprising his royal master that such was his intention. He indeed, opposed as he was in his measures, wished to retire. The king determined to hold the royal sitting at the time which had been fixed upon.

On entering the hall where the three orders were assembled, he seated himself upon his throne, amidst the acclamations of the first and second. He then delivered his speech, in which he recapitulated the various steps he had taken to meet their wishes, and to promote the happiness of the nation. He lamented the divisions which prevailed, and said he considered it his duty to put an end to them. He expected to find in them attachment to his person, and thought they ought to be among the foremost to contribute to a union of sentiment, which he regarded at that moment as essential to the well-being of the state. He then caused a declaration, comprising fifteen articles, to be read, respecting the position of the states general, and the questions which had arisen among them, and ordered the separation of the three chambers, that each order might deliberate by itself, without, however, withdrawing from them permission to deliberate in common, on certain occasions, the respective rights of each order being guaranteed.

The king then assured them that it was not his wish to circumscribe their zeal by the circle which he had traced for general convenience, and he should have pleasure in adopting anything which they might suggest, that appeared calculated to further the interests of the public. He added, "he felt that he had a right to say that no king had ever done more for a nation than he had done; but what nation had ever deserved more from a king than France!"

A declaration, set forth in thirty-five articles, was next read, to explain the further views of the king. In this it was promised that no tax should be imposed, and no loan raised, without the consent of the states general; and also that annual returns should be made of the receipts and expenditure of the nation, not excepting the charges for the king's household. The public debt was to be guaranteed by every description of property, without distinction; the poll tax was to be abolished; the modes by which nobility was acquired, purified; the improper use of *lettres de cachet* was to be guarded against; and,

among other things, the liberty of the press, under certain wise regulations, was to be granted. He then called upon those he addressed to remember that no projects of theirs could have the force of law without his sanction, and reminded them that his position in the state rendered him the natural guardian of all their several rights, and all might rely on his equitable impartiality. In conclusion, he commanded them immediately to separate, and to meet on the following morning each in the chamber appropriated to its order, to resume their sittings. His majesty then withdrew. The nobility and the clergy followed the king; the rest remained immovable. When De Brèze, the grand master of the ceremonies, came to reiterate the royal mandate, Mirabeau rose, and in that emphatic tone which was now the order of the day, he called to him from his place, "You, who have no office here, no voice, no right to speak, you are not to repeat to us the words of the



king. Go and tell your master that we are here by the will of the people, and that we are only to be removed by the bayonet." On hearing this strange language from an old courtier, De Brèze withdrew in consternation; and the deputies immediately came to a resolution, declaring their sittings inviolable.

This day decided the important question between the third estate and royalty. But the party which triumphed was in no condition to put forth its programme. Great differences existed. Many wished to establish in France the English constitution, with its king, for the sake of form; its House of Commons, and its House of Lords. Many, at the head of whom an indistinct



National Ball amidst the ruins of the Bastille.

rumour placed Mirabeau, aimed at effecting a change of dynasty, and inclined to the house of Orleans, which was thought to offer pledges favourable to the new opinions. Others were disposed to move as chance should direct, endeavouring to reduce to practice their philosophical doctrines, and excited by the people, who murmured by their side, and who, from day to day, withdrew further from Louis XVI., who, trembling and indecisive, affected himself by the general vertigo, alternately resisted feebly, and consented with a bad grace. After that royal sitting, which so cruelly failed, he had commanded the clergy and his faithful noblesse to unite themselves to the democrats of the "national assembly." He turned round immediately afterwards, and dismissed Necker, his popular minister, who became in consequence the head of a party. Whispers were heard in the city that the court would use fire and sword to gain their ends. The people were harangued in the garden of the Palais Royal; and some young men, parading the busts of Necker and the Duke of Orleans through the streets, on passing the Place Louis XV., were set upon by the royal German regiment, and were not dispersed without bloodshed [12th July]. On the 14th, the people, having collected a quantity of arms from the gunsmiths and sword cutlers, moved towards the Bastille, dragging with them some cannon, and thirty thousand stand of arms, which they had seized from the Hospital of Invalids. The fortress held out a few hours; but Delaunay, its governor, forced at length to capitulate, was dragged through the rue St. Antoine, and butchered on the threshold of the Hotel de Ville. The ancient citadel, which had for so long played the game of the court with its *lettres de cachet*, was razed to the ground; and upon the ruins of this stronghold of despotism a large tent, which served for a ball room, was established, on which appeared the ironical inscription "*Ici l'on danse.*"

When the governor of the Bastille perished, two of the Invalids were likewise carried by the mob to the Place de Grève, and there put to death. M. de Flesselles, prévôt des Marchands, was seized, and compelled, by reproaches and menaces, to order the arms to be given up which were supposed to be deposited in the convent of the Chartreux. It was soon discovered that nothing of the kind had been kept there. When this was known, the unfortunate prévôt was accused of having deceived the people, and it was instantly resolved that he should die. He was forthwith dispatched by a pistol. From that moment the insurrection in Paris may be said to have become universal.

While things were in this disturbed situation, that assembly which had created the storm continued, from time to time, to vote addresses to the king, calling his attention to the disturbed state of Paris, and urging the importance of restoring order, by withdrawing the troops of the line, and calling out a citizen militia for the defence of Paris. The Archbishop de Vienne, a man seventy years of age, who had formerly been regarded as one of the great lights of the church, the terror of the enemies of the faith, and

a model of Christian piety, was at this period induced to abandon his former principles, and become the organ of the disaffected. The demands for sending away the troops, and forming a militia, the king had constantly refused to comply with; but he was at length compelled to give way; and accordingly ordered the Marshal de Broglie, who commanded the military at Versailles, to cause them to withdraw. "Pity me, M. le Marshal," said Louis; "without finances, without soldiers, and incapable of placing reliance on any portion of my subjects. Mine is a most unhappy position."

On receiving this communication, the marshal, a faithful servant, was at no loss to conjecture what must speedily follow; and he proposed to conduct the king and the royal family to Metz. Louis consented to set out at five o'clock on the following morning, and with a promise to that effect the marshal left him at midnight. After he was gone, the Duke de Liancourt, grand master of the wardrobe, waited on the king, and entreated him to abandon his design. A letter from Bailly, the president of the assembly, supported the representations of the duke, and he finally prevailed on the king to give his word that he would not go. The marshal, at the hour named for their departure, found all the arrangements of the preceding evening wholly changed. Grieved at this, he threw himself on his knees, and entreated the king to go; he pointed out to him the dangers to which he must be exposed by remaining where he was; but his earnest representations were of no avail.

The national assembly, which had continued its sittings all night, voted new addresses to the king in the morning of the 23rd, calling for the immediate sending away the troops which were near the capital, the dismissal of ministers, and the recal of Necker. While they were thus engaged, a message from Louis unexpectedly announced that he was about to proceed to the assembly. He went thither accordingly at eleven o'clock, not in state, but accompanied by his royal brothers. At one end of the hall, between the clergy and the noblesse, and opposite the benches of the third estate, a common sofa and a carpet had been placed. The king addressed them standing and uncovered, and declared it to be his wish to act in concert with "the national assembly;" it was then, for the first time, he spoke of them under that denomination, to restore the capital and the kingdom to order and tranquillity.

His tone was that of sadness; but his manner was most gracious. Nothing, he declared, could more sensibly affect his heart than the frightful disorders which prevailed in Paris. He complained that he had been calumniated by evil disposed persons, who had dared to represent that the members of that body were not safe. Could it be necessary for him to reply to such a charge, which had been refuted beforehand by all his previous conduct? He now came among them as one of the nation, placing every confidence in them, and having already ordered the troops to withdraw from

Paris and Versailles. He authorised them to make this known to the public.

His speech called forth loud acclamations. When these subsided, the president replied, by recalling to his recollection the late decisions of the assembly. To them, he said, they must still adhere. If they had not the right of directing the monarch in the choice, or in the dismissal of ministers, experience had shewn how fatal it was for the best interests of the country to send away a minister who was dear to the nation, and to form an administration which did not possess the confidence of the people. "The representatives of the nation," he added, "will not permit that any one shall interpose between them and the king."

"Never," replied Louis, with energy, "have I refused to receive and to listen to the representatives of the nation." This answer seemed to make a deep impression on all who heard it. The king and his brothers, surrounded by the deputies, withdrew on foot to the château, while shouts and expressions of reverential gratitude burst from the lips of many of the crowd. Returned to his apartments, the monarch appeared in the balcony; and the queen, the dauphin, and other members of the royal family, also presented themselves, and were welcomed with loud acclamations. Subsequently, they repaired to the chapel to hear mass, and to refresh themselves, after the bitter humiliation of the day, with the consolations of religion.

That evening the assembly met again. They were informed, by messages from the king, that, yielding to their wishes, the obnoxious ministers had sent in their resignation; that his majesty would go on the following morning to the capital, and that he had just written to M. de Necker to return and resume his portfolio as minister of finance. The letter of the king, and one addressed to M. de Necker by the president of the assembly, were immediately sent off by one of the treasury secretaries.

In pursuance of the promise which had been made, the troops were removed from the vicinity of the capital, and the Marshal de Broglie accompanied them. Yet all these concessions were insufficient to reconcile the leaders of the populace to the royal family. This was obvious, and the Count d'Artois, the Prince of Condé, the Duke de Bourbon, and the Duke d'Enghien, received the king's commands to leave the kingdom, to save themselves from being proscribed. The Duchess de Polignac, who had been named governess of the children of France, was ordered by the queen to withdraw, as it was thought unsafe for her to remain. That lady nobly refused to depart; and it was not till the command was repeated that she reluctantly obeyed. The duchess was succeeded in her office by the Marchioness de Tourzel.

The march of events was not to be arrested. It, indeed, was accelerated with frightful rapidity. It was found that the parliamentary triumph of the 23rd June had established a principle, which was confirmed by the capture of the Bastille. In Paris, the revolt assumed a shape more and more

alarming. Legitimate authority was suspended. The barriers were closed, and only opened at the command of the revolutionists. Cannon was placed at every avenue of the capital. Numerous patrols paraded the streets. Deserters, robbers, and others who had offended the laws, were received as brothers, the moment they avowed themselves to be rebels. From the workshop and the counter, the artisan and the shopkeeper, passed into the *corps de garde*. Almost in "the twinkling of an eye" a numerous militia was placed at the disposal of the municipal authorities, who now regained all the importance which had been theirs at former grand crises, with this difference, however, that there was nothing in the present case to counter-balance it. France was in a state of revolution. Already had the tri-coloured flag, taken from the arms of the Orleans family, become the rallying sign of the enemies of royalty.

After the king had met the national assembly, twenty-four deputies carried to the electors of Paris a copy of his speech. The deputies marched between two lines of armed men. To the words of peace addressed to them by the monarch, the response was "Long live the nation! Long live the king!" The Parisians demanded to see him within their walls, and loudly called for the return of Necker. At the Hotel de Ville, the electors proclaimed the Marquis de la Fayette commandant general of the Paris militia, and Bailly Mayor of Paris. Both were members of the deputation, which had been sent to them by the national assembly.

The king was slow to suppose that the people of the capital were other than misled. He believed that they were attached to his person; and though informed it would be dangerous to appear among them, he would not be kept from doing so. M. Hue describes a remarkable warning given to him on the occasion of his visiting Paris on the 17th of July, when he was preparing to act on the resolution he had formed. He writes, that a well-dressed woman, on the morning of that day, entered the king's apartments, and requested the Marquis de la Queille to inform the captain of the guard that she had a communication of the greatest importance to make. The Duke de Villeroi, the captain of the guard then on duty, having been spoken to, "Monsieur le duc," said she, on his coming forward, "I beg to state to you, that, passing just now the end of the grand avenue, some men, standing near a certain arbour," (which she indicated,) "conversed about the king; and one of them said, 'The —— thinks to reach Paris alive; but he shall enter it a corpse, and his dead body shall be dragged through the streets.' Take notice, sir, that I am neither drunk nor mad."

On hearing this, the duke returned to the king, and told him what had just occurred. "What extravagance!" he exclaimed. On hearing that his majesty had spoken thus, the woman again said, "I am neither drunk nor mad. Should the life of the king be attempted, France and posterity shall know of the warning I have given, and you, sir—you will have to answer for what may happen."

When he returned to the king's apartment, Louis wore a pensive air, his elbow resting on the chimney piece, and his hand on his forehead. "M. de Villeroy," said he, "the die is cast; let us set off."—"But, sire," the duke replied, "will your majesty expose your life to danger? Does not prudence order another course?"—"No, M. de Villeroy; ought I, for the safety of only one, to expose the lives of many? I have promised to go to Paris. I will go. My people know that I love them, and in them I can confide."

On this determination he prepared to act. He feared, by not appearing at Paris, he should compromise the safety of the two orders who were faithful to his interest; and he was aware that rebels, especially of the Orleans faction, only wanted a pretext to set up a new king.

Content to brave the danger, Louis passed the night between the 16th and 17th examining his papers, burning some, and classing and arranging others. Rising early in the morning, he performed his devotions, heard mass, took the communion, and finally bade his family most affectionately adieu.

Before setting out, however, he, in presence of the queen, put into the hands of Monsieur a document, in which he protested against all acts he might be constrained to perform at Paris or elsewhere, should he be detained against his will, delegating, in that case, his authority to Monsieur, whom he named lieutenant-general of the kingdom. At eleven o'clock he entered his carriage, accompanied by the Duke de Villeroy, Marshal de Beauvau, the Marquis de Nesle, the Duke de Villequier, and the Count d'Estaing. Without any one else belonging to the court, escorted by a very small detachment of guards, he slowly advanced towards Paris. The citizen militia of Versailles surrounded the carriage. A deputation of eighty members of the national assembly waited for him at the barriers. An immense crowd from all the avenues pressed forward to see him as he passed; but it was no longer the generous loyal French who, in former days, were eager to behold their king, and to make him hear their kindly greetings; it was an assemblage of daring, desperate men, carried away by passion, armed with guns, pistols, sabres, scythes and forks, and converting the instruments of their daily industry into murderous weapons, to mingle in a fearful revolt. The greater portion of the inhabitants of Paris were under arms, presenting a dismal spectacle—a grotesque *melange* of sex, costumes, and warlike preparations. What fear was not such a tumultuous meeting calculated to inspire, even supposing it to have no criminal object in view! The king, however, beheld it all with calmness as perfect as if he had known every arm to have been devoted to him and his cause.

At the barriers of Paris, called those of "the conference," the guards who had escorted the king thus far were ordered to proceed no further. They were obliged to fall back. Bailly, as mayor, presented the keys of the city to the king in a gold basin, at the same time thus addressing him: "Sire, I bring to your majesty the keys of your good city of Paris. They are the

same which were presented to Henry IV., your illustrious ancestor. He had re-conquered the people ; in this case a people have re-conquered their king."

Bailly was considered, even by the court, ill fitted to act the part assigned to him by the revoltors. He was a man of a mild disposition, devoted to literature and science, whose works had given him fame. Accident placed him at the head of the third estate, when the forced union of the three orders hurried him into the torrent of the revolution. Incapable of using the influence which his situation of mayor gave him, instead of governing he was governed, and in consequence made the unwilling instrument of the designs of others."

The king's carriage slowly passed to the Place Louis XV., that spot on which, in the sequel, he was to lay down his life, and thence by the Rue St. Honoré to the Place de Grève. To the representations of the three estates were joined the electors of Paris, and deputations from the districts. Among the deputies of the national assembly, eight prelates appeared in their episcopal costume : the archbishops of Paris and Alby, the bishops of Agen, Uzès, Causeraus, Dijon, Clermont and Nancy.

At the head of a numerous body of cavalry the Marquis de la Fayette appeared as commandant general, directing the movements of the Parisian national guard. An immense number of armed men lined each side of the way, and the thunder of two hundred pieces of cannon were heard as the cortège advanced. At a short distance from the king's coach, between the cavalry and the deputies from the assembly, two cannons of large calibre appeared, which were displayed as trophies of victory. They had been taken from the Bastille and the Hotel d'Invalids. On all sides the cry of "Vive le Nation !" was heard. The carriage having arrived before the grand staircase of the Hotel de Ville, the king alighted. Bailly then presented the monarch with the tri-coloured cockade. To have refused it at that moment would have been the signal for an act of regicide. Louis took it, as formerly Charles, Dauphin of France, and regent of the kingdom, had received from Stephen Marcel, then mayor of Paris, the chaperon of the revoltors. On the acceptance of the cockade by Louis, then for the first time was raised the cry of "Vive le roi !" which was long continued, and renewed with enthusiastic transport.

The king, and those who surrounded him, could not without difficulty penetrate the immense throng which blocked up the grand staircase. He passed under an arch formed of pikes, drawn swords, and fire-arms, for the most part in the hands of those little accustomed to use them, and who managed them most awkwardly, some disordered with wine, and others in a state of delirium. Having at length entered the great hall, the king seated himself on a sofa which had been placed there for him. Bailly then approached his majesty, and having received his commands, said, "The king has come hither to calm the uneasiness which prevails, and to enjoy the presence of his people. He desires that tranquillity may be restored in the

capital, and that everything should return to its accustomed order." Cries of "Long live the king!" again burst forth, extending from the hall to the Place de Grève.

Permission having been obtained, Count de Lally-Tolendal, the son of the unfortunate Lally who had so greatly distinguished himself at Fontenoy, had afterwards been governor of Pondicherry, and was finally decapitated, then rose. "Well," said he, "citizens, are you satisfied? Here is the king whom your hearts called for, whom you desired to see in the midst of you; here is the king who has restored your national assemblies, and who comes to confirm your liberties on a solid foundation. May he carry from this great assembly that peace to which his heart has long been a stranger, and may he deserve never to lose it. Since he wishes for no guard but the love of his people, prove to him that he has gained in power a thousand times more than he was prepared to sacrifice. Sire," he proceeded, turning to the king, "you see these generous subjects, by whom you are idolised: listen to their acclamations; read their countenances; penetrate their hearts; you will find them full of love and fidelity. There is not one of them who would not be ready to sacrifice for you the last drop of his blood. Far be from us the wicked men, who, by infamous insinuations, would seek still to calumniate and misrepresent the sentiments of a generous nation, faithful to a just and good king, who wishes to owe nothing to force, but everything to his virtues."

New shouts of joy resounded through the hall at the close of this speech. They became more fervent still when the king appeared at one of the casements, wearing in his hat the national cockade. The Count de Lally-Tolendal was an orator worthy of a better cause. It was because he believed that the revolution secured the happiness of France that he took a share in the business of the day.

While this scene was in progress, the queen, trembling for her royal consort's fate, impatiently looked for his return to Versailles. At length he arrived. He was much overcome by fatigue. From his carriage he passed into the arms of the queen, into those of his children; and Monsieur, Madame, and the princesses of the blood, all eagerly pressed round him to express their delight at again beholding him in safety. At Versailles, the rejoicings were general. It was not enough that the people had seen their sovereign step out of his carriage; and scarcely had he entered his apartment, when tumultuous cries from without called upon him again to present himself to their longing eyes. They were anxious that he should appear at one of the windows in the marble hall. There boughs of willow, decorated with ribbands, and fixed by the crowd to both sides of the building, offered, by favour of the night, the appearance of olive branches. The king, in compliance with the wish expressed, made his appearance. On perceiving him, the assembled thousands manifested the highest satisfaction; they at last saw him retire with regret. They were anxious to gaze on him still; and

even called on him to gratify them once more. Informed of their loudly expressed desire by the captain of the guard, the Prince de Poix, Louis, who had just sat down to supper, rose from table, and again appeared before the populace, accompanied by all the members of the royal family who were then at Versailles. More fully to satisfy the people, one of the officers of the king's chamber took some of the flambeaux from the chimney, and brought them towards his majesty, that he might be more distinctly seen. The applause was ecstatic. The noble confidence of the king seemed to have crushed the plots of his enemies. Thus closed the business of that eventful day.

The calm was of short duration, and the bright prospect which opened before royalty was soon closed by new violence, which could neither be resisted nor restrained. While the national assembly boasted of the advantages they had gained, they themselves were overwhelmed by the brutal interference of the populace. Louis XVI. was no longer King of France; it was Bailly, the mayor, or La Fayette. The latter was one of the young noblesse who had served with distinction under the colours of Washington, and who had returned from North America deeply imbued with that spirit of republicanism which now seemed to take full possession of all minds in France. During forty years, the French guards, under Marshal Biron, had presented a perfect model of discipline and attachment to their king; they were now gained over by gold, wine, and debauchery, to take part with the conspirators. It was found necessary to disband them. Their example had a fatal effect on the rest of the army. The invalids themselves, those living monuments of French honour, became at once perjured and ungrateful, and seemed to regain their youth to run a criminal career. A medal was struck in honour of the revolutionists who had taken the Bastille, and pompous obsequies were given to all who had fallen in the assault. France, generally, celebrated the destruction of that fortress as an important victory; and there were even priests who did not hesitate to eulogise the triumph from the pulpit. Among others, Fouchet, of the parish of St. Roche, sought to distinguish himself by preaching a sermon on this occasion, which was, in fact, a panegyric on rebellion. He subsequently died on the scaffold.

The emissaries of the revolutionary faction laboured with great assiduity in all parts of France to create an alarm. It was rumoured that brigands, in the pay of the court, were overrunning the country to burn the ripe corn, and with fire and sword spread desolation everywhere. Many pretended to have seen these imaginary brigands; and, in wild alarm, the whole of France flew to arms. A militia was formed, which comprehended three millions of men. Inflammatory journals fanned the increasing flame from day to day; moderate minds in the assembly were overpowered, and the factious majority set no bounds to their triumph. They caused it to be made known that they expected addresses from the sovereign courts of Paris, and from the corporations of towns and cities; and deputies from many of them appeared at their bar. Even homage like this was not sufficient for those to whom it

was rendered ; they thirsted for blood. At Paris, M. Foulon, counsellor of state, seventy years of age, and his son-in-law, the intendant of Paris, were suspended from the lamp posts and died. At St. Germain, an unfortunate miller, named Savage, was assassinated, under the pretence of being a monopoliser of corn. Similar crimes were elsewhere perpetrated ; and when the national assembly was called upon to put an end to such a state of things, Barnave, one of its members, had treated the application with derision, and scornfully asked "if the blood which had been shed was so pure, that interference on their part to prevent a recurrence of such outrages should be claimed?" Mirabeau, Petion, Chapellier, and Robespierre, could only see in such crimes acts of "wild justice" on the part of the people. An address was voted, which, after setting forth the various concessions made by the king, and the vast importance of restoring order and public tranquillity, declared that "the depositaries of power, which had been abused, ought to be tried, and punished if guilty ; and it belonged to the national assembly to pursue them for crimes committed against the nation, and to name the tribunals before which they should appear."

To the letters addressed to him, Necker, under date of the 3rd July, had replied from Basle, announcing his return. His journey was a triumphal march. Troops presented arms, deputations harangued him, and civic crowns were voted to him at various places on the road. On the day of his arrival at Versailles, there was a general illumination in honour of the happy event. Inexpressible transports welcomed him when he appeared in Paris on the following day. He repaired to the hall of the assembly, and earnestly exerted himself to put a stop to illegal executions, and to save the lives of certain individuals who were the objects of public vengeance.

Though the national assembly had declared it would maintain the ancient constitution of the kingdom, they soon occupied themselves with framing a new one. On the 11th of July, La Fayette presented his celebrated declaration of rights. It was as follows :

"Nature has made men free and equal. The distinctions necessary to social order are founded only on general utility.

"Every man is born with rights inalienable and imprescriptible : such are, the freedom of all his opinions ; the care of his honour and his life ; the right of property ; the entire disposal of his person, of his labour, of all his faculties ; the communication of all his thoughts, by all possible means ; the seeking his own welfare ; and resistance to oppression.

"The exercise of natural rights has no limits but those which secure the enjoyment of them to the other members of society.

"No man can be subjected to laws, except consented to by himself or his representatives, previously promulgated, and legally applied.

"The principle of all sovereignty resides in the nation. No body, no individual, can have any authority which does not expressly emanate from it.

"The only end of every government is the good of the community. That

interest requires that the legislative, executive, and judicial powers, should be distinct and definite, and that their organization should ensure the free representation of the citizens, the responsibility of the agents, and the impartiality of the judges.

“The laws ought to be clear, precise, and uniform for all the citizens.

“Taxes should be freely consented to, and proportionately levied.

“And as the introduction of abuses, and the right of succeeding generations, make necessary the revision of every human establishment, it ought to be possible for the nation to have, in certain cases, an extraordinary convocation of the deputies, whose sole object should be to examine the constitution, and, if necessary, to correct its defects.”

The declaration was discussed in many sittings, and eventually it was ordered to be placed at the head of the French constitutional code. On the same day when this was carried, an attack on individual properties was made in the assembly. At a banquet given at Versailles by M. de la Borde de Méréville, when the evening was advanced, before the party broke up, some demonstrations hostile to the revolutionists were made. White cockades were distributed by the ladies, and the tricoloured flag was trampled under foot. The Viscount de Noailles, a member of a family who owed everything to royalty, and who had been himself an object of marked favour, ascended the tribune, declaimed against feudal rights, as part of a tyrannical institution, and moved for their abolition. The Duke d'Aiguillon, whose race also was indebted for all that it possessed to the generosity or gratitude of kings, and Count Matthew Montmorency, a name dear to the noblesse and the nation, strongly supported the motion, and the abolition called for was decreed, amidst clamorous shouts of approbation.

That decree was the signal for the rapid suppression of all the rights and privileges which had been considered inherent in certain orders of the state, whether claimed by provinces, cities, communities, corporations, or individuals. “On that night,” says M. Hue, “it may be said the French monarchy was given up to pillage. Feudal rents, seigniorial rights, tithes, pensions, and other distinctions and advantages enjoyed, were all assailed. It was further agreed, that that sitting should be consecrated by the striking of a medal, which should bear on its exergue these words: “To the abolition of all privileges; to the perfect union of the provinces and all citizens.” To Louis XVI. they decreed the title of “Restorer of liberty;” and a solemn *Te Deum* was sung on the occasion in the chapel at Versailles, at which the national assembly attended.

Louis witnessed these proceedings with grief and apprehension. Seeking comfort in religion, he ordered, by a circular letter, that public prayers should be put up in all the churches, to implore the blessing of God on the national assembly and its labours. The ministers, becoming alarmed at the distress which prevailed, appeared at the bar of the assembly, and called on that body to take effectual measures for preserving public order, and

suggested the expediency of granting a loan. A loan was granted, but the assembly did nothing more in consequence of the application. They, however, having adopted the declaration of "the rights of man," proceeded with the new constitution. The deputies who remained faithful to their monarch, endeavoured to render the constitution itself an ægis for his protection ; and they succeeded in getting it made one of the fundamental articles, that the person of the king should be regarded as sacred and inviolable, and that the throne was to be considered indivisible. The monarchy was recognised, but the monarch was almost erased from it. The rights of the nation, or rather those of its despotic representatives, were everything ; those of the king nothing ! It opposed to the sovereign a colossus of democracy, which no barrier suffered to remain could for a moment resist. That the meetings of the legislature were to be held in one single chamber destroyed the faction of Dauphiny, and disconcerted that of M. de Necker, who, as already stated, wished for an upper and a lower chamber, on the model of the English parliament.

On the 17th September, the president, Count Stanislas de Clermont Tonnerre, waited on the king to receive his sanction to the decrees which had been voted. His majesty sent some observations on them in writing to the assembly, which offended the majority, who desired that the decrees might be promulgated without delay. On this being urged, the king replied by consenting to order the immediate publication, and declaring that, from the disposition manifested by the deputies, he could not but feel justified in assenting to such laws as they might decree.

By this time Louis was so depressed, that he had no courage to meet any demands his imperious subjects might think proper to advance. To have dissolved the assembly, and put himself at the head of his army, might have saved the nation from the anarchy which followed ; but the state of public feeling being considered, when it is seen that those in whom he most confided were from day to day induced to desert his cause, and bearing in mind that he was conscious of being surrounded by spies, even in the interior of the palace, who were ready to interpret, as best suited the purpose of his enemies, his every word and look, it will be seen how difficult, not to say impossible, it was for the unhappy monarch to extricate himself by any effort of resolution from the fearful labyrinth in which he was involved.

It was a question whether, in the work of legislation, the king should have a veto. M. de Necker addressed a memoir to the assembly, in which he was for giving him a "suspensive veto." The minister's writing was treated as an act of presumption on his part, towards those whom he addressed. They refused to open his letter, and came to a resolution, in the same sitting, that the suspensive veto to be granted to the king should cease after a second act of legislation on the part of the assembly.

At the request of the municipality of Versailles, Louis caused a body of troops, the regiment of Flanders, the chasseurs of the three bishoprics, and

the hussars of Berchiny, to attend, for the purpose of maintaining order. The cry was immediately raised that a counter revolution was intended. Some dinners, given reciprocally by the officers of the troops, whose services were thus required, and those of the king's household, elected on the part of the *gardes du corps*, were distinguished by marked expressions of attachment to the royal family. These were regarded with gloomy suspicion, and made the subject of bitter reproach.

A storm was now preparing at Paris, which threatened to burst on the château at Versailles. Ominous whispers were in circulation of distributions of money, of salaries paid to journalists, and of the meditated flight of the king. All the grievances which had lately been the subject of complaint were carefully treasured up, and industriously used by the Orleanist faction, to inflame the existing discontent; and the multitude, not suspecting the artifice, were already gained over. Wherever the Duke of Orleans moved, he was constantly surrounded by an admiring crowd, who greeted him with enthusiastic shouts of "Long live Orleans, our king!" "Long live the father of the people!"

On the morning of the 5th October, the leaders of this party gave the signal, and a crowd of furies issued from all the quarters, frantically exclaiming "Bread!" "Bread!" The municipal officers assembled at the Hotel de Ville. Thither La Fayette sent one of his aide-de-camps, to know their pleasure. The answer returned was, that the commandant should immediately proceed to Versailles. The Parisian army assembled, with its colours and guns, and commenced its march at five o'clock in the evening. At two o'clock a number of females had set out for Versailles, accompanied by brigands and vagabonds of every description, and of all countries, who were armed with sabres, poniards, and pistols. A young man, named Maillard, was their leader and chief orator.

Violent dissensions occurred in the national assembly on their receiving an answer from the king, to their demand that he should sanction their declaration of "the rights of man." Approving of the general principles which it asserted, he reserved to himself the right of forming a judgment of the particular circumstances which might call for their application. The evil disposed called that a formal refusal, which was really no more than a legitimate withholding his assent for a time. A most violent and indecorous debate followed, in the course of which the feast of the *gardes du corps* was spoken of in the most offensive terms, as part of a series of counter revolutionary orgies, got up to favour the sinister designs of the court. "Liberty," said one of the deputies, "is attacked. It is a tree which will not flourish if it be not watered with blood." In some of the outrageously declamatory speeches made on this occasion, the name of the queen was very offensively mentioned. One of the deputies faithful to the king called for proofs of the facts stated. "Declare positively," said Mirabeau, "that everything which is in the kingdom, and which is not king, is subject, and

the proofs you require shall be presently forthcoming." In the end, it was ordered that the president should wait on the king for his simple fiat to the constitutional articles which they had decreed. His majesty had gone that morning to Meudon, one of his country seats, and the message of the assembly could not be communicated till he returned.

Intelligence was now received that the army of Paris was on its way to Versailles. Alarming rumours were circulated among the deputies, when, about four o'clock, having closed their sittings, the women who had left Paris with their brigand and rabble associates, burst into the hall, calling for bread, demanding that the *gardes du corps* should be punished for insulting the national cockade, and insisting that the capital should be immediately provisioned. Louis was informed by a courier of what had occurred, and of the approach of the revolutionary army. He immediately hastened to Versailles. Between five and six o'clock, a multitude of women, having journeyed through a thick fog, entered the avenue from Paris. A deputation from them claimed an audience; and one female, whose appearance was neither indicative of misery nor of an abject condition, was admitted to the king's presence. She made a short speech, which terminated by her saying "the people of Paris demanded bread." His majesty promised to send an order to the greniers of Corbeil and Etampes to furnish as large a supply of grain and flour as they could possibly procure. The woman went forth and communicated to those without what had passed. They refused to be satisfied unless they had it in the king's handwriting; and this demand being made known to him, the monarch immediately complied with it. Some of the women were disposed to exult in what had been effected, and one shouted "Long live the king!" but a companion instantly stopped her mouth. "Hold your tongue," said she, "that's not what we are to say." The cry for bread was merely a pretext set up by the Orleanists.

Hour after hour teemed with the most dismal reports from Paris. According to some of them, a body consisting of bishops, deputies, and members of the third estate of the right side, had been insulted by brigands, armed with pikes and sabres. Other accounts made it appear that one of the *gardes du corps*, returning to Versailles on horseback, had been thus apostrophised, "Go and announce at the château that we shall soon come there to take off the queen's head."

The drums beating "the generale," the dismal sound of the tocsin, the ferocious howlings of the brigands, the boisterous voices of the women from the Paris markets, the darkness of the night, the fog, and the rain, altogether furnished a most appalling scene. At three o'clock, the body guards in attendance mounted their horses, to defend the entrances to the palace. From the national guard a pistol shot was fired, which broke an officer's arm. The king's guards, upon this, were disposed instantly to charge; but their superior officers, representing to them the critical position of the king, restrained them. In the evening, preparations were made by the national¹

guard for an attack. The *gardes du corps* were, thereupon, ordered to return to the château. Their position had been painful in the extreme. From the crowd opposed to them, in which there were many men disguised as females, stones had been thrown at them with violence; and they had been overwhelmed with the most outrageous invectives. The king, however, had ordered the greatest moderation to be used in any case; and, to ensure attention to this command, the guards had not a single cartridge with them, but those with which their muskets and pistols were loaded.

Among the arts used to seduce the military from the royal cause, it ought to be mentioned were dissolute females. These were artfully sent among the soldiers by the Orleans party, and, by their blandishments, the regiment of Flanders was prevailed upon to abandon the king.

In this situation of things, it was proposed that the royal family should withdraw; but to that M. de Necker would not consent. The carriages had been ordered out; on his representations they were sent back to the stables. It was then suggested that the queen and her children should be sent to Rambouillet; but she rejected that council, which had for its object her safety alone. "The person of the king," said she, "is in danger. Never, no never, will I forsake him. I will share his fate, whatever it may be. If they wish for my death, I am prepared to submit."

The king, at length, on the demand of the national assembly being submitted to him, was advised by M. Mounier to yield to a power which he could not withstand. He submitted, and accepted the articles of the constitution. "I accept purely and simply," he wrote with his own hand, "the articles of the constitution, and the declaration of the rights of man, which the national assembly have presented to me." This assent being read to the assembly, called forth loud applause.

In the course of the evening, the columns of the Parisian army began to arrive; and between ten and eleven o'clock, La Fayette brought his advanced guard to the entrance of the château. He was admitted to an interview with the king, and assured him of the purity of his intentions, and of those of the national guard. He requested that that post might be confided to him, which, since the defection of some of the guards, had been held by troops of the line. To that the king did not object. La Fayette then retired. Waving his hand to the *gardes du corps*, he said, as he went out, "Gentlemen, everything is arranged. The former French guards will resume their posts at the château, and the king wishes that you should to-morrow adopt the national cockade. Immediately afterwards, the *gardes du corps* were ordered into the gardens and to the château de Trianon. They were preparing for repose, when they were informed an attack upon them was meditated. Dispersed in the several avenues, the Duke de Guiche found they were in no condition to sustain a charge of infantry, and, in consequence, received his majesty's commands to remove them to Rambouillet; and from that moment no more troops remained to the king in Versailles than were

necessary for the ordinary service of the royal family, and the duty of the palace.

A sitting was held that night in the hall, in which the means of supplying the capital with provisions came under discussion ; subsequently, the deputies occupied themselves with certain articles of the criminal code. They did not break up till half-past two o'clock, and the brigands from Paris were allowed to pass the night in the hall. After the sitting, the parish church of St. Louis was lighted up, and the curé was called upon, under circumstances of extravagant burlesque, to celebrate a mass. That done, the conspirators embraced each other, promised fidelity to the cause, and prepared for scenes of carnage.

The first rays of light, on the following morning, had scarcely fallen on the abode of the king, when a rabble of men and women, led on by some of the deputies in disguise, broke into the château, and filled in an instant the terrace, the gardens, and the courts. Frightfully discordant sounds were heard. "Give us the head of the queen!" "Down with the queen!" "Louis shall no longer be king!" "The Duke of Orleans shall reign over us!" "He will give us bread!" were some of the cries of the banditti. The market women, with their fierce screams, added to the odious confusion of the tumult. "Where is that * * * * wretch?" "Bring her to us dead or alive!" "Let us see Marie Antoinette—she has often danced here for her own pleasure, now we will make her dance for ours!" "Let us cut off her head! We will devour her heart!" were some of their ferocious expressions, mingled with others too offensive to decorum to be here repeated. Two of the body guards, who were faithful to their duty, were struck down, and left on the ground covered with wounds. The crowd forced their way into the building. Two ladies in attendance on the queen, whose attachment had caused them to remain near her all that night, being suddenly awaked, gave the alarm. Her majesty hastily slipped on a petticoat, threw a mantle over her shoulders, and passed by a passage to the king's apartment. She heard the intruders exclaim, "We must hang her!" "We will cut her throat!" Scarcely had she quitted her chamber, when it was invaded. A thousand imprecations were breathed by the disappointed assassins, at finding that the queen was not there. Fearing for the life of his son, the king had hastened to the chamber of the dauphin, and carried him off in his arms.

In the first moment of attack, two of the *gardes du corps*, who would not abandon their post, were massacred. Their heads were taken off, mounted on pikes, and carried about in triumph. The wretch who decapitated them was a man who wore a long black beard. His aspect was savage, his arms were naked, his hands and clothes were stained with blood, and he proudly exhibited the axe, the instrument of his cruelty. This monster, whose name was Nicholas Jourdan, was accustomed to sit as a model to the academy for painting and sculpture. His labours that day obtained for him the surname

of *head cutter*. The *gardes du corps* were assailed, and compelled to assume the caps of the grenadiers to save their lives. Eighteen of them, about to be savagely butchered, were spared through the interference of La Fayette, who called upon them to take the oath of fidelity to the king and the nation, and ordered them to hold up their hands in token of their being content to do so. La Fayette then waited upon the king, and informed him that it was the wish of the people that he should on that very day take up his residence in Paris. He painted to him in glowing colours the danger to which he would expose himself by a refusal. The king yielded, and announced from the balcony that he was about to proceed with his family to the capital. "Let the queen show herself," some of the multitude called out. She immediately stepped forward, leading the dauphin in one hand, and the princess royal in the other. "No children," roared the same voices, and the royal infants were withdrawn. The queen remained alone. Her grace and firmness commanded the admiration of the crowd, and the assassins were for a moment disconcerted.

All being ready for their departure at one o'clock, the king, the queen, the young princess, Monsieur, Madame, Madame Elizabeth, and the Marchioness de Tourzel, entered the carriage which drew up for their reception. Their cortège consisted of trains of artillery, munitions of war, provisions, brigands armed with pikes, and drunken females covered with mud. Some of their guards were on horseback, others on foot, variously armed with muskets and sabres. The soldiers and the mob raised dismal cries, and frequently sung indecent songs. The carriage was immediately surrounded by a body of cavalry, mingled with foot soldiers, national guards,



and women. Cannon, loaded with grape shot, were constantly pointed at them. The livid heads of the two guards who had been slaughtered were

carried before them, and the monsters who bore them seemed proud of their atrocity. His axe on his shoulder, the horrible *head cutter* was conspicuous in the crowd, his face red with blood. Their cruelty was associated with such wantonness, "that," according to M. Hue, "passing through the village of Séves, they stopped to have the hair of the two gory heads dressed and powdered," to heighten the disgusting extravagance of the spectacle.

After a tedious march of six hours duration, the king entered Paris. At the barrier he was met by Bailly, the mayor, who addressed him in a formal complimentary strain, to which the king replied, "That it was always with pleasure and with confidence that he entered his good city of Paris." It must have cost him an effort to make such a statement in that moment of peril and constraint.

Forced to reside in Paris, the king invited the national assembly to transfer their sittings to the capital, which they did. The Duke of Orleans waited on the king, who received him without bitterness; but called his attention to the various sinister acts imputed to him. He accepted his submission; but, in order to tranquillise the city, ordered him to proceed to England; and, under the pretext of being charged with a special mission, the duke set out for London. Some of the emissaries of his faction, however, were stationed at Boulogne, where he was to embark, in order to compel him to return to Paris; and the positive orders of the king and the national assembly were necessary to make him continue his journey.

The first care of the king was to endeavour to provide for the capital being properly supplied with provisions; and the queen, to relieve the suffering poor, engaged to redeem from the *Monte de Piété* all articles, such as linen and household goods, which had been pledged for sums not exceeding twenty-four livres. But the most outrageous calumnies continued to be daily circulated against the king, and more especially against the queen. They were exposed to a series of wanton insults; and, confined within the walls of Paris, it was only during certain hours in the day that they were allowed to promenade the garden of the Tuileries. This restraint was so long continued, that at length the royal sufferers became objects of pity; and a deputation from the municipality, with the mayor at their head, petitioned the assembly that the king might be allowed the indulgence of the chase, which, from his being long accustomed to it, had become necessary to his health; but Louis expressed himself content to give it up, in the then state of public affairs.

But no act of condescension, no self denial, could appease the rancorous foes of royalty. A general insurrection was planned for the 19th of October. The bakers were ordered to bake no bread the preceding night. The few who disobeyed saw their shops attacked and pillaged the next morning. One unfortunate offender was dragged to the Place de Grève, and there hanged to a lamp-post. His head being cut off, was placed on a pike, and carried about the city, and exhibited in the shops of the bakers whom they wished to punish or intimidate. The widow of the murdered man was at

that time *enceinte*. In some degree to soothe her distress, the queen promised to be godmother to her infant, and munificently assisted, in various ways, the bereft mourner.

By degrees the popular effervescence seemed to subside ; and, anxious to go with the tide, the assembly thought it expedient to offer the king a public mark of their homage and respect. Its president, Freteau, who had gained celebrity from his hatred of the court, appeared unexpectedly at the Tuileries, with an address, expressive of the gratitude and admiration which they felt for a king who had sacrificed so much to restore peace to his subjects. Louis, though wholly unprepared, made on the moment a suitable reply. They then waited on the queen, who, regretting that she had not been aware of their coming, that she might have received them more worthily, presented to them the dauphin. Shouts of "Long live the queen !" and "Long live the dauphin !" replied to her majesty's acknowledgments. The members of the assembly retired highly gratified, and Marie Antoinette for a moment forgot her sorrows.

But the restless spirits which had been so long at work still continued their efforts to accomplish the overthrow of the monarchy. The ancient forms of law were set aside ; the privileges of the clergy were fiercely assailed ; disturbances were excited in the provinces, and the land was inundated with paper money, under the denomination of assignats. The first issue of four hundred millions was followed by one of eight hundred millions ; and paper could hardly be manufactured fast enough for the purposes of the new issues which rapidly followed. The fatal consequences of this were soon felt in the commercial world ; and ruin and distress was everywhere deplored. At the same time, the law was profaned by the shedding of innocent blood. The Marquis de Favras, accused of having formed a scheme for withdrawing the king from Paris, in the absence of legitimate proof, was given up by the magistrates to suffer an ignominious death.

In some of the provinces, however, a disposition manifested itself to throw off the yoke of the revolutionists. France, at that moment, presented the melancholy spectacle of a captive king, and a people deprived of liberty. The factious, feeling their popularity was in the wane, wishing to secure themselves at all events, resolved to obtain a public recognition of everything they had done from the king. Such being their purpose, he was assured that taking the course which they recommended was the only means of averting the horrors of a civil war ; and yielding to their representations on the 4th of February, 1790, he appeared in the national assembly, where he promised to support the constitution, to teach his son to respect the new order of things ; and, finally, he called on them to join with him to enlighten the people, who were misled as to their true interests. By this step it was considered Louis declared himself the chief of the revolution. On his return to the château, a deputation followed him, to wait upon the queen. In answer to the address made to her, her majesty declared that she shared all

the sentiments of the king, and, presenting her son to them, promised to teach him, from his earliest years, to respect public liberty, and to maintain the laws of which she hoped he would one day be the firmest support.

The revolutionists, not content with disturbing Paris, excited disaffection in the colonies. The plantations were fired, trade was at a stand, and the wealth which had been accustomed to flow from them into France, was now turned into other channels, or utterly annihilated.

On the 8th of April, the Duchess d'Angoulême communicated for the first time. Louis, on this occasion, admonished her with great solemnity. He directed her to raise her thoughts to Heaven; and remarking that, as yet, she did not know whether it would be her destiny to continue in France, or to wander elsewhere, he added: "Do good as often as you can. Above all, my child, solace the unfortunate by every means in your power. God caused us to be born in the rank which is ours that we might labour for their happiness, and relieve their distresses."

The Duke of Orleans, who had been sent to England on a special mission, returned to France, and re-appeared in the national assembly on the 11th of July. He was received by the king and queen; but the evil disposed members of his party were encouraged by his again coming among them, and their former intrigues were renewed. The civic fête of the general federation of the national guards of France, which took place three days afterwards, favoured their views. It was appointed for the 14th July, the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille. Every corps of the army of the line, and all the divisions of the national militia, elected a certain number of deputies to represent them at this festival. On the 13th, the federals from the provinces attended to compliment the king. La Fayette was at their head. He spoke for them; and having eulogised the monarch for giving France a constitution founded on liberty and public order, declared the national guards swore to render his majesty an obedience without bounds save those of the law, and an attachment which should know no period but that of their lives." The king made a grateful reply. The deputies were then presented by La Fayette, according to the order of their departments. The scene awokemany touching reminiscences; and the whole spectacle, which was presented in the Champ de Mars, was one of extraordinary splendour. A large space was enclosed, which was converted into an immense circus, bordered by grass. All ages, sexes, ranks and condition, laboured, as with one common accord, to heighten the effect. Raised banks enclosed the whole when finished, after the manner of an amphitheatre. To render the preparations for the civic fête complete, the ranks of the several orders joined in the necessary labours, mixed up with the lowest rabble, and exposed to their jibes and insults. In the centre of the circus a little mountain appeared, on which was established a pyramid. This was termed "the altar of the country." At each of its angles a vase of antique form gave forth clouds of incense. Various inscriptions favourable to liberty and humanity,

and emblematical representations, decorated the altar and pyramid. At the extremity of the field of Mars, opposite the bridge of boats thrown over the Seine for the passage of the federals and the national assembly, an arch of triumph was erected, with three arcades leading into the circus. At the opposite side, and in front of the facade of the royal military school, a long series of sloping steps reached to the altar. Eight covered galleries were raised above, and in the midst of these the throne for the king was prepared. Raised somewhat higher, a tribune had been erected for the queen, and for the accommodation of the rest of the royal family.

On the morning of the 14th, the inhabitants of Paris repaired to the Champ de Mars in an orderly manner, and occupied the raised banks and the slopes left open for them. The federals, as well as the regular troops, and the national guards, entered the enclosed space by the triumphal arch, forming circular and corresponding lines, over which waved the banners of the departments, and the sixty flags of the districts of the capital. Between the lines of soldiers advanced in succession the electors of Paris, the representatives of the commune, and the national assembly.

Superbly attired, and wearing all his orders, the king, accompanied by the queen and the royal family, arrived in a state carriage at the military school. His ministers and court followed. He proceeded to the council room, where he waited till all was ready in the enclosure, when he moved forward to the throne prepared for him. He seated himself, having on his right the Marquis de Bonnay, the president of the assembly. The queen, the dauphin, and other members of the royal family, took their places in the tribune which has been mentioned. All being seated, La Fayette dismounted from his horse, and advanced to the steps of the throne to receive his majesty's commands. He then left the circus, caused the troops to perform various evolutions, and the federals were drawn up round the altar. Two thousand musicians mingled the sound of their instruments with the salvoes of the cannon, and the roar of muskets. The bishop of Autun, assisted by a great number of priests, celebrated mass; and this concluded, the king took an oath tendered to him, conceived in these terms: "I promise to be faithful to the nation and the law, and to maintain, by every means in my power, the articles of the constitution decreed by the national assembly."

The president of the assembly, the representatives of the commune, the electors of Paris, and, in succession, the various detachments of federals, afterwards took the prescribed oath. The completion of the ceremony was announced by the cannon of the capital and the municipalities. The news of the event, in this manner rapidly conveyed from place to place, was in a few moments made known to all France."

At the request of the federals, the king and queen presented to them the dauphin. He was greeted with loud acclamations. Marie Antoinette happily recalled to their memory that moment when her illustrious mother, holding in her arms a son, then an infant in his cradle, placed him under the

protection of her brave and faithful Hungarians, who received the precious charge with shouts of "We will all die for our king, Maria Theresa!"

The hopes inspired by the manifestations of good feeling on the part of the federals soon vanished, and the 14th July, 1790, was said to be the day which kindled the funereal fire of the ancient constitution of the kingdom. In three successive years, it was remarked that that day had been fruitful of disaster to France. On the 14th July, 1788, a storm of hailstones of immense size laid waste fifty leagues of land; on the 14th July, 1789, Paris raised against its king the standard of revolt, (that event at least was celebrated on the anniversary of the taking of the Bastille); and on the 14th of July, 1790, rebellion was spread over the whole kingdom, and assumed a legal shape.

Shortly after this federation scene, Necker, lately the idol of the nation, having experienced much bitter disappointment, was happy to obtain permission from the leaders of the assembly to withdraw into Switzerland, and there shelter himself from the violence with which he was threatened from the hands of assassins. The assembly heard the letter read which announced his resignation with transport; Paris and the provinces learned the news with utter indifference.

The decree which required every ecclesiastical functionary, whatever his rank, to take the oath of fidelity to the constitution, offended the king's religious principles. He resisted; but being informed that if he still held out, the people would attack the priests and the noblesse, he made the sacrifice required, and, on the 26th December, gave his sanction to the obnoxious decree, "a sanction which, in his heart," says Hue, "was immediately retracted."

To avoid the dangers which threatened the royal family, Mesdames Adelaide and Victoria, the king's aunts, on the 21st February, 1791, took their departure from the capital, intending to leave the kingdom. This caused great excitement in Paris; and it was reported that Monsieur and the king were immediately to follow. The market women, and a numerous rabble, repaired to the Luxembourg palace, and sharply questioned Monsieur on the subject, who had the address, after a conference, to dismiss them in good humour. New disturbances from week to week occurred, not of great importance in themselves, but sufficiently ominous of what was to follow. On the 2nd of April Mirabeau died. It was by many suspected that he had been poisoned by the Orleanists, under the impression, from the course he had latterly pursued, that he had sold himself to the royalists. He, like Necker, had experienced the fickleness of popular feeling. His constant adversary, Barnave, was carried about in triumph by the people. "A few days back," said Mirabeau, "they treated me in the same way; and now the cry in the streets is 'the great treason of the Count de Mirabeau.' I wanted not this lesson to teach me that, where the people govern, it is but one step from the capitol to the Tarpeian rock." When dying, his words

were, "Weep not for me, my friends, but for the monarchy which sinks with me to the tomb."

The king, since his forced residence at Paris, had been allowed to go backwards and forwards to St. Cloud. There he wished to spend the Easter week. He had entered his carriage with his queen and family, and was about to set out, when, a report having got abroad that he meditated flight, the mutinous soldiery opposed his intended exit from the château; and though La Fayette exerted himself to enable him to proceed to St. Cloud, after being exposed to the grossest insults for two hours, Louis found it necessary to abandon his design. Of the obstruction he had met with the king complained next day to the national assembly. The president replied, that "such alarms were inseparable from the progress of liberty; but when those knots should have been drawn tighter which bound his majesty to the revolution, all suspicion on the part of the people would cease." To the assembly, however, the appeal thus made was not a little embarrassing, as it tended to strengthen the belief which was gaining ground both in and out of the kingdom, that the king was in a state of captivity.

From the increasing manifestations of animosity towards the priests, the king felt it his duty to request those who were most attached to his person to consult their own safety by withdrawing from the Tuileries. With the like feeling, he dismissed several of the nobility, as did the queen the princess de Chimay, her lady of honour, a model of piety, to save her from daily insults. The despotic faction compelled the king to hear mass in the parish church of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, where the former curé had been sent away, for refusing to take the oath prepared by the national assembly. The king submitted. The Princess Elizabeth declared that, on the day when his majesty went to the parish church, she would hear mass from one of her own chaplains in the château. The most bitter threats were vented against her; but, firm to her purpose, though infamous placards were posted in the château to intimidate, she would not yield, but heard mass from her own chaplain.

For some time past, various plans for escaping had been submitted to the king, none of which he felt disposed to countenance; but worn out by the continued annoyances to which he was subjected, he at length was induced to approve of a scheme which had been concerted by the Baron de Breteuil and the Marquis de Bouillé. It was arranged that he should set out for Montmédy on the night of the 19th June. 'It was, however, put off till the following night, when the ill fated monarch attempted to fly, disguised as a valet-de-chambre in the service of the queen, who assumed the name of the Baroness de Koorpf. They left Paris, and arrived at Menéhould, at some leagues from the frontier, when the person of Louis was recognised by one Drouet, a post-master, who took measures for intercepting him at the bridge of Varennes; and he was brought back to Paris, escorted by the whole population of the country, and a strong body of the national guards. The

entrance of Louis into the capital recalled the scene of the 6th of October, Three of his body guards, who had accompanied him in his flight, were fast bound on the seat of the carriage ; Petion and Barnave, who had been sent from the assembly, were seated between the king and queen. The national guards attended him to the Tuileries ; and when he had entered the garden, they fastened the doors upon him.

After his flight on the morning of the 21st, nothing was talked of in Paris but the escape of the king. Uneasiness, fear and stupor, were painted on every countenance. The national assembly affected an air of calmness. In the course of a sitting held that day, a paper which had been found on the king's table, in the handwriting of Louis, was laid before them.

In this document, the king declared, that while he had hoped to see order restored he thought little of any personal sacrifice required from him ; but notwithstanding all that he had done, finding royalty degraded, and France reduced to a state of anarchy, after solemnly protesting against those acts which had been exacted from him during his captivity, he desired to submit to France and the universe an exposition of his conduct, widely different as it was from that of the new government.

He then took a review of the concessions and sacrifices which he had made ; the convocation of the states general ; the double representation of the third estate ; the declaration of the 23rd June ; the meeting of the several orders, which he himself had accelerated ; the sending the troops from Versailles, which had been necessarily brought there to repress disorder ; the transfer of his residence from Versailles to Paris ; the disbanding of his faithful *gardes du corps*, and his confiding his palace and his person to the rebel soldiers of the French guards and the national guards ; and, in fine, the captivity of himself and family in Paris. Next, he examined the constitution, which he declared could not fail to multiply the evils which France had already to deplore. Finding it impossible to do good or to prevent evil, he added, he had sought to place himself and family in safety. He invited the French to return to their king, their father and their best friend, who had no wish but to see a constitution framed which should establish on firm bases public and individual liberty, with security to property. In conclusion, the king forbade his ministers to sign any document in his name, and enjoined the keeper of the seals to send them to him when they should be required.

The differences which had previously existed between many of the leading members of the national assembly, from that moment, appeared at an end. Instead of attending to the wishes of the king, as above expressed, the seals were sent the same day by M. Duport-du-Tertre to the assembly. Robespierre, Petion, Buzot, and other deputies connected with the club of the Cordeliers, were on the alert to turn the incident to account. The insignia of royalty, and the fleurs-de-lis, were indignantly torn down by the populace in various parts of Paris ; and a paper was put forth, written by the Marquis

de Condorcet, calling for a declaration that the king had abdicated. It was immediately decreed by the national assembly that the ministers should receive their commands.

They were not long in a state of uncertainty about the king. On the evening of the 22nd, a courier arrived from the municipality of Varennes, bringing the intelligence that he had been there arrested. Commissioners were immediately despatched to bring him to Paris, which was effected in the manner already described.

An instance of devotion on the one hand, and of savage brutality on the other, in connection with the return, ought to be preserved. The Marquis de Dampierre, informed of the new misfortune which had overtaken the royal family, hastened to St Menéhould, at the moment when the king was about to enter that town. Unmindful of danger, he forced his way through the crowd, and approaching the royal carriage, bowed with respect to the captive monarch, and attempted to kiss his hand. He was instantly shot in the presence of Louis, and breathed his last exclaiming "Vive le roi!"

After this abortive attempt at flight, the royal family were more closely guarded than ever. On the day after their return to Paris, three commissioners, named by the national assembly, came, at eight o'clock in the evening, to demand from the king and queen a declaration in writing of the motives and circumstances which had prompted and favoured their departure. Their majesties, in their answers, were careful not to compromise any one. The exercise of the royal prerogative was immediately provisionally withdrawn from Louis. A few days afterwards, the question was raised in the assembly, whether the flight of the king amounted to a crime. The decision came to was, that though, in the eyes of reason and natural justice, it must be viewed as such, it was not a crime in the eye of the law. It was decreed that the king could not be brought to trial, but that General Bouillé, and the officers who had assisted him to withdraw, should be brought before the high national court then sitting provisionally at Orleans. This decree gave great offence to the Jacobin party.

The society of Jacobins took their name from meeting in the church of the Dominicans, who had been called Jacobins from the circumstance of their monastery having been originally established in the rue St. Jacques. Those who now met in a place once devoted to the service of the the Most High were said to make a jest of religion, while their conduct was at variance with all morality. They were accused of encouraging robbery and assassination, and to have assiduously laboured to make their calumniated monarch an object of hatred from one end of the kingdom to the other. Such is the description given of them by the royalists; but the revolutionist, La Fayette, does not paint a much more flattering picture of this notorious association. In a letter addressed to the national assembly, at a subsequent period, when the allied powers threatened invasion, he thus expresses his sentiments in regard to the Jacobins. France, it should be remembered, was then in a very

disturbed state : "Can you dissemble to yourselves that a faction (and, that I may avoid all vague denunciation,) that the Jacobin faction has caused all these disorders? Upon that faction I loudly charge them. Organised as a distinct empire in its metropolitan and its affiliated societies; blindly directed by a few ambitious leaders, that political sect forms a separate corporation in the midst of the French people, whose powers it usurps, by dictating to their representatives and their agents. There, in public sittings, attachment to the laws is called aristocracy, and their infraction patriotism; there the assassins of Desilles are received in triumph, the crimes of Jourdan find panegyrists; there, the recital of the assassination which had disgraced the city of Metz, has just now excited infernal acclamations. Will it be thought that these reproaches can be warded off by boasting of an Austrian manifesto, in which those sectaries are named? Are they become sacred because Leopold has uttered their names? And, because it is our duty to combat the foreigners, who interfere in our quarrels, are we, therefore, dispensed from that of delivering our country from a domestic tyranny? What has this latter duty to do with projects of the foreigners, their collusion with the counter-revolutionary party, and their influence over the lukewarm friends of liberty? 'Tis I who denounce to you that sect."

At the period of which we now write, the Jacobins were divided into two parties; the one being anxious to place the Duke of Orleans on the throne. the other to convert the monarchy into a democratic government. Each regarded the attempt of the king to escape from captivity as a circumstance most favourable to their views. The leading men of their body presented a petition to the assembly, in which they engaged themselves no longer to recognise Louis as their king. Brissot de Varville was their most active member, a man who, carried away by revolutionary delirium, took a part in the most terrible scenes of the period, and, finally, closed his career on the scaffold.

A great sensation was caused by this petition. The populace had been previously disappointed by that decree, which asserted the inviolability of the monarch. In their present excited state, they ran to the several theatres, and ordered the performances to cease. Crowds assembled in the Palais Royal, and in the vicinity of the Tuileries; when suddenly Robespierre rushed out from the national assembly, and gave the signal for riot by exclaiming, "My friends, all is lost; the king is saved!" The national assembly, on being informed of these disorders, ordered measures to be taken to repress the tumult.

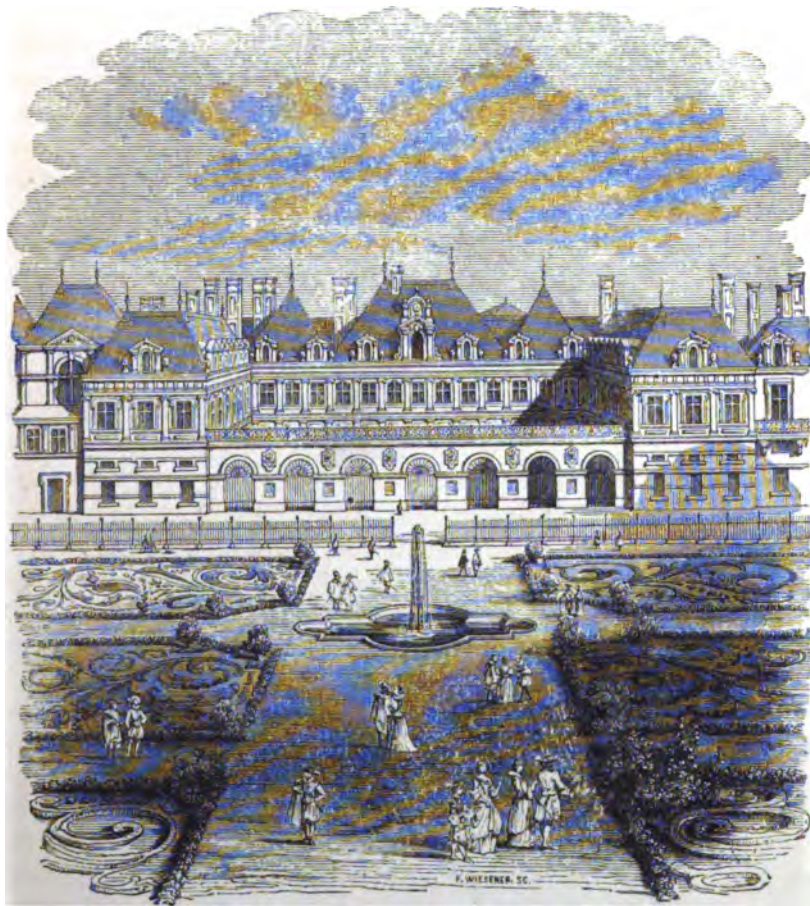
By day-break, on the 17th July, the Champ de Mars was filled with citizens, and vagabonds of every class, who, from time to time, were excited to revolt against the Bourbons, and against the assembly, by the most ferocious harangues. Two men had concealed themselves under "the altar of the country," when, having breakfasted, they amused themselves with drawing plans of the approaches to the altar. They were seized, and accused

of being conspirators, who had placed some barrels of gunpowder on the spot, for the purpose of blowing up the altar. Immediately they were suspended from the nearest lamp chain. The ropes broke, and the unfortunate wretches, then half dead, were decapitated, and, their heads being elevated on pikes, were paraded round the Champ de Mars, through the streets of Paris, and in the garden of the Palais Royal.

Such violences were of frequent occurrence. Accusation was regarded as proof, and execution preceded trial. La Fayette, who had deemed "insurrection, in certain cases, the most sacred of all duties," was compelled to admit, in not a few instances, that it was the parent of the blackest crimes.

Foreign powers did not behold what was passing in France with indifference. Monsieur and Madame, at the time of the king's abortive effort to withdraw, succeeded in making their escape. They were received with great kindness at the courts to which they repaired. A circular letter, dated July 6th, 1791, was sent from the Emperor Leopold to all the sovereigns of Europe. In this, the proceedings of the revolutionists were severely reprobated, the liberation of the king and the royal family demanded, and signal vengeance threatened in case of a refusal. On the 24th August, the Emperor, the King of Prussia, and the Elector of Saxony, met at the castle of Pilnitz, in Lusatia, and there delivered to the Count d'Artois declarations, setting forth that they considered the then situation of the King of France concerned all monarchs, and proposing a general league in his behalf. His recognition of the new constitution was declared to be void and of no effect, and M. de Bouillé was requested to submit plans of operation on the different frontiers of France. This interference gave great offence to the revolutionists. They met it with defiance, and applied themselves to increase the military force of the kingdom.

No experiment was too bold or too preposterous to find favour in the eyes of those who then swayed the destinies of a mighty nation. One measure adopted by the assembly absurdly rendered every one who had been a member of that body incapable of being re-elected. Looking at the course which they had pursued, it may be doubted if many of them were worthy of a trust so important; but to declare no individual who had once served should find a place in the new assembly, was deliberately to banish experience, declare war against intelligence, and to bespeak ignorance, incapacity, and chaotic confusion. The legislative assembly, as it was now called, met in October. One of the first cares which occupied it was to consider of adopting a new ceremonial for the reception of the king. It was proposed that two sofas should be prepared, one for him and one for their president, and that the former should be expected to seat himself to the left of the latter. The members were to be standing, uncovered, when the king was expected to arrive, but, on his appearance, to sit and put on their hats; and it was resolved that the monarch should not be addressed as heretofore, but as "King of the French." When this injurious decree transpired, Louis



The Royal Palace.

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refused to meet the assembly. The resolution thus manifested called forth general approbation; and the assembly thought fit to rescind their decree. That done, on the 7th, Louis met them, and opened their session with a gracious speech, in which he declared it to be his wish that needful reforms should be effected, order restored, and, especially, that perfect concord between himself and those he addressed should prevail.

This harmony was of brief duration. A disposition more decidedly revolutionary than had previously been witnessed shewed itself in the assembly. In November, a decree passed, declaring Monsieur to have forfeited all claims to the succession, unless he returned to France within two months, and strong measures were adopted against emigrants. It was decreed that such of them as remained in a state of hostility to the new order of things, beyond the ensuing month of January, should be regarded as civilly dead, and their property seized, but without prejudice to their wives, children, and creditors, who pursued a different course. To this decree, as also to one directed against the non juring clergy, Louis opposed his veto. Such an exercise of constitutional power exasperated the friends of liberty almost to madness.

The German powers, who had manifested a disposition to interfere, continued their warlike preparations. On the 1st March the Emperor Leopold died, and was succeeded by his son, Francis II. The same policy was pursued; and it was now demanded on the part of France, through her ambassador, that the imperial court should make known what were the ultimate objects of that arming which continued to go forward. A note from M. Cobentzel removed all doubt, by stating that the only condition on which peace could be preserved, was, the restoration of the French monarchy to the basis on which it had been established in the royal sitting of June 23rd, 1789. This notification the king was obliged to answer, by sending a message to the assembly, in consequence of which war was declared against Austria in the month of April.

Louis had been compelled to announce that he had accepted the constitution. Though it was generally known that it had been forced upon him, the communications he was obliged to make to foreign powers were not a little embarrassing. A letter, addressed by him to the King of England, expressed his obligations to George III. for the impartial line of conduct which he had pursued, and invited him to form with France a treaty of amity and alliance. An answer was returned twenty days afterwards, in which it was stated "that, under existing circumstances, war having broken out, no good could result from accepting the overture which had been made."

An address was published by the assembly, which had the effect of awaking the military ardour, and inflaming the minds of the nation against foreigners who presumed to interfere with the internal arrangements of France. Numerous offers of voluntary assistance were received by the government, and many of the enthusiastic writers claimed to be sent to the post of the

greatest danger, in order that "kings, their valets, and princes, might know the men of the 14th July." To provide a sufficient force for the defence of France was the great care of the assembly; and, for this purpose, a vote passed, by which it was declared that the army should be increased to four hundred and fifty thousand men, and that 300,000,000 livres in government paper, called assignats, should be placed at the disposal of ministers, to maintain that enormous establishment. The army destined to act against Germany comprehended three divisions, and was confided to three commanders of approved talents. One of them, the Marshal Rochambeau, was at the head of from thirty to thirty-five thousand men in the north, and established his quarters at Valenciennes, having under him D'Arville, Biron, Debeck, and D'Aumont. The Marquis La Fayette led the army of the centre, and, while he occupied Nancy, Thionville, and Luneville, fixed his head quarters at Mentz. His strength amounted to twenty thousand men. De Wittgenstein, De Bellemont, Crillon, Pasquet and De Franc, were under him; and, on the Rhone, an army fifty thousand strong was confided to Marshal Luckner, a foreigner, which extended from Landau to the frontiers of Switzerland, in which Berthier, Lameth, and Jary, held subordinate commands. On the 1st May, General Dillon, with ten squadrons of cavalry, marched from Lille towards Tournay. He was met by a body of Austrians, under Count D'Happencourt. The revolutionists, with all their ardour, being unaccustomed to sustain the fire of regular troops, were thrown into disorder. Biron exerted himself to rally them, but to no purpose. The panic became universal, and they fled precipitately, pursued by the enemy to the gates of Lille. The recreants, whom their commander had in vain endeavoured to animate while the enemy was in sight, turned against him the moment they were in safety, and, declaring that he had betrayed them to the Austrians, before whom they could not stand, put him to death, and treated his body with every indignity that cowardly barbarian vengeance could suggest. Lieutenant Colonel Berthois, of the engineers, shared the same fate; and the surviving officers were reviled as aristocrats. Another expedition of ten thousand men, under Lieutenant General Biron, proceeded in the direction of Mons. Quiverain fell with little opposition; but when the force of Biron came within sight of Mons, they found the heights occupied by an Austrian army. Upon this, Biron resolved to wait for news of the attack on Tournay, before he proceeded to action; but a part of his right wing was unexpectedly attacked about five o'clock in the evening, when the Austrians were beaten back. Notwithstanding this, two regiments of cavalry mounted their horses without orders, and at ten o'clock that night marched off to the left of the camp. Observing this, the general went after them, alone and unarmed; but, they being on a quick trot, he followed them more than a league before he could obtain a hearing, all fiercely complaining that they were betrayed. At length he succeeded in prevailing upon them to listen to his speech, and his words made so powerful an impression, that

with the exception of about forty or fifty, returned with him to the camp. The refractory few, however, hastened to Valenciennes, and reported that the whole army had been abandoned by their general, who had gone over to the enemy. Being informed of the catastrophe of Dillon, Biron, the next morning, April 30th, commenced his retreat, and, leaving a portion of his troops to keep possession of Quiverain, he proceeded to a camp in that vicinity, which he had formerly occupied. The detachment left in Quiverain was soon expelled by a body of Hulans; and Biron then, upon finding his camp no longer tenable, determined, if possible, to recover that place. This he attempted, and with success; but was eventually, from not being timely reinforced, obliged to abandon it; and he retreated to Valenciennes, leaving his whole camp and artillery in the hands of the enemy. Many of the French perished in this operation from hunger and fatigue, as well as by the sword. A third expedition, of fourteen hundred infantry and two hundred and fifty horse, under the command of M. Carl, presented themselves before Furnes, where the magistrates, informed that they came as brethren, offered them the keys of the place. Carl, however, was obliged to retreat, without having effected anything of importance. The main army, under La Fayette, was to have reached Givet by the 20th of the month, where, with the armies under Biron and Rochambeau, he was to form a general rendezvous in the heart of the Austrian Netherlands. Seventy-eight pieces of cannon had been sent off by La Fayette, under M. Narbonne, who had marched fifty-six leagues in the space of five days. He himself followed on the next day; but the failure of Biron and Dillon rendered the plan abortive.

The Austrians were some time before they were prepared to act on the offensive; but at length, on the 17th May, they fell on Bavia, and took the garrison prisoners. M. Noailles was sent against them, with Marshal Luckner. La Fayette himself, and Rochambeau followed; but the Austrians retreated before they came up, carrying with them a large quantity of forage. Some progress was made by the armies of France in the Netherlands. They took Courtray, Ypres, and Menin, and other places of less note, but were soon obliged to yield before a superior Austrian and Prussian force.

Great discord prevailed in the French cabinet; and the nation, divided by hostile factions, was in a most distracted state. From the differences in the government, M. de Grave, of the war department, resigned, and Marshal Rochambeau threw up his command; Servan replaced the former, and Luckner succeeded the marshal. The unhappy king found those who became his ministers were not men who could possess his confidence. Measures, to which he felt it his duty to apply the veto, he had reason to believe, were promoted for no other purpose but to render him unpopular. In consequence of this, he removed Servan, Roland, and Clavières, and named others to fill the posts which they vacated. The Jacobins then became furious; and a vote was passed, declaring that the three ministers who had been dismissed carried with them the regrets, and possessed the

confidence of the nation. M. and Madame Veto were the names scornfully given to the king and queen, and scurrilous songs were written on the subject, and sung within their hearing. An outrageous placard was posted on the inner doors of the palace, which called for the abolition of royalty and the civil list, and added, "A king is an obstacle to the happiness of the people! Long live the nation! Liberty for ever! Down with all traitors!" Such was the state of public feeling, when Roland, the ex-minister, addressed a letter to the king, in which he unsparingly attacked the whole political conduct of Louis, and accused him of betraying the constitution and the people. This letter, read in the assembly, was received with loud cheering; it was ordered to be inserted in the proces-verbal, and also to be printed, and copies sent to every member of the administration.

Nothing was omitted that could wound the feelings of the king, or degrade him in the eyes of the world. He was forced to declare against the aids offered him from abroad, and made to sanction decrees, condemning emigrants to death, and threatening those who were parties to the declaration of Pilnitz with vengeance, if they continued to encourage desertions from the armies of France. These had increased to such an extent, that, on the 1st October, the minister of war announced that more than two thousand officers had passed over to the Austrians. To counteract the evil, if possible, Louis was forced to give under his hand whatever his persecutors judged likely to have that tendency. To his brothers, on the 11th November, he wrote



that he was perfectly free; and at nine o'clock that evening, one of his guards barred the door of his apartment with his firelock and bayonet.

Endless were the affronts offered to him and the queen. His refusal to

discard his confessor, who was opposed to the proceedings of the assembly, was deeply resented. The Girondists, a faction so called from their leaders being from the department of the Gironde, desired nothing so much as a republic. They were unanimously opposed to the Jacobins; but, on occasion, united with them to carry out schemes of violence and revenge. Louis successively exhibited all the varieties of weakness, determination, and piety. He has been accused of insincerity; but what claim to sincerity had the artful, cruel, and unprincipled tormentors with whom he had to deal? They kept no faith with him; had he not a right, if it were possible, to conceal his designs from them?

The Girondists called for a general arming. Santerre, a brewer, who had long had considerable influence over a portion of the lowest of the populace, a man destitute of education, and of the most brutal habits, acting alternately with them and the Orleanists, favoured their present views. The Prussians and Austrians were expected to approach the capital; and this was made a pretext for forging pikes, and putting them in the hands of the people. The mob had now their own peculiar force, and a grand display was resolved upon. It was fixed for the 20th June, the anniversary of the oath of the tennis court. From the faubourg of St. Antoine, on the morning of that day, an immense multitude issued, for the purpose, as they said, of presenting a petition for the removal of the new ministers, and the withdrawal of the recently exercised veto. They had with them two pieces of cannon, and were accompanied by a crowd of disorderly females. On one of their banners appeared the ferocious inscription "Tremble, tyrant! thy hour is come!" and a bleeding heart, exalted on a pike, with a label indicating that it was the heart of an aristocrat, gave an earnest of the merciless rage with which they were prepared to act. Preceded by the tree of liberty, they advanced to the assembly, shouting, "Down with the veto," and singing the "*Ca-ira*." They next proceeded to the palace, where they forced the entrance. Nothing could resist them. Having found their way into an apartment from which they perceived no outlet, they began, with their axes, to destroy the gilded pannels of the wainscoat. At that moment a door they had been unable to discover was opened from within, and Louis XVI. stood before the rioters.

A few officers of the national guard, and one or two faithful servants, were near him. His calm and dignified aspect awed for a moment the boldest into respectful silence. Some of the rioters, however, called out that they had a petition to present. The king then led the way to the largest saloon of the suite, and placing himself in a window, a table, with "the rights of man" displayed on it before him, he held a plenary court of the populace. No petition being forthcoming, Legendre, a butcher, rudely demanded the king's assent to the decrees for establishing a federal camp, and for the banishment of the priests, to both of which he had opposed his veto. "This is neither the time nor the place for such an act," replied Louis, with a firm-

ness that confounded the intruders. They then shouted "Vive la nation!" and Louis cordially joined in the cry. "Let us try if he is sincere," said Legendre, holding towards him, on a pike, for his acceptance, a red nightcap, as the cap of liberty. The king seemed little disturbed by this incident: he took the cap and placed it on his head. Shouts of triumph instantly resounded through the palace. Another ruffian handed him some wine, which he received and drank. They then instantly demanded to see the red cap worn by the queen. To have refused compliance would have been death; and M. de Wittinghoff, taking it with a faltering hand, held it for a moment over the brow of her majesty; and it was next, in submission to the like tyrannical caprice, placed on the head of the dauphin.

The crowd defiled in tolerable order. Among their banners, besides those which have been described, one appeared in the form of a gallows, on which the effigy of a female was suspended, surmounted by the words, "Beware of the lamp post!" Another exhibited the guillotine, with these words beneath, "National justice for tyrants; down with Veto and his wife!" A picture, on which was engraved "the declaration of the rights of man," was left on the council table. It was not till the crowd had been addressed by Vergniaud and Petion, then mayor of Paris, that they left the palace.

Great admiration was felt for the courage and dignity with which Louis went through the trying scenes of this stormy day. In one instance, when an attempt was made to dispel alarm, he seized the hand of a national guard, and, placing it on his heart, demanded if that gave evidence of fear; adding, "it never beat more calmly."

The Girondists were ashamed of the part which their rabble friends had acted. La Fayette complained of the attack which had been made on royalty, threw up his command, and denounced the factions which desolated France. The language in which he described the Jacobin party has already been quoted (page 621). He presented himself at the Tuileries, and invited the king to place confidence in him, but was coldly received. By the Jacobins he was, from that time, pursued with rancorous hatred.

In Paris, the mob now familiarly talked of dethroning the king. Robespierre, Danton and Marat, continued to sustain the excitement. To what a pitch this was wrought, may be collected from the infuriated language which the low journalist, Marat, dared publicly to hold: "Behold," said he "the monarch! how absurd to have compromised with him, or expected sincerity. From the first moment he ought to have been dethroned, or rendered harmless. The aristocrats are the same. They can never forgive. In them the revolution will for ever find enemies. But where is the prison ample enough to contain the number of the upper classes? where the gaolers faithful enough to guard them? The grave is the only prison—the executioner the only certain keeper. Slay, slay, such is the key of true policy. Your army is of no avail. Give me two hundred Neapolitans, armed with poniards. With them I will revolutionise France."

The 10th of August was another stormy day. It had been determined to signalise it by a grand insurrectionary movement. A furious crowd assailed the Tuileries. Petion being there, was seized and induced to give under his hand an order to repel force by force. Mandat, an old royalist officer, armed with this authority, proposed to attack the insurgents as their columns successively arrived. Just then, Mandat received repeated summonses from the municipality, in consequence of which, he after some hesitation, repaired to the Hotel de Ville. There he found all the municipal officers had, within the last few hours been changed. Huguenin, the president of the commune, after questioning Mandat, made a sign with his hand that he should be removed, and the next moment he received his death from a pistol shot. The troops at the château were thus left without a leader. Louis might then have assumed the command, and possibly, by a display of courage and presence of mind, quelled the disorder. He had with him nine hundred Swiss, and double that number of national guards. More energetic than himself, Marie Antoinette wished him to take a determined part. She snatched a pistol from the belt of one of his attendants, and presented it to Louis with these words: "Let us advance upon them, sir. This is the



moment to shew yourself." He declined taking the step suggested; and though he made a languid show of putting himself at the head of his troops, it produced no effect, and, eventually, he suffered himself to be conducted, with his queen and family, to the national assembly. "He had come there," he said, "to prevent a great crime." At first, he was seated next the president, but afterwards, on the plea that his appearance there interfered with debate, he was removed into the box reserved for the short-hand writers.

In the meantime, the mob had penetrated the courts of the château; and some of them threw down, with their pikes, three or four Swiss who were

stationed in the lower open windows, and murdered them. Their comrades above, seeing this, fired at the assassins, and, rushing down the grand staircase, drove the rabble before them; who, in a few moments, fled in all directions, leaving their guns and standards behind. The weakness of Louis forbade attempts to follow up the advantage. When informed of what had occurred, he ordered the Swiss to quit the château. A portion of them proceeded to the assembly, and were disarmed; and the populace, hearing of that, by degrees regained their courage, returned to the attack, and fell on the remainder of the Swiss who had remained in the chateau, and who were all massacred. Eighteen had taken refuge in the chapel. They offered to surrender if their lives might be spared. That was immediately promised; they laid down their arms, and were inhumanly slaughtered. Victorious now, the populace remained masters of the Tuileries. Three thousand of their number are said to have fallen, and about half as many of the military lost their lives on that day. The Marquis de Clermont Tonnerre was among the slain. Less happy, the Marshal de Mailly, then eighty-five years of age, who commanded the small band of guards that fought with the Swiss, escaped the like fate to perish beneath the axe.

Little cause had Louis to congratulate himself on having interfered. The assembly immediately passed a decree, suspending the monarch from his functions, and ordered that a national convention should meet, and a new ministry be formed. In the narrow box to which they had been conducted, the furious cries of the mob without were heard by the king and his family. A peach and some bread was all the nourishment supplied to them that day. At one in the morning, they were lodged in two small cells belonging to the ancient building in which the assembly held its sittings.

The hostile proceedings within the walls of the assembly were deemed insufficient to meet the exigency of the case. Placards were posted in all parts of Paris, which announced to the citizens, "That the king was suspended from his functions; his family, with himself, detained as hostages; that the existing administration not having the confidence of the nation, the assembly had proceeded to form a new government, and had suppressed the civil list."

Violence to violence, and crimes too numerous for recapitulation succeeded. One Montmorin, a royalist, was acquitted of crimes with which he had been charged before a revolutionary tribunal, only, as it was said, to inflame the rabble by exonerating him. On Sunday, the 2nd of September, it was reported that Verdun was taken, and the enemy in full march for Paris. The citizens were summoned to the Champ de Mars to meet the foe; the tocsin was sounded, and harangues were made denouncing the enemies of the people. Shortly after noon, twenty-four priests were brought out of the Hotel de Ville, to be transferred in coaches to the prison of the abbaye. Fiercely pursued by the populace, on reaching the court of the prison, Maillard, who had formerly headed the female rioters on their march to

Versailles, was in waiting with a ruffian band. As each ecclesiastic left the carriage, he was stricken down; and of the whole number the Abbé Sicard alone escaped with life. An officer of the municipality attended, and approved of this work of blood. At his suggestion, the assassins next moved to the convent of the Carmes. Two hundred ecclesiastics there confined were led forth one by one, and mercilessly massacred. Some of the monsters had been engaged to despatch particular victims, and were obliged to wipe their faces to ascertain that they had not missed their aim. Returning to the abbaye with his assistants, Maillard called on the gaoler to produce a list of the prisoners. He then addressed his associates, and called upon them to assist in the work of justice. "Place yourselves," said he, "outside the gate. When I say, 'the culprit should be sent to La Force,' then strike and spare not." The scheme was applauded, as preventing struggles, and the victims were summoned. The first were Swiss soldiers, who were ordered out and massacred. Next Montmorin, who had been lately acquitted, appeared, and met the same fate. Till a late hour this scene continued, the miscreant actors pausing occasionally to refresh themselves with wine. Some of the women were spared. Among them, the daughter of M. Sombreuil was called upon "to drink from a goblet the blood of the aristocrats." She swallowed the horrible draught, as the condition on which her parent might live, and he was saved. Some were allowed to pass from admiration of their courage; some from caprice; but in all thirteen thousand persons were put to death that night, as the same frightful scene was acted in all the places to which the numerous accused had been consigned!

No further effort could be made by the royalists in defence of the ancient institutions of France. The tri-coloured flag was everywhere displayed; and, on the 22nd of December, the following decree was made public:

"The national convention unanimously decrees that royalty is abolished in France.

Signed, MONGE,

Counter-signed, DANTON."

The three ministers who had been removed by the king were now recalled. After being detained for a few days in the convent of the Feuillans, at the suggestion of the municipality, the royal family were removed to the Temple. While they remained at the former establishment, they were exposed to the most wanton insults. On one occasion, the queen, walking in the garden, was approached by a young man, who, doubling his fist in her face, fiercely exclaimed: "Infamous Antoinette! it is your wish that the Austrians should bathe their hands in our blood. You shall pay for it with your head."

A list of about fifteen persons was made out by the king, whom he wished to be in attendance on the royal family in the Temple. Such an indulgence was refused, and six only were allowed to attend him. We shrink from recording all the cruel outrages which were perpetrated. One day, the queen was about to approach the window of the tower, when her doing so was prevented by those who were present. "They wish," said a municipal

officer, "to conceal from you the head of Lamballe, which the people have brought to the Temple, that you may see how they revenge themselves on tyrants." That unfortunate beauty, the Princess Lamballe, had been murdered, her remains treated with the most shocking indecency; and her head, carried by one monster on a pole, and her heart by another on a sabre, were displayed in triumph to the blood-thirsty Parisians.

Proverbially, "the distance between the grave and the prison of a king is short." The rebels, who had Louis XVI. in their power, were anxious to render the progress as afflicting as possible. Among other brutal follies, they compelled him to look on the broken statue of Louis XIV. which, to mark their hatred of the very name of king, these madmen had destroyed, with that of Henry IV. They even carried their unhallowed vengeance to the solemn resting place of the dead; the remains of former monarchs were torn from the tombs in which they had for centuries reposed, and their coffins melted down and cast into bullets.

The miscreant *septembrisers*, as they called themselves, who, by their atrocities, had disgraced their name and their country, had the audacity to boast that they had saved France. Not to them did Paris owe being relieved from the alarm inspired by the advance of the Prussians. The skilful manœuvres of Dumouriez and Kellerman arrested their progress; and the Duke of Brunswick, finding the French armies increasing from hour to hour, was obliged to order a retreat.

The frenzy which had seized on all minds betrayed those who were placed near Louis into rudeness and cruelty the most revolting. It was not enough to confine the king, with a view of bringing him to the scaffold; wanton insult and brutal interruptions were added to his other sufferings. Cléry, his majesty's valet-de-chambre, has left us an exact account of the treatment to which the unhappy monarch was subjected. A few extracts from his interesting narrative will show that the tenderness which is shown to a condemned murderer or traitor in England, while in prison, was denied to Louis XVI. Cléry says, "James, a municipal officer, a teacher of English, took it into his head one day to follow the king into his closet, and to sit down by him; his majesty mildly told him that there his colleagues had always left him by himself; that as the door stood open, he could never be out of his sight, but that the room was too small for two. James persisted in a harsh and brutal manner; the king was forced to submit, and giving up his course of reading for that day, retired to his chamber, where the municipal officer continued to beset him with the most vexatious superintendence. Cléry adds:

"One morning when the king rose, he thought the commissioner on duty was the same who had been upon guard the evening before, and expressed some concern that he had not been relieved; but this mark of goodness was only answered with insult. 'I come here,' said the man, 'to watch your conduct, and not for you to busy yourself with mine.' Then going up close

to his majesty, with his hat on his head, he continued: 'Nobody has a right to meddle with it, and you less than any one else.' He was insolent the whole day. I have since learnt that his name was Meunier.

"Another commissioner, whose name was Le Clerc, a physician, being in the queen's chamber when I was teaching the prince to write, interrupted him to pronounce a discourse on the republican education which it was necessary to give the dauphin, and wanted to change the books he was studying for works of the most revolutionary nature."

Nor was this enough to satisfy the raging appetite for vengeance which had been excited. French gallantry, in those melancholy days, could not even spare a woman. The queen was treated with a ruffianly coarseness, which must have wounded the feelings of a fondly attached husband even more than the heartless affronts offered to himself. After the notices already quoted of some of the revolutionists, Cléry proceeds, "A commissioner was present when the queen was reading to her children from a volume of the History of France, at the period when the Constable de Bourbon took up arms against France. He pretended that she only meant by this to instil into the mind of her son ideas of vengeance against his country, and laid a formal information against it before the council; which I made known to her majesty, who afterwards selected subjects that could not be taken hold of to calumniate her intentions.

"A man named Simon, shoemaker and municipal officer, was one of the six commissioners appointed to inspect the works and expenses at the Temple. He, alone, under pretence of attending rigidly to his duty, never quitted the tower. This man, whenever he appeared in the presence of the royal family, always treated them with the vilest insolence; and would frequently say to me, so near the king as to be heard by him, 'Cléry, ask Capet if he wants anything, that I may not have the trouble of coming up twice.' I was obliged to answer that he wanted nothing. This is the same Simon to whose care the young Louis was afterwards consigned, and who by a sympathetic barbarity prolonged the torments of that amiable and unfortunate child. There is great reason to believe that he was the instrument made use of to shorten his days."

The hateful picture is still incomplete. We have it on the same respectable authority: "There were some of the municipal officers who never spoke of any of the royal family without the addition of the most insulting epithets. One of them, named Turlot, one day said in my hearing: 'If no executioner could be found to guillotine this d—d family, I would guillotine them myself.'

"When the king and family went to walk, they had to pass by a number of sentries, of which, even at that period, there were several stationed within the small tower. The soldiers on duty presented their arms to the municipal officers and commanders of the legions, but when the king approached them, they grounded their firelocks, or clubbed them ludicrously.

"Some of the soldiers within wrote one day on the king's chamber door, and that too on the inside: 'The guillotine is permanent, and ready for the tyrant Louis XVI.' The king read the words, which I made an attempt to rub out, but his majesty prevented me.

"One of the door-keepers of the tower, whose name was Rocher, a man of a horrid figure, accoutred as a pioneer, with long whiskers, a black hairy cap, a huge sabre, and a belt, to which hung a bunch of great keys, came up to the door when the king wanted to go out, but did not open it till his majesty was quite close, when, pretending to search for the key among the many he had, which he rattled in a terrible manner, he designedly kept the royal family waiting, and then drew the bolts with a great clatter. After doing this, he ran down before them, and fixing himself on one side of the last door, with a long pipe in his mouth, puffed the fumes of his tobacco at each of the royal family as they went out, and most at the queen and princesses. Some national guards, who were amused with these indignities, came about him, burst into fits of laughter at every puff of smoke, and used the grossest language; some of them went so far as to bring chairs from the guard-room to sit and enjoy the sight, obstructing the passage, of itself sufficiently narrow.

"While the family were walking, the engineers assembled to dance and sing; their songs were always revolutionary, sometimes also obscene.

"The same indignities were repeated on their return. The walls were frequently covered with the most indecent scrawls, in large letters, that they might not escape notice. Among others were, 'Madame Veto shall swing.' 'We shall find a way of bringing down the great hog's fat.' 'Down with the red ribbon.' 'The little wolves must be strangled.' Under a gallows, with a figure hanging, were these words: 'Louis taking an air bath.' And under a guillotine: 'Louis spitting in the bag,' or other similar ribaldry."

The coarseness and severity with which the royal captives were treated was at once disgusting and ridiculous. We find, in the narrative already quoted, most extravagant follies indulged in, which were meant to pass for precautions. One of the revolutionary functionaries ordered some macaroons to be broken, to see if there was no letter concealed in them. Another, on the same pretence, had some peaches cut before him, and the stones cracked. A third, one day, compelled Cléry to drink the essence of soap prepared for shaving the king, affecting to apprehend it was poison. After dinner and supper, Madame Elizabeth used to give him a gold-bladed knife to clean, which the municipal officer would often snatch out of his hand, to examine if he had not slipped some paper into the sheath. He further says:

"Madame Elizabeth having commanded me to send a book of devotion to the Duchess de Serent, the municipal officers cut off the margins, for fear any thing should have been written upon them with a secret ink.

"One of them one day forbade my going up to the queen to dress her

hair : her majesty was to come down to the king's apartment, and to bring her powder and combs herself.

"Another would follow her into Madame Elizabeth's chamber, to see her change her clothes, which she usually did at noon : I represented to him the indecency of such behaviour, but he persisted, and her majesty was obliged to give up dressing, and leave the room.

"When the linen was brought from the wash, the officers made me unfold article by article, and examined it always by day-light. The washerwoman's book, and every paper used for packing, were held to the fire, to ascertain whether there were not any secret writing upon them. The linen, after having been worn by the king, queen, prince, and princesses, was in like manner examined before it was given out.

The feelings of Cléry, it may be fairly concluded, were warmly engaged in favour of the sufferers ; but we have never seen the accuracy of his statements denied. Dreadful evidence of their truth is indeed afforded from facts narrated by others. The crisis was appalling. It exhibited the powers of men combined with the blind fury of brutes. Not content with denying all marks of respect to their king and his family themselves, the revolutionists felt outraged when those who, from long habit, could not be expected at once to conform to the usages of the new school, addressed royalty as formerly. Treilhand, a deputy, resented the demeanour of M. de Malesherbes, one of the king's legal defenders, when he used the words "Sire," and "Your Majesty," in speaking to the prisoner. "What makes you so bold," he demanded, "to apply to Capet terms which the convention has abolished?"—"Contempt for you, and contempt for life," was the intrepid reply.

In an especial degree, the malevolence of the populace was excited against the queen, or, "the Austrian she wolf!" as her majesty was called. Among the afflictions of Louis, and they were not few or trifling, this was the one that was most seriously felt. It wounded him equally as a king, as a husband, and as a man, and in no instance does his character appear more amiable than where he laments the view taken of the character of his royal consort. He did not surrender himself to ungovernable rage at witnessing their inhuman fury ; but was persuaded that they were misled. "Did they but know her worth," he would exclaim, "did they but know the glorious elevation of her mind, instead of pursuing her as they do, they would love her and revere her."

Artful enemies, he maintained, had poisoned the minds of the Parisians by false representations, that rancorous hostility might succeed to the lively admiration with which she had formerly been regarded. It was hers to know the extremes of love and hatred. At the representation of "Iphigenia," before the Emperor Joseph II. at Paris, his imperial majesty being in the same box with the queen and the Count d'Artois, on the performers coming to the verse

"Sing ! Let us celebrate our queen."

the audience turned round towards the royal beauty, and repeated with rapturous admiration the line. "This," exclaimed the count to his imperial majesty, with exultation, "is the way Frenchmen honour their rulers."

It was the object of Marie Antoinette to identify herself with the king, and, in all circumstances, to adopt his views. There were moments, however, when her more daring mind seemed anxious to pursue a line of policy to which he dared not commit himself. A bond of the truest affection seemed to unite them. On one occasion, when, in her presence, the prejudices of the populace against her were mentioned, she quoted, applying to her own case, the following passage from "Alzira":

"Whether thy people may applaud or scorn,
Thy sole opinion constitutes my fame.
Esteemed, when dying, by a heart like thine,
The rest I can disdain, and ask no more."

In vindicating the queen, Louis represented, as one cause of her being an object of hatred, that which few would have imagined. It was not her pride and her extravagance that made the Austrian princess odious in the eyes of the French; but, brought to a splendid court in the flower of her youth, and shrinking from the dazzling pomp and heartless profusion with which the unblushing favourite of Louis XV., Madame Dubarry, was evermore surrounded, she took refuge in a quiet unpretending mode of life, exempt from etiquette and restraint. He approved of it at the time. It was consonant to his taste; but experience taught him it was unwise; that familiarity abates the respect with which those who claim to govern ought to be constantly surrounded. According to him, the very step she took to extricate herself from the treachery of a court, and to invite real friends, proved the means of arraying against her implacable enemies.

But, it is folly to enquire *why* the French were exasperated to such a degree against her? Though various and sufficient causes were at work to produce a desire for some great change, no reason can be given to justify the course of popular indignation flowing in the particular direction which it took. "Madness ruled the hour," as we have intimated more than once. What reason can be given for entertaining Paris with a burlesque pageant, in which the principal sovereigns of Europe were outrageously insulted, or a grand procession of asses muffled up in sacerdotal ornaments? These were not the angry doings of cruel men, who had an end to accomplish by extraordinary means; but the insane excesses of frantic wretches, who had lost the power of governing themselves rationally. To the same causes may be ascribed the vile purposes to which the sacred vases of the churches were appropriated, and which admit not of description. The pitiable creatures engaged in these disgusting fooleries sought to carry their insolence even to the throne of the Most High. The relics of St. Genevieve, the reputed patroness of the capital, were burnt at the Place de Grève, when one of the maniacs engaged, a member of the municipality, thought fit thus

outrageously to apostrophise the Supreme Being: "If thou art God, thunder!"

The national convention, on the 19th of November, proclaimed that the French were ready to offer fraternity and assistance to the people of all nations who wished to recover their freedom. Acts of folly and ferocity were daily multiplied. At length, a formal accusation of Louis was decreed; and, on the 11th of December, the unfortunate monarch was placed at the bar of the national convention, to be tried for what were called "crimes against the people," under an *ex post facto* law.

Within any moderate limits, it would be impossible to give the details of this monstrous proceeding. Of all the disorders which had occurred during the stormy period which had seen him on the throne of France Louis was accused. He was assigned counsel; and M. Tronchet, Lamoignon Malesherbes, and De Séze, with his approbation, undertook his defence. Their exertions, though creditable to themselves, were of no avail; and on the 16th of January, after hearing them in his defence, and his solemn denial of the crimes laid to his charge, and after a sitting of nearly thirty-four hours, the punishment of death was awarded. The president, when all had voted, announced the result to be as follows:

For the punishment of death, 366; for imprisonment during the war, 319; for perpetual imprisonment, 3; for a suspension of the execution of the sentence of death, 8; for not inflicting the punishment of death unless the French territory should be invaded, 23; for death, but with commutation of punishment, 1. The greatest number of votes being for death, sentence was passed. At nine o'clock on the following morning, M. de Malesherbes waited on the king at the Temple, and with great feeling, lamented the result. The king was deeply affected by the sympathy manifested on the part of his professional adviser. On Sunday, the 20th of January, Santerre and the executive council presented themselves at the Temple, and read to the royal captive several decrees of the national convention, which declared him "guilty of conspiring against the liberty of the nation, sentenced him to die, and ordered the sentence to be executed within twenty-four hours from the time of its being thus notified."

Louis heard his condemnation read without changing colour. He then requested the members of the council to carry a letter from him to the convention, in which he requested to be permitted to see his family, from which he had been some time separated, without witnesses, and begged that the execution might be delayed for three days. They took charge of the letter. It was laid before the convention, who allowed the king to see his family, but passed to the order of the day on the request for postponing the deed of blood.

That evening Louis saw his afflicted consort and children for the last time. They were admitted to his presence at half-past eight o'clock, and Cléry thus describes the painful interview:

"The queen came first, leading her son by the hand ; Madame Royale and Madame Elizabeth followed. They all threw themselves into the arms of the king. A melancholy silence prevailed for some minutes ; and it was only broken by sighs and sobs. The queen made an inclination towards his majesty's chamber. 'No,' said the king, 'let us go into this room, I can see you only there.' They went in, and I shut the glass door. The king sat down ; the queen was on his left hand, Madame Elizabeth on his right, Madame Royale nearly opposite, and the young prince stood between his legs ; all were leaning on the king, and often pressed him in their embraces. This scene of sorrow lasted an hour and three quarters, during which it was impossible to hear any thing. It could, however, be seen, that after every sentence uttered by the king, the agitation of the queen and princesses increased, lasted some minutes, and then the king began to speak again. It was plain, from their gestures, that they received from himself the first intelligence of his condemnation.

"At a quarter past ten, the king rose first, they all followed. I opened the door. The queen held the king by his right arm : their majesties gave each a hand to the dauphin. Madame Royale, on the king's left, had her arm round his body ; and, behind her, Madame Elizabeth, on the same side, had taken his arm. They advanced some steps towards the entry door, breaking out into the most agonizing lamentations. 'I assure you,' said the king, 'that I will see you again to-morrow morning, at eight o'clock'—'You promise?' said they altogether.—'Yes, I promise.'—'Why not at seven o'clock?' said the queen.—'Well ! yes, at seven,' replied the king ; 'farewell !' He pronounced 'farewell' in so impressive a manner, that their sobs were renewed, and Madame Royale fainted at the feet of the king, round whom she had clung. I raised her, and assisted Madame Elizabeth to support her. The king, wishing to put an end to this agonizing scene, once more embraced them all most tenderly, and had the resolution to tear himself from their arms. 'Farewell ! farewell !' said he, and went into his chamber.

"The queen, princesses, and dauphin, returned to their own apartments. I attempted to continue supporting Madame Royale, but the municipal officers stopt me before I had gone up two steps, and compelled me to go in. Though both the doors were shut, the screams and lamentations of the queen and princesses were heard for some time on the stairs. The king returned to his confessor in the turret closet.

"He came out in half an hour, and I put supper upon the table : the king ate little, but with good appetite.

"After supper, his majesty returning to the closet, his confessor came out in a few minutes, and desired the municipal officers to conduct him to the council chamber. It was to request that he might be furnished with the garments, and whatever else was necessary for performing mass early in the morning. M. de Firmont did not succeed without great difficulty in getting

his request granted. The articles wanted for the service were brought from the church of the Capuchins of the Marais, near the Hotel de Soubise, which had been formed into a parish. On returning from the council chamber, M. de Firmont went directly to the king, who accompanied him to the turret, where they remained together till half past twelve. I then undressed the king, and as I was going to roll his hair he remarked, 'It does not signify.' Afterwards, when he was in bed, as I was drawing his curtains, he said, 'Cléry, you will call me at five o'clock.'

"He was scarcely in bed before he fell into a profound sleep, which lasted, without interruption, till five. M. de Firmont, whom his majesty had persuaded to take some rest, threw himself upon my bed; and I passed the night on a chair in the king's chamber, praying God to support his strength and his courage.

"On hearing five o'clock strike I began to light the fire. The noise I made awoke the king, who, drawing his curtains, asked if it had struck five. I said it had by several clocks, but not yet by that in the apartment. Having finished with the fire, I went to his bed-side. 'I have slept soundly,' said his majesty; 'I stood in need of it; yesterday was a fatiguing day for me. Where is M. de Firmont?' I answered, 'on my bed.'—'And where were you all night?'—'On this chair.'—'I am sorry for it,' said the king.—'Oh! sire,' replied I, 'can I think of myself at this moment?' He gave me his hand, and tenderly pressed mine.

"I then dressed his majesty; during which time he took a seal from his watch and put it into his waistcoat pocket; the watch he placed on the chimney-piece: then taking off his ring from his finger, after looking at it again and again, he put it into the pocket with the seal. He changed his shirt, put on a white waistcoat, which he wore the evening before, and I helped him on with his coat. He then emptied his pocket of his pocket-book, his glass, his snuff-box, and some other things, which, with his purse also, he deposited on the chimney-piece: this was all done without a word, and before several municipal officers. As soon as he was dressed, the king bade me go and inform M. de Firmont of it, whom I found already risen, and he immediately attended his majesty to the turret.

"At seven o'clock the king coming out of his closet called to me, and taking me within the recess of the window, said, 'You will give this seal to my son—this ring to the queen, and assure her that it is with pain I part from it—this little packet contains the hair of all my family, you will give her that too—Tell the queen, my dear children, and my sister, that although I promised to see them this morning I have resolved to spare them the pangs of so cruel a separation: tell them how much it costs me to go without receiving their embraces once more!' He wiped away some tears; then added, in the most mournful accent, 'I charge you to bear them my last farewell!' He returned to the turret.

"All the troops in Paris, at that period, had been under arms from five

o'clock. The beat of drums, the clash of arms, the trampling of horses, the removal of cannon, which were incessantly carried from one place to another, all resounded through the tower.

"At half-past eight o'clock, the noise increased, the doors were thrown open with great clatter, when Santerre, accompanied by seven or eight municipal officers, entered at the head of ten soldiers, and drew them up in two lines. At this movement, the king came out of his closet, and said to Santerre, 'You are come for me?'—'Yes,' was the answer.—'A moment,' said the king, and went to his closet, from which he instantly returned, followed by his confessor. His majesty had his will in his hand, and addressing a municipal officer, (named Jaques Roux, a priest), who happened to stand before the others, said: 'I beg you to give this paper to the queen—to my wife.'—'It is no business of mine,' replied he, refusing to take it; 'I am come here to conduct you to the scaffold.' His majesty then turning to Gobeau, another municipal officer, 'I beg,' said he, 'that you will give this paper to my wife; you may read it; there are some particulars in it which I wish to be made known to the commune.'

"I was standing behind the king, near the fire-place; he turned round to me, and I offered him his great coat. 'I don't want it,' said he, 'give me only my hat.' I presented it to him—his hand met mine, which he pressed once more for the last time. 'Gentlemen,' said he, addressing the municipal officers, 'I should be glad that Cléry might stay with my son, as he has been accustomed to be attended by him; I trust that the commune will grant this request.' His majesty then looked at Santerre, and said 'Lead on!'"

He was attended by a pious abbé, M. Edgeworth, at his own request, for whose attentions he felt most grateful. Conducted through the first court of the Temple, in the second the carriage waited for him. Two gendarmes stood at the door, one of whom stepped into the vehicle, followed by the king and M. Edgeworth; the other soldier then placed himself by the side of his comrade.

An awful silence prevailed, as the dismal cavalcade advanced to the place de Louis XV. The streets were lined with the national guards under arms. The king seemed wholly absorbed reading, and in devout exercises, till the carriage stopped at the foot of the scaffold. On the door being opened by the executioners, Louis said to the gendarmes, "Gentlemen, I recommend M. Edgeworth to your protection." One of them, on the request being earnestly repeated, "that no harm might befall him," replied in a half ironical tone, "give yourself no care on that subject, we shall take care of him."

Having thrown off his coat, the king was about to pass up the steps of the scaffold, when his hands were secured, in order to tie them behind his back. Not expecting this insult, he was disposed to make resistance, when M. Edgeworth repressed his rising indignation, by saying, "Sire, this new humiliation

is another circumstance in which your majesty's sufferings resemble those of that Saviour who will soon be your recompense." The king yielded the point with an air of resignation. He then ascended the scaffold of the guillotine by which he was to perish, when the abbé, for the last time, addressed him in these words: "Son of St. Louis, ascend to Heaven!"

Having reached the top of the platform, the royal sufferer advanced with a firm step to the part which faced the palace, and desired that the drums might cease beating. He was obeyed, and he then spoke as follows: "I die innocent of all the crimes that have been imputed to me. I forgive my enemies. I implore God, from the bottom of my heart, to pardon them, and not to take vengeance on the French nation for the blood about to be shed." Santerre then pushed furiously towards the drummers, and ordered them to recommence beating. The executioners now seized Louis; he was placed on the machine, and in a moment the axe descended, and the monarch was no more. A young man, appointed to perform that office, immediately seized the dissevered head, and holding it up to the people, exclaimed: "Vive la Nation!" to which some of the crowd responded, "Vive la Republic." Many dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood; and locks of his hair were sold as relics. The body was conveyed, in a cart, to the church of St. Madelaine, and placed among the remains of those who were crushed to death at the Place de Louis XV., on the day of the late king's marriage, and of those who had fallen before Paris on the 10th of August. The grave was filled with quick lime, and a guard placed over it till the corpse was consumed, when the surface of the ground was levelled with the surrounding earth. In the registers of *l'état civil*, the event was thus recorded:

"Act of decease of Louis Capet, on the twenty-first of January, at twenty-two minutes after ten o'clock in the morning. *Profession*: last king of the French, *aged* twenty-nine years, native of Versailles, parish of Notre-Dame; *domiciliated* at Paris, Tower of the Temple; married to Marie Antoinette d'Autriche: the said Louis Capet was executed at the Place de la Revolution, by virtue of the decree of the national convention, of the fifteenth, sixteenth, nineteenth and twentieth, of the said month of January.

The said proces-verbal is deposited in the archives of *l'état civil*.

PIERRE JACQUES LEGRAND, *Public Officer*."

So closed the days of Louis XVI. Two centuries had France been under the sway of the Bourbons, and, during that period, she had gained rank among the nations of the world. Her triumphs in arms were great, and she was spared the bitter humiliation of those periodical invasions from the English which once spread confusion and dismay far and wide; but the intoxicating fumes of victory were too powerful for her monarchs and people, and rendered success as fatal to her happiness as former defeat. War was no longer regarded as an occasional evil, nor even as a trade; it was a popular entertainment. Kings made their courts accompany them in their campaigns, took historians with them to record the great deeds they intended to perform, and

astonished by their splendour as much as by their prowess. When Louis XIV. went to Flanders, all the magnificent luxuries of a palace, not excepting his mistresses, accompanied him to the verge of the battle-field. France was to charm and delight, as well as conquer Europe!

The courtesies of hostile commanders, and their superb array, have been pompously eulogised, as attesting the progress of enlightened humanity and fine taste. They were out of their place connected with deadly strife. When the *ultima ratio regum*, the last stern appeal to the sword is made, the dancing master's grace, and the upholsterer's skill, may be spared. Such theatrical displays are contemptible, associated with the awful work of wholesale destruction to the human race. Louis enjoyed them, and the French could admire him because he enjoyed them. His costly triumphs were their boast after the grave had closed over him. They forgot the humiliation which his bloated ambition brought eventually on France, and his melancholy commentary on its results, breathed in the language of the Roman Emperor, "Varrus, give back my legions." Yet of this humiliated, crest-fallen, sensual tyrant, the celebrated Bossuet did not scruple to affirm from the pulpit, "that he was the terror of his neighbours; the astonishment of the world; the father of kings greater than all his ancestors; more magnificent than Solomon in all his glory!" A fitter commentary on the life and actions of the miserable Louis was furnished by the grief, indignation and disdain, of the dying Colbert.

A period of refinement had certainly been reached, when the arts and sciences touched that pitch of excellence which surpassed all that had been imagined in the fables of antiquity. Philosophy, poetry and wit, shed their lustre on the age; yet, strange to say, it was disgraced by scenes as extravagant, brutal and bloody, as any that marked the era of Clovis or Dagobert. The struggles made in the cause of constitutional rights, through many reigns, all came to nothing in the time of Louis XIV. "I am the state," he had the presumption to declare; and no patriot in the parliament dared to murmur at the declaration. Though called "the great," with as much reason as one of his predecessors was surnamed "the good," and another "the just," he was among the meanest of mankind. The vile flattery which court sycophants pour into royal ears, and which those of Louis most greedily drank, made a prince of only moderate capacity think himself more than mortal. How despicably grotesque, how pitifully little he appears, singing hymns in his own praise; and, while wallowing in the grossest debauchery, impiously proclaiming that "God had set him up for an example to others!" He an example! the reckless slave of beauty in his younger days, and the unreasoning instrument of an artful faded pretender to sanctity in his old age!

Not here need we dwell on his monstrous persecution of the ill-fated Jansenists. To do that would be to repeat what has already been said. The revocation of the edict of Nantes has by some been regarded as a wise,

statesman-like measure. "Henry IV.," says Madame de Genlis, "would have sanctioned it had he dared." She adds, "Louis XIV., omnipotent, securely seated on a throne environed with glory, believed that he rendered an eminent service to his successors, in destroying, by one blow of authority, the germ of rebellion which had, from time to time, continued to distract his people." Such an attempt to varnish over his brutal policy is as abominable as the murderous piety of the aged chancellor, Le Tellier, who, on hearing of the cruel decree, profaned the language of Simeon, by exclaiming, "Now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." Louis was too heartless to care what might befall his successors; and, as the Duke de St. Simon shrewdly remarks, "loved and regarded no one but himself, and was to himself his last end." To use the language of Mr. Fox, "he made it the business of his life to raise the fabric of his power at the expence of every sentiment of tenderness to his subjects, and of justice and good faith to foreign nations." Had it been otherwise—had he outraged humanity to benefit his posterity, what a moral would their story have supplied! In this case, the sins of the father were awfully visited on the children; he "sowed the whirlwind, and they reaped the storm."

That his reign was fruitful of men of genius cannot be denied; its extraordinary length may, in some degree, account for it; but his love of splendour and applause furnishes a further explanation. His expensive habits, his taste for building and decorating palaces, operated favourably on the arts. This was an accidental good growing out of an enormous evil; it sprang from the profligate ostentation of the voluptuary, not the sage counsels of an enlightened patron of genius.

The abuses which were experienced while France, nominally under her kings, was really governed by a series of mistresses and their minions, paved the way for the convulsions which were to follow. From the affected piety which was the order of the day at the close of Louis XIV.'s reign, the transition to the shameless dissipation which prevailed under the regent was striking in the extreme. France had ample reason to be disgusted with the monstrous profusion and gratuitous scorn for decorum exhibited by many of her rulers. By them the church was degraded. Offices that ought to have been held by men of unblemished fame were given to reprobates, whose lives were a satire on the sacred rank they were permitted to hold. The clergy, corrupted by their superiors lent themselves to conceal—to extenuate their vices, and were mixed up with their intrigues, till the whole mass became too offensive for endurance. For a time, the reflecting complained unheard; the thoughtless laughed at the apprehensions of the wise; and the system which enabled certain classes to revel in luxury, and mock the sufferings of others, was supposed to be based on a rock which would endure for ever.

But, in all enlightened countries, monstrous oppression is sooner or later followed by a daring irresistible effort to recover freedom. The volcanic fire may smoulder long, but at last it bursts forth with terrifying violence.

Louis XV., in the midst of his sensual abandonment, perceived that "a great coming was on its way." "Society grows old," said he, that society which he, through the audacity of his grandfather, had known all his life, "but it will last my time." In this he was not deceived; and the tempest which lowered over degraded royalty, while he wore the crown, burst in thunder on the head of his hapless successor. The violence and the vices which had long surrounded the throne prepared the way for its overthrow. It was in vain that Louis XVI. strove, by the urbanity of his manners, and by really important concessions, to appease the raging multitude. The temple had been fired, and the conflagration was not to be stayed. For the mournful sequel, we have only to say, it was similar to that which has been too often witnessed in the course of human affairs: the long suffering victims rose in their might, to become in their turn heartless vindictive tyrants; and distracted France punished the crimes of monarchy but to precipitate herself into a sea of blood, and the more intolerable horrors of revolutionary anarchy, from which she could only be snatched by a new despot, and the genius of a Napoleon.



LIST OF LARGE ENGRAVINGS.

(Directions for placing the Plates.)

VOLUME I.

	Page.
FRONTISPIECE to face the title	
SACK OF AVIGNON	59
ALARIC KILLED BY CLOVIS	63
ASSASSINATION OF BISHOP PRETEXTAT	104
ASSASSINATION OF RAUCHINGE	122
THE DISH OF DAGOBERT	151
DEATH OF ASTOLPHUS	206
SARACEN EMIRS IMPLORING AID FROM CHARLEMAGNE	218
IMPERIAL COSTUME OF CHARLEMAGNE	224
CHARLEMAGNE INSPECTING THE SCHOOLS	333
SUBMISSION OF LOTHAIRE	247
DEATH OF ROBERT THE STRONG	274
KING ROBERT	304
LOUIS VII. ASSAILED BY THE TURKS	357
PHILIP AUGUSTUS DENIGHTED	376
RICHARD CŒUR DE LION	390
MASSACRE OF BEZIERS	415
NOTRE DAME DE PARIS	423
QUEEN BLANCHE EXCLUDES LOUIS IX. FROM THE CHAMBER OF HIS WIFE	432
THE HOLY CHAPEL, BUILT BY ST. LOUIS	433
PASSAGE OF ARMS UNDER PHILIPPE THE HARDI	437
POPE BONIFACE INSULTED BY THE CONDOTTIERI	469
EXECUTION OF JAMES MOLAY, GRAND MASTER OF THE TEMPLARS	474
SWEARING BY THE HERON	494
JEANNE DE MONTFORT PRESENTING HER SON TO THE BRETON NOBLES	501
CHARLES THE BAD TAKEN PRISONER BY KING JOHN	518
DU GUESCLIN	540
THE BASTILLE	550
THE GOVERNOR OF CHATEAU-RANDON DEPOSITING THE KEYS ON THE COFFIN OF DU GUESCLIN	556
CHARLES VI. IN THE FOREST OF MANS	572
THE CHATEAU DE MONTLHERY	595
QUEEN ISABELLA OF BAVARIA, WIFE OF CHARLES VI.	592
JOAN OF ARC IN PRISON	612

VOLUME II.

	Page.
FRONTISPIECE "TEMPLE" to face the title	
INTERVIEW BETWEEN LOUIS XI. AND CHARLES THE BASH	13
LOUIS XI. AND THE SIRE DE CONTAY	36
PILLAGE OF THE CAMP OF CHARLES THE BASH	42
LOUIS XI. AT THE FEET OF ST. FRANCIS	57
MARRIAGE BY PROCURATION OF MAXIMILIAN AND ANNE OF BRITANY	67
THE WOUNDED FRENCH ASSISTED BY THE WOMEN OF FISA	95
THE CHATEAU GAILLON	99
TAX REGISTERS BURNT AT TREVISE	107
JULIUS II. AT THE CAMP OF MIRANDOLA	112
DEATH OF BAYARD	147
RETURN OF FRANCIS I. TO FRANCE	156
MARTIN LUTHER	164
FRANCIS I.	186
THE CHATEAU DE CHAMBORD	214
HENRY II. AND DIANA OF POITIERS	219
THE TUILERIES	252
CHARLES IX. VISITING ADMIRAL COLIGNY	265
CATHERINE DE MEDICIS	272
COMMENCEMENT OF THE LEAGUE	281
ASSASSINATION OF THE DUKE OF GUISE	290
INTERVIEW BETWEEN THE KING OF NAVARRE AND HENRY III.	292
HENRY IV.	311
MURDER OF THE MARSHAL D'ANCRE	331
THE PARLIAMENT HUMILIATED BY LOUIS XIII.	348
RICHELIEU AND THE PARISIANS	357
THE DUCHESSSES OF LONGUEVILLE AND BOUILLON ENTERING THE HOTEL DE VILLE	389
MOLÉ BRAVING THE FURY OF THE POPULACE	393
ANNE OF AUSTRIA SHEWS LOUIS XIV. SLEEPING TO THE REVOLTED CITIZENS	402
LOUIS XIV. AND CARDINAL MAZARIN	410
LOUIS XIV. BEFORE AMSTERDAM	434
DEATH OF TURENNE	441
THE CHATEAU DE VERSAILLES	448
LOUIS XIV	447
LOUIS XIV. AND THE DUKE DE LAUZUN	450
THE DUKE OF ANJOU RECOGNISED AS KING OF SPAIN	487
THE DUCHESS DE MAINE LOOKING OVER THE ANCIENT CHRONICLES	515
CARDINAL DE FLEURY'S TWELFTH-CAKE DAY	547
LOUIS XVI. AND MARIE ANTOINETTE	584
NATIONAL BALL AMIDST THE RUINS OF THE BASTILLE	597
THE ROYAL PALACE	622

1

2

3



